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THE

LANDS OF THE BIBLE.

EDINBURGH:

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FROM THE MOUNT OF OLIVES

THE

LANDS OF THE BIBLE

VISITED AND DESCRIBED

IN AN

EXTENSIVE JOURNEY UNDERTAKEN WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE PROMOTION OF BIBLICAL RESEARCH AND THE ADVANCEMENT OF THE CAUSE OF PHILANTHROPY.

BY JOHN WILSON, D.D., F.R.S.,

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CHAPTER XIV.

EXCURSION TO THE JORDAN AND THE DEAD SEA.

The road between Jerusalem and Jericho is one of the most dangerous in the Holy Land west of the Jordan; and to the present time it thus maintains the character which it probably bore in the days of our Lord, as indicated by its being chosen as the scene of assault and robbery, in the parable of the "good Samaritan." The Christian pilgrims, apprehensive of evil when traversing it, when they go to the Jordan at Easter for sacred ablution in imitation and commemoration of our Lord's baptism, proceed along its wild and desolate course in a body for their mutual protection, and attended by the governor, or páshá, of Jerusalem, and the Turkish troops at his disposal. The Arabs seem to conceive

that at this time they have a special license, on their part, to practise mischief according to their ability; and they embrace any opportunities which may be afforded them of relieving stragglers of their burdens, or superfluous, or even needful, apparel. On this account it is expedient for the traveller to eschew their company, and to escape the annoyances which arise from the noise and tumult of the moving mob. We consequently resolved, in accordance with the example set us by others of our countrymen, to form a little party of our own for the excursion, of which I shall now give some account. The two Messrs. Vaudrey, whom we had met at Petra, joined themselves to Mr. Smith and myself, and we clubbed together to hire a guard from the Arabs of the village of Beit-Tâmar—lying to the south-east of Bethlehem—who are themselves reputed to be habitual robbers, and who maintain a monopoly of the highway guideship to the sacred river of Judea, despite of all their friends and foes. Sheikh Ḥamdah, their chief, forced us to engage sixteen of his people as our defendants, though we should have been satisfied with half the number. They made their appearance at our lodgings,—some of them mounted on horses and asses, and others on foot,—on the morning of the 28th of March, under the care of the discreet and sagacious 'Abdallah, the sheikh's brother; and we responded to their call to move at eight o'clock. They made a great show of their valour and prowess, brandishing their swords, and pointing their muskets and pikes, as they pushed their way before us up the steep flanks of the Mount of Olives, and as they descended to the lower spur on which Bethany is situated. Their gabble would have been unceasing, had we not given them to wit, that the less of their mirth and music the better for their sober charge.

Shortly after leaving Bethany we came upon Wâdí Ḳadûm, a considerable depression running somewhat in the direction

of the Dead Sea. Near the head of a similar Wádí, called el-Ḥamd, and after passing over various ridges, we came, about two hours from our starting, upon the fountain known by the name of the Apostles' Well, it being supposed, not without reason, that the followers of Christ, like all other travellers along this weary and inhospitable road, stopped here to refresh themselves in their journeys to and from Jericho. The water was clear and sweet, and as it issued from the spring it filled and ran over a trough for the accommodation of cattle. Close upon it is a small ruinous khán, or caravanserai. Travellers, though they often rest here during the heat of the day, seldom venture to pass the night. The most conspicuous Wádís in advance of this place, according to our Arabs, were the Wádí Sidr, running in a very irregular course to the north-east, and Wádí Khán Ḥakhurah, tending much in the same direction.[1]

From Jerusalem to the Apostles' Well, we have the common rock of the higher ridges of the land of Israel and Lebanon, the indurated chalk of the Upper Jura formation. The soil which it presents is very sparse; but here and there cultivated spots are to be seen. From the Apostles' Well, where this eastern desert of Benjamin is distinctly spread before us, to the commencement of the plain of Jericho, we have principally the chalk, properly so called, presenting often large beds and slopes in a loose form, and absolutely barren. The strata of the cretaceous system lying below this chalk geologically, are frequently obtruded, and raised, and broken, in the most irregular and fantastic form, as in the Great Desert. In this series of rocks we noticed, as we passed along, but few organic remains, or even flints. In the faces of the different wild ravines, particularly to our left, we observed many natural and artificial caves, such as

[1] Dr. Robinson in his map gives here a Khan Hadhrur, which is probably the place mentioned above.

those which are abundant in other parts of the country. They became very numerous as we approached the great valley, and, doubtless, many of them were occupied of old by the hermits who possessed these wilds, sacred as they imagined them to be from their association with our Lord's temptation. One lisne was pointed out to us as the little world in which a monk is said to have lived or languished, the cravings of whose castigated and delumbated body,—and probably soul also,—were satisfied with a portion of a couple of brace of dried grapes a-day. Who knows but some of these caverns were the hiding-places of many really hallowed, in the best sense of the term, in the sight of God and man, the exemplary men of faith, who, in times of persecution and danger, and not under the influence of a voluntary humility and will-worship, "wandered in deserts, and in mountains, and in dens and caves of the earth?"[1]

The road during the whole of our march through this wilderness of cretaceous snow, was rough, and rugged, and slippery, and by its frequent risings and fallings, uncomfortable and fatiguing to man and beast. It presented little of itself, beyond its own wildness, to occupy our attention. A high conical hill to the right, near the extremity of the range, is dignified with the name of Nabí Músá, from the erroneous belief of the Muhammadans, that here (to the *west* of the Jordan!) the departing leader of the chosen tribes obtained his Pisgah view of the land of promise. It is crowned by a small mosk or Wali. Another conspicuous hill to the left, is supposed to be the "exceeding high mountain," from which the devil showed our Lord "all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them."[2] Numerous interesting localities were within the bounds of our horizon in the distance. Before us lay the valley of deepest depression yet known to geography, and which of old witnessed some of the

[1] Heb. xi. 38. [2] Matthew iv. 8.

greatest events recorded in history, with the sacred stream of the land of Israel hastening, with its copious floods, to that sea of bitterness and death at its extremity, which it can neither sweeten nor vivify. In the distance beyond this valley, we had before us the whole range of the mountains of the Ammonite, lying in front of

> "Rabba and his watery plain,
> In Argob and in Basan to the stream
> Of utmost Arnon;"

and of Moab,

> "From Aroer to Nebo and the wild
> Of southmost Abarim; in Hesebon
> And Horonaim, Seon's realm, beyond
> The flowery dale of Sibna, clad with vines,
> And Eleäle to the asphaltic pool."

The descent into the valley becomes very steep towards its termination. It is called the Akab Jabar, and leads into the Wádí el-Ḳelt, a gorge running into the mountains which we were leaving, in a south-west direction, and which by some is supposed to be the "BROOK CHERITH, which is before Jordan."[1] The general character of the mountain on the western side is precipitous throughout, from the lake of Tiberias to the southern end of the Dead Sea.

On our way to Jericho, we passed over several streamlets proceeding from the fountains of Elisha and Dúk, and saw several ruins and remains of aqueducts. The fountains now

[1] 1 Kings xvii. 3. "The Arabic form Kelt and the Hebrew Cherith are, indeed, not exactly the same; though the change from Resh to Lam, and that of Kaph into Koph, are sometimes found. See Gesenius's Heb. Lex., under the letters ר, כ, ק. There is also an apparent difficulty in the circumstance, that the brook Cherith is said to be *before* (עַל־פְּנֵי) Jordan; which is usually understood as meaning east of Jordan. So Eusebius and Jerome, Onomast. art. *Chorath*. But the difficulty vanishes, if we translate it *towards* Jordan; and that this may be done, is shown by Gen. xviii. 16; xix. 28, where the angels and Abraham, in the vicinity of Hebron, are said to have 'looked towards Sodom;' the expression in Hebrew being the very same as here. So, too, Judg. xvi. 3."—Bib. Res. vol. ii. p. 288.

mentioned are the only sources of vegetable life in this part of the plain; and the effects of the healed and healing waters of Elisha, wherever they go, are quite astonishing. Along the banks of the little canals, there are lines of luxuriant thickets, and close to them fields capable of yielding the richest produce. There must have been of old a right distribution of these waters, to encourage the exaggerated descriptions of Josephus of the former fertility of this neighbourhood.[1]

A little west of Jericho, we came to an encampment of Ṣafíyah Arabs, a tribe of the Ghawarínah, or Arabs of the Ghor, the valley both north and south of the Dead Sea. It consisted of about fifty tents, which were pitched in a slovenly and irregular manner. The Ṣafíyah were much blacker than any Arabs we had previously seen on our journey, owing, we were inclined to believe, to the heat of the climate in this place, which, from the great depression of the valley below the level of the sea, is decidedly tropical. They live principally by cultivating the soil; and they are much more demoralized than their brethren of the desert.

We encamped for the night outside Ríḥá, or Eríḥá, the modern JERICHO. It is merely a congeries of wretched stone

[1] "It," [the fountain of Elisha,] says Josephus, "waters a greater space than any other fountain, and flows through a plain seventy stadia in length, and twenty in breadth, in which it nourishes numerous and very pleasant gardens, with palms, varying both in taste and name. The better kinds of these, when pressed, yield plenty of honey, which is scarcely inferior in sweetness to other honey. This country also produces honey from bees. It also bears that balsam, (which is the most precious of all the fruits there,) and cypress trees, and myrobalanum, so that he who called this portion of earth divine, has not been much mistaken, since here are produced so plentifully the most precious and the rarest fruits. Neither, with respect to other fruits, can any country through the whole globe be easily compared to it; what is here sown yields such a return. But the cause of this seems to me to be the warmth of the air and the fertility of the waters. Whilst the former produces and spreads the shoots, the moisture causes each to take a firm root, and supplies strength, in the season of summer."—Joseph. Bell. Jud. lib. iv. cap. viii. 3.

huts, covered with thorn bushes, surrounded by a fence of the same material, and occupied by a set of poor and, I am sorry to add, profligate Arabs, whose character has been brought to its present debasement, particularly so far as the female portion of the community is concerned, by the proximity of a small detachment of Turkish soldiers. The officer commanding the guard occupies a ruinous square tower, with a dirty court, somewhat resembling the stables of Augeas, and which, though evidently of no great antiquity, in the want of a better, is set forth as the house of Zaccheus!

As we got to Jericho at half-past three o'clock in the afternoon, we had leisure afforded us to examine its neighbourhood. Close upon the village, we found some mounds composed of, and covering, ruins more extensive than the accounts of travellers had led us to expect; but these, for reasons to be afterwards noticed, we did not associate with the ancient town. A stunted and languishing date-tree was the only memorial of the "city of palms" which we discovered. In the gardens, there are some very thriving fig-trees. Following the course of the principal stream, which proceeds from the 'Ain es-Sulṭán, or FOUNTAIN OF ELISHA, we admired much the excellence of the soil. In the thickets of trees, bushes, and reeds by which it is surrounded, we observed many plants with which we had been familiar in the far east, a proof of the fact of the resemblance of the climate here to that of the tropics. Among these we noticed that called the 'Asher by the Arabs, the Asclepias gigantea of which, Dr. Roxburgh observes, that it "is one of the most common, large, ramous shrubs over India. It is in flower, and has ripe seed all the year round." Its stems in the valley of the Jordan were fully as large as those seen in India, being in some instances as thick as a man's leg or thigh. Seetzen and Dr. Robinson think that this plant yields the celebrated "apples of Sodom." The fruit, which

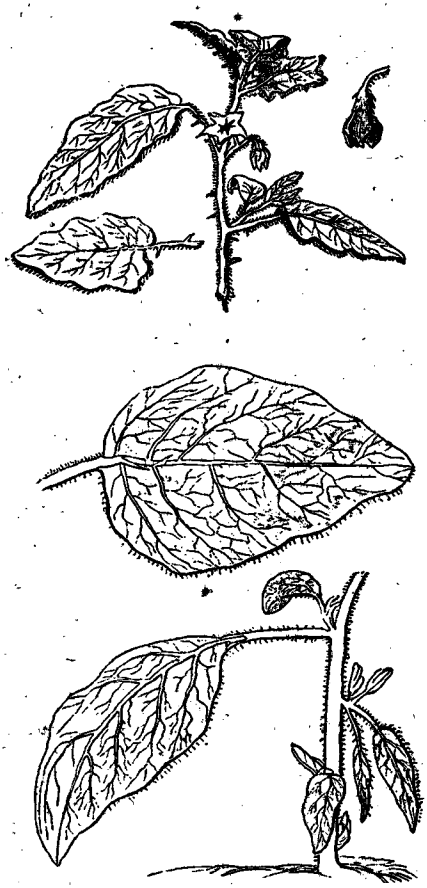
has a yellowish colour, is certainly like an apple or orange in size and form; but it is more substantial than would be inferred from Dr. Robinson's account of it, when he says, that "on being pressed or struck, it explodes with a puff like a bladder or puff-ball, leaving in the hand only the shreds of the thin rind and a few fibres. . . . It must be plucked and handled with great care, in order to preserve it from bursting. We attempted to carry some of the boughs and fruit with us to Jerusalem, but without success."[1] Some of the fruit I was able to take with me to Europe. A sort of silky flax, according to Dr. Roxburgh, "is in some parts prepared from the *bark* of the young shoots."[2] I do not know that the plant is as much celebrated among the Arabs, as among the Hindús, for its medicinal properties.[3] Another shrubby plant, from about three to five feet in height, and bearing a round yellowish berry, varying from about an inch to an inch and a half in diameter, particularly attracted our attention, from its great abundance. An Arab, who observed us handling the fruit of it, informed us that it is known by the name of the "Leimún Lút." On our asking him the reason of the designation, he said, the plant formerly bore excellent limes; but, for the wickedness of the people of the plain, it was cursed by Lot, and doomed to bear the bitter fruit which it now yields. On our learning from him, and our other attendants, that no other fruit passes by a similar name in the plain, we came to the conclusion, that, as far as the present native belief indicates, we had before us the most noted species of the fruits

"which grew
Near that bituminous lake where Sodom stood."

It proved to be a species of solanum. I took a couple of

[1] Bib. Res. vol. ii. pp. 287, 288.
[2] Roxburgh's Flora Indica, vol. ii. p. 31.
[3] See Roxburgh, ut supra, and Graham's plants growing in Bombay and its vicinity, p. 121.

the berries with me to Britain. On opening one of them in the spring of 1845, I extracted a dozen of the small black seeds, not unlike those of a potato, which it contained, and sent them to my friend, Alexander Thomson, Esq. of Banchory, who takes no common interest in all that pertains to the countries of the east, with the request that he would test their vegetative powers in one of his hot-houses. Four thriving plants made their appearance as their product; and I had the pleasure, at the end of the two subsequent autumns, of seeing them in full flower, and witnessing a drawing made of the plant, which is here given in a reduced form. No seeds have yet been perfectly formed upon any of them. To Dr. Dickie, whose contributions to the science of botany are well known, I am indebted for an account of the shrub as developed at Banchory, which I subjoin.[1] Hasselquist,



[1] "Solanum sanctum, Linn.—Stem erect, shrubby, mostly naked at the base; farther up having occasionally a few short prickles; nearer the apex, densely hoary, prickles also more numerous, each of which is broad at

the pupil of Linnæus, who travelled in the Holy Land, calls the berries the "*poma sodomitica*, or mad-apples." "They are the fruit," he says, "of the Solanum Melongena Linnæi, by other authors called mala insana; these I found in plenty about Jericho, in the vales near Jordan, not far from the Dead Sea. It is true, they are sometimes filled with a dust, but this is not always the case, but only when the fruit is attacked by an insect (*tenthredo,*) which turns all the inside into dust, leaving the skin only entire, and of a beautiful colour."[1] This plant we were inclined with Hasselquist to consider the apple of Sodom. It is the "*vine* of Sodom" that is referred to in Scripture as an emblem of the enemies of the Lord's people.[2] It is a curious fact that one of the names of a species of Solanum, (Solanum Incanum,) allied to that to which I refer, is, among the Arabs, that of the *'Aneb edh-Dhíb*, or "Grape of the Wolf."[3] It is sometimes ate by the poorer

the base, and tapers to a sharp point. Lower leaves ovate, repand, obtuse, upper surface with scattered down, and occasionally one or two prickles on the midrib, lower surface very hoary, with one or two prickles on the midrib; leaf stalks hoary, sometimes with a few prickles on the lower surface; upper leaves slightly repand and waved, general form oblong ovate, hoary on both sides, especially the lower; three, four, or more scattered prickles on the upper surface of the midrib, and occasionally on its principal branches; leaf stalks hoary, and having scattered prickles; young leaves unequal at the base. Calyx of the fertile flower hoary and prickly, the others also hoary; prickles few in number or absent; corolla rotate, the outer surface hoary on each side of the mesial line of its divisions, the intermediate spaces smooth; colour of corolla pale lilac. The hoariness of the stem, leaves, &c., is owing to the presence of numerous star-shaped hairs; the prickles on the upper leaves and apex of the stem are also hoary."

[1] Hasselquist's Voyages and Travels, Eng. Trans. pp. 287, 288.

[2] Deut. xxxii. 32.

[3] See Hasselquist, p. 282, where the name in an incorrect form is given, without the application now made. At p. 289, he refers to the Solanum Incanum, or Hoary Night-shade, as illustrative of the grapes of Isaiah v. 4, adding, "The prophet could not have found a plant more opposite to the vine than this, for it grows much in the vineyards, and is very pernicious to them, wherefore they root it out. It likewise resembles a vine by its shrubby stalk."

classes of Felláḥín in Egypt. Nothing is known very precisely corresponding with the fruits mentioned by Josephus, of which he says, that "in appearance and colour they seem as if fit to be eaten; but when plucked with the hands, they dissolve into smoke and ashes."[1] But his language must not be too closely pressed. Of the loose manner in which he sometimes writes, we have an example in the context of the passage in which he makes this statement, in which he says that the length of the Dead Sea is five hundred and eighty Roman furlongs, and its breadth a hundred and fifty, while, in point of fact, it is only, in round numbers, about four hundred Roman furlongs long, and one hundred broad.

Of other plants growing in the vale of Jericho, we noticed the Nabḳ, the most abundant thorn in the Holy Land, and which, it is commonly thought, was that of which the crown of thorns of our Saviour was made;[2] the Zaḳḳúm Murhá, or Myro-balsamum; the Ázbá, a species of Sisymbrium, or water-cress, along the edge of the streamlets; the Ghares, a nettle, (Urtica pulcherrima,) abundant among the ruins of Eríḥá; the Nadnah, a species of mint; the Ḥarfeish, a thistle; and Bismas, somewhat resembling a marigold.

In the streams and pools, troops of large green frogs were holding a concert. This species the Arabs denominated ضفدع Dhafdáh, which has a slight resemblance to the Hebrew צְפַרְדֵּעַ.

[1] Jos. Bell. Jud. lib. iv. cap. viii. 4.

[2] "In all probability this is the tree which afforded the crown of thorns put on the head of Christ; it grows very common in the East. This plant was very fit for the purpose, for it has many small and sharp spines, which are well adapted to give pain. The crown might be easily made of these soft, round, and pliant branches; and what in my opinion seems to be the greatest proof, is, that the leaves much resemble those of ivy, as they are of a very deep green. Perhaps the enemies of Christ would have a plant somewhat resembling that with which emperors and generals were used to be crowned, that there might be calumny even in the punishment."—Hasselquist's Voyages and Travels, Eng. Trans. pp. 288, 289.

29th March.—We rose early this morning, in order to make the best of our time in these interesting localities, and proceeded north-west for about half-an-hour, to the Ain es-Sulṭán,[1] otherwise the "Fountain of Elisha." We had a pleasant and cool walk to this copious spring, along the rivulet which proceeds from it; and we met with no annoyance, as some have done, from the Arabs of the plain who observed our motions. The stream, which is clear and full, is, at its source, received into a reservoir, some five yards in breadth, ten in length, and about a foot deep, but not now in a state of good repair. The spring is similar to others which we observed issuing forth from the cretaceous rocks of the land of Israel and Lebanon. It appears at a mound probably forming the remains of some old building, and immediately enters a shallow and dilapidated reservoir, in which we observed many small fishes, from two to six inches long. It is shaded by a beautiful fig-tree, called the Tín es-Sulṭán. There can be no doubt that it is rightly associated with the name of Elisha, as no other fount from which Jericho could be watered is to be found in this part of the valley.

The Fountain of Elisha is about a quarter of a mile distant from the Karantal, or Quarantana Mountain, the traditionary scene of our Lord's temptation. This hill is exceedingly precipitous on its eastern front, and contains many natural and artificial caverns great and small, the quondam abodes of hermits and recluses, the miserable, though perhaps devout, mimics of one of the most impressive and instructive miracles connected with our Lord's incarnation. On its summit there are the ruins of some buildings. It was formerly a work of great merit in the pilgrims to reach its top; but comparatively few now make the attempt. Milton's reference to this mountain, the adjoining scenery in the plain

[1] Literally, Fountains of the Sultán.

watered by the Jordan, and the streamlets of Elisha and Jericho, and the other ancient cities of the vale, is peculiarly happy.

"It was a mountain at whose verdant feet
A spacious plain, outstretched in circuit wide,
Lay pleasant; from his side two rivers flowed,
The one winding, the other straight, and left between
Fair champaign with less rivers intervened,
Then meeting joined their tribute to the sea;
Fertile of corn the glebe, of oil, and wine;
With herds the pastures thronged, with flocks the hills;
Huge cities and high-towered, that well might seem
The seats of mightiest monarchs, and so large
The prospect was, that here and there was room
For barren desert, fountainless, and dry.
To this high mountain, too, the tempter brought
Our Saviour, and new train of words began."[1]

According to Josephus, whose description seems to have been in the poet's eye, the ancient Jericho was close upon this fountain. "There is a fountain," he says, "by Jericho, that runs plentifully, and is very fit for watering the ground; it arises near the old city, which Joshua, the son of Nun, the general of the Hebrews, took the first of all the cities of the land of Canaan, by right of war." This fountain he connects with the miracle of the healing of the waters performed by Elisha.[2] Even the Jericho of his day, which was nearly desolate during the Jewish wars, he places near the mountainous ridge to the west. "It is situated," he says, "in a plain; but a naked and barren mountain, of a great length, overhangs it, which extends itself to the land about Scythopolis northward, but as far as the country of Sodom, and the utmost limits of the lake Asphaltites southward."[3] Near the Fountain are some mounds and other remains which may possibly have belonged to the ancient city. There are other

[1] Milton's Paradise Regained, book iii.

[2] Jos. Bell. Jud. lib. iv. cap. viii. 3. For the account given by Josephus of the effect of this fountain on the soil, see above, p. 6.

[3] Ibid. sect. 2.

ruins, which we also noticed, between it and the present Ríḥá, which may have belonged to the Jericho of the Gospels and Josephus. Dr. Robinson notices some other remains near the mouth of the Wádí Ḳelt, as it leaves the hills, which he thinks have the best claim to be considered the site of this renowned city.[1] It is extremely difficult to point out the exact spot where it stood. Even the ruins, now somewhat remote from one another, may have belonged to it, for its dimensions were large.

Close on the 'Ain es-Sulṭán, we found an aqueduct leading from the 'Aín Dúk, another fountain still more copious, lying about an hour to the north-west. We examined the remains of a sugar-mill, driven by the water of this aqueduct.

On our returning to Ríḥá from this excursion, we ascended the square tower, which for centuries has been transmogrified into the house of Zaccheus. We had a pleasant prospect from it of the valley of the Jordan. The Turkish Aga, in charge of the small detachment of soldiers stationed at the place, treated us to coffee when we were aloft. As it was hinted to us that a bakshish would be acceptable to this captain, we presented him with a few piastres in acknowledgment of his hospitality.

After breakfast, we started for the Jordan, which we reached in an hour and a half, following a course nearly due south-east. About half an hour from Ríḥá, we passed a tower denominated Ḳaṣr Hajlah, or castle of Hajlah, equivalent to the Hebrew Hoglah, and doubtless marking the

[1] "According to the Bourdeaux pilgrim, A.D. 333, the Jericho of that day was at the descent of the mountains, one and a half Roman miles distant from the fountain, while he places the more ancient city at the fountain itself. I am inclined to adopt this suggestion; and to regard the remains round the opening of the Wady Kelt half-an-hour S. of 'Ain es-Sultân, as marking the site of the Jericho of Herod, and the New Testament."—Robinson's Bib. Res. vol. ii. pp. 298, 299. Near the place here alluded to, Dr. Robinson and his companion Mr. Eli Smith discovered a large shallow reservoir.

site of the BETH HOGLAH of Scripture. A fountain a little farther to the east of it is denominated Ain Hajlah. This site has long been identified.

Early after we set out, we left the stream of Elisha, and the wild verdure which it nourishes; and then came to an absolute waste of clay, much impregnated with salt, and presenting frequent crustations and inflorescences where little pools of water had been standing. It is probable that it was in this soft alluvial soil that the vessels of the temple were cast in the days of Solomon.[1] In advance of this clayey soil, we came upon a sort of natural embankment, and then descended to a lower level. Before we reached the river, we had another similar descent, which brought us to the marginal, and almost impervious, thickets of the Jordan, consisting of shrubs, trees, and high grasses, some of which were of the species which natives of India use for writing-reeds. We thought that we observed among the thorns what we did not expect to find there at the present day, some stunted sugar-canes. After moving along the thicket for some distance, we at last found a small opening, which enabled us to approach the turbid river; and we sat ourselves down

> "On the bank of Jordan by a creek,
> Where winds with reeds and osiers whispering play."

This rapid stream was to us, by its numerous and sacred associations, the queen of rivers. At the place where we reached it, we were considerably below the ruined convent of St. John the Baptist, called by the natives Kasr el-Yehúd, or the Castle of the Jews, and a little to the south of the bathing-place of the Greek pilgrims. Our Arabs—probably with as much regard to accuracy as that shown either by the

[1] 1 Kings vii. 46. "In the plain of Jordan did the king cast them, in the clay-ground between Succoth and Zarthan." Compare 2 Chron. ii. 14.

Greeks or Romanists—told us that we were exactly at the spot where Jesus was baptized. We needed not at the banks of the Jordan any such information to direct our thoughts to that supremely interesting scene which they witnessed, when the incarnate Saviour of men, though he had no sins to confess, no repentance to avow, and no forgiveness and purification to implore, nevertheless, with a view to fulfil all righteousness, and to mark his entire consecration to his heavenly work, and to have a typical representation to himself of the salvation of those whom he descended from heaven to redeem, solicited and obtained baptism from his forerunner John, who had confessed that he was unworthy to perform for him the meanest office, to stoop down and unloose the latchet of his shoes. Well may those who owe the obliteration of their guilt in the book of God's remembrance, and their freedom from moral defilement, to that fountain which he opened for sin and for uncleanness, admire his condescension, and grace, and personal glory, in the very locality in which the voice of God was heard, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased."

The water of the river was three yards lower than the embankment bounding its channel; but it had evidently, not many hours previous to our visit, been more than a foot higher. As to what cause this considerable rise in the river at this season of the year was owing, we were not able at the time to form a conjecture. It has occurred to me since, however, that it may have been some change of the wind in the lake of Tiberias, affecting the quantity of water discharged by the Jordan.[1] The river at this place we found

[1] In the autumn of 1845, in fair weather, I noticed a much greater and a sudden rise in the river Tay at Dunkeld; and I was told by my friend, Dr. Smyttan, living on its banks, that this phenomenon was solely owing to a strong westerly wind blowing over Loch Tay.

to be exactly forty yards in width. Our Arabs estimated its depth at five fathoms; but owing to the rapidity of the current,—which, following pieces of wood which we threw into it, we reckoned at least three miles an hour,—we were not able to make of it a satisfactory measurement. Maundrell speaks of the river being "too rapid to be swam against;"[1] and his description is certainly correct, for our Egyptian servant Deirí, who, like a true son of the Nile, is an excellent swimmer, was carried down to a considerable distance, notwithstanding all his efforts to the contrary, before he could cross it to the land of Moab. On reaching the other side, his naked carcase was in a sorrowful plight among the thorns and bushes among which he had to carry, or rather push, it, some hundred yards along the course of the stream upwards, in order to cross over again to us at the break in the thicket where we were reposing.[2] We contented ourselves by simply bathing in the stream; and very awkwardly we had to proceed to work, at the very margin where the bank had fallen in, in order to avoid the force of the current, and retain our footing.

We sat for a considerable time on the banks of the river, where we also breakfasted, and discoursed and conversed with one another about the Scripture references to this celebrated stream, and the valley through which it flows, all of which references are minutely accordant with all that is known of its character. When it is said that "Lot lifted up his eyes, and beheld all the plain of Jordan, that it was well watered everywhere, *before the Lord destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah*, even as the garden of the Lord, like the land of Egypt as thou comest unto Zoar,"[3] it is hinted that this

[1] Maundrell's Journey, 30th March.

[2] Among the trees and bushes on the margin of the Jordan, on both sides of it, are many Acacias. They seem to have given name to the valley of Moab, near the Jordan, which is called ABEL-SHITTIM, or the "plains of Shittim." Numb. xxxiv. 49.

[3] Genesis xiii. 10.

was *not* the character of the plain in the days of Moses, a great part of it being then desolate, and, in the absence of streamlets of water, incapable of culture as at the present time. "Fords," or passages of the Jordan, contiguous to Jericho and other places, are sometimes mentioned;[1] and there are several places now found at which the river, when not particularly flooded, is still passable, though with some difficulty, by men and animals. The general depth and rapidity of the river, showed us the necessity of such a miracle being performed for the passage of the two or three millions of the Israelites, as is mentioned in Joshua, when the "waters which came down from above stood and rose up upon an heap very far from the city Adam, that is beside Zaretan: and those that came down toward the sea of the plain, even the salt sea, failed and were cut off: and the people passed over right against Jericho."[2] This miracle seemed to us more than ever possessed of magnitude, and well calculated to bring about the effect ascribed to it, "that all the people of the earth might know the hand of the Lord, that it is mighty."[3] Looking to the depth of the banks of the river, we clearly saw, as has been frequently noted, that they could not have been overflown, either during the winter rains or the melting of the snows on Hermon and Lebanon, or the rise and fall of the winds in the northern lakes of the river, in the sense in which the valley of the Nile is overflown by the annual rise of that river. According to the Hebrew, it is merely said that the "Jordan *fills* (מָלֵא) all his banks;"[4] a form of expression agreeing with present appearances. That of old, as now, however, the rise of the Jordan, extended to the thickets on its lowest bank, is evident from the language of Jeremiah, alluding to the dislodgement of the fierce lion from

[1] Josh. ii. 7; Judg. iii. 28; 1 Sam. xiii. 7; 2 Sam. ii. 29; x. 17; xvii. 22; xix. 15, etc.

[2] Josh. iii. 16.

[3] Ibid. iv. 24.

[4] Judg. iii. 15.

his covert, "Behold he shall come up like a lion from the swelling of Jordan against the habitation of the strong."[1] Such a rise in the river would not be inconsiderable, especially to those called to pass through the violence of its stream. "If in the land of peace wherein thou trustedst they wearied thee, then how wilt thou do in the swelling of Jordan."[2] The thickets in the days of Elisha, seem as at present to have been close to the river, for "when they came to Jordan they cast down wood; but as one was felling a beam, the axe-head fell into the water."[3] The river-bed must have then, as now, been deep, for the prophet wrought a miracle to recover this implement. The discolourment of the waters of the Jordan from their action against the clayey banks, seems generally to have been known at this time, or Naaman the Syrian would not have asked, "Are not Abana and Pharpar, rivers of Damascus, better than all the waters of Israel? may I not wash in them and be clean."[4]

At the banks of the Jordan, we each cut a pilgrim's staff, from the willow Salix Safsaf, and the vitex Agnus castus, which are there very abundant. We also filled some tin bottles with the water of the river. Mr. Smith took regular evidence, by sign-manual and seal, of the genuineness of a supply which he took to forward to the island of Ceylon, for the baptism of the first-born of one of his friends.

[1] Jer. xlix. 19. [2] Jer. xii. 5.

[3] 2 Kings vi. 45.

[4] 2 Kings v. 12. A quantity of water of the Jordan, which I brought with me to Edinburgh, after depositing a clayey sediment, became clear as crystal. Dr. Stevenson of the East India Company's Medical Service, who visited the Jordan in 1843, when sending me a small quantity of his supply, notices the same circumstance connected with it. "The water from the Jordan was perfectly clear when I took up the phial yesterday, the sediment being all at the bottom; and here it may be proper to remark, that this water was filled near the Dead Sea, and not at any of the sources of the river, which are clear as crystal. Dr. Robinson, if I mistake not, states that the Jordan has nothing of the torrent in its character, but this very sediment is a proof to the contrary; and had he attempted to follow the stream from the Sea of Galilee up to the Bridge of Jacob, as it is called, he would have come to a different conclusion."

When we were enjoying ourselves at the river, and engaging "in meditation deep," our Arabs gave us the unwelcome intelligence that we were to be immediately attacked by robbers. They forgot, however, to act upon the maxim, "Si vis me flere, dolendum est primum ipsi tibi;" for though they immediately began to brandish their swords and to fire their guns, they awakened the suspicion within us that they were practising only a mock heroism. We had observed them in the morning detach three or four men from their own band; and we were sure that some ugly-looking fellows, crawling along the higher banks of the stream, against whom they tried to direct their defiance, were none other than their own scouts, making a show of mischief, to hasten our departure from the river. When pressed by us, they confessed the trick; and told us that it was one to which they not unusually resort to hasten the motions of their charge. Had they managed matters better we might have had an opportunity of recording in our journals, like other travellers, the great perils and dangers from the hands of the Ishmaelites to which we had been exposed, in the vale of Jericho.

In proceeding to the Dead Sea, we kept as near as possible to the river; but the softness of the soil led us ultimately to leave it about a quarter of a mile to the left. The Jordan enters the sea almost close to the eastern mountains, in proximity to which, in a serpentine course, it keeps, speaking generally, from its junction with the Yarmúk or Hieromax, which flows into it about seven or eight miles below the lake of Tiberias. The quantity of wood on its borders seemed to increase as we approached its mouth. We were exactly an hour and a quarter in reaching the northern end of the Dead Sea, passing over, during the whole of our march, a waste of clay, strongly impregnated with salt and bitumen. We distinctly observed the opening of Wádí Ḥesbán, in the mountains of Moab, running down to the river as we passed along.

Unlike the superstitious pilgrims who dislike to bathe in the Sea of Death, lest they should neutralize the effects of their purification in the Jordan, we stripped and plunged ourselves into its waters as soon as we reached them. We found them quite as buoyant as universal accounts led us to expect; and even one of the Messrs. Vaudrey, who had not ventured before to make the experiment of swimming, found himself able to float upon them like a block of wood. Most of us made an inadvertent potation, as well as a philosophical tasting, of the waters; and salt and acrid indeed we found them to be. A strong wind, blowing from the south, caused a high wave, which was unfavourable to the comfort of our motions; and we could scarcely get as much purchase in the waters as enabled us to propel our bodies along, owing to the comparatively small portion of them which was thus immersed. We saw a small low island before us, which has vanished from all our maps since the publication of Dr. Robinson's great work; but we did not extend our voyage to its shores.[1] On coming out of the sea, we observed that our bodies appeared as if we had been bathing in oil; and our skin had something of a leathery stiffness when dried. Our hair, too, was quite clotted. We secured a supply of the water for chemical analysis and for the gratification of absent friends, many of whom have since been permitted to drink of it to their fullest satisfaction.

[1] Mr. Warburton, whom I had the pleasure of several times meeting in his eastern travels, in his lively and striking sketches, thus speaks of it: "Dr. Robinson, and several other authors, state that there is no island in the whole expanse of the Dead Sea. I do not know how they could receive such an impression, for there, straight before me, at the distance of perhaps a mile, lay an island of about three furlongs in length, very low, and apparently covered with ruins, or at least larger masses of stone than were visible any where in the neighbourhood."—Crescent and the Cross, vol. ii. p. 230. The island I would reckon at about an eighth of a mile in length. The stones upon it seemed to have the appearance, at a distance, of black basalt, or of broken bituminous limestone, much worn by water. Could they be floating masses of bitumen?

The northern extremity of this Sea is not so much in the form of a curve, bending outwards, as in our maps. The colour of it near the shore was a dark bottle-green; but its general surface was of a very dark-blue. The best comparison of it, and the walls of mountain on its sides, is certainly that which likens it to a lake of molten lead in a large caldron. It well merits the name of the Dead Sea, for it has now been satisfactorily ascertained that no creature can inhabit its saline waters. Hasselquist observes that "shell-fish were common on the shore. The Arabs say there are no fish in this sea; however, I doubt the truth of this, as there are shell-fish."[1] We found only a very few shell-fish on the shore; and every one of these I recognised as belonging to fresh-water species. They had doubtless been carried into the sea by the Jordan. Indeed, we had ourselves picked up their congeners,—Clausilia and Pupa principally,—on the banks of the river at the place at which we had rested, as above narrated. The entire want of fishes in the Dead Sea accounts for the absence of such aquatic birds as prey upon fishes. The deleteriousness of its waters prevents the growth, on its margin, of those rushes, reeds, and osiers, amongst which birds of another description might occasionally find a contribution towards their livelihood. There is nothing noxious in the exhalations which rise from its surface, and the assertion that birds are unable to fly over it, is entirely fabulous. Along its shore we found great quantities of drift wood, which had been carried into it by the Jordan. A good deal of it was black as charcoal, and so impregnated with salt and bitumen as to have the appearance of fossil-wood.[2] We found no asphaltum on the shore. It is about the time of

[1] Hasselquist's Voyages and Travels, p. 284.

[2] Mr. Warburton says, that it lights into fire with great facility; but we did not make any experiment upon its powers of ignition.

harvest, according to Hasselquist, that it is principally gathered by the Arabs, being thrown out about that season. Among the cretaceous rocks, by which the sea is bounded at the north-west corner, we found the black bituminous limestone, of which so many trinkets are made at Bethlehem,—specimens of which we took to Europe. Externally, it appeared white, and scarcely distinguishable from the ordinary rock of the desert. On being broken, however, it appeared black as jet. It emits, from friction, a strong sulphurous smell.[1] The slime pits, of which the Vale of Siddim was full, into which the kings of SODOM and GOMORRAH fell, were no other than bituminous pits or wells, as is indicated by the accordance of the Hebrew word חֵמָר *Hemar*, with the Arabic حمّر Hummar, "bitumen." Were more bitumen wanted here than is at present cast up by the sea, it could probably be found by digging near its shores. One can scarcely refer to its abundance in these localities without thinking of the readiness of combustible material for the destruction of the abandoned cities of the plain, which God, "turning into ashes," "condemned with an overthrow, making them an ensample unto those that after should live ungodly."[2] Where these cities stood within the present expanse of the Dead Sea, which doubtless experienced a great extension at their destruction, it is of course impossible exactly to say. The name of Sodom occurs anagrammatically in the Arabic word اسدم *Asdum*, applied to the salt mountain forming the south-west border of the Dead Sea. The Sodom of the Bible must have been at no great distance from ZOAR on the opposite side, for it was "near to flee unto."[3] The ruins

[1] The following remark of Hasselquist, who was a better botanist than mineralogist, is rather obscure and indefinite:—"The slate seen in the mountains has been asphaltes now changed into slate."—Voyages and Travels, p. 234. He probably refers to the bituminous limestone.

[2] 2 Peter ii. 6.

[3] Gen. xix. 20.

of Zoar, it has been supposed, have been found in the Wádí edh-Dherâh, which runs down from Moab behind the commencement of the low promontory forming the peninsula of the Dead Sea, and nearly opposite the northern ford.

In looking along the Dead Sea, we could not see to its termination. We did not even observe anything of the peninsula to which I have now alluded.

Judging from the eye, I should say that the most northern point of the Dead Sea is not above a mile to the south of the high promontory to the west known by the name of the Nabí Músá, to which, by approximation, we assign the latitude of Jerusalem. This agrees with Dr. Robinson's map, making a small allowance for the excess of curvature which I have already noticed. There are no precise data for fixing the southern boundary of the Dead Sea, but on comparing Irby and Mangles's notices of their journey from Hebron to Kerak with those of Dr. Robinson, one can have but little doubt that it is tolerably correctly fixed by the latter, giving altogether a length for the sea of about thirty-nine geographical miles. The general breadth may be about nine or ten such miles.[1] According to the accurate measurements of Lieut. Symonds, R.E., it has been found that the Dead Sea, or Bahr Lût, as it is called by the Arabs, is 1312·2 feet below the level of the Mediterranean![2]

When we had satisfied our curiosity with the "Sea of the Plain," or the 'Arabah,[3] we began to round its north-western termination,—passing several brackish streamlets which run into it,—and to ascend the Nakb Kaneitarah on the south flank of Nabí Músá. This pass is both rugged and precipitous; but it was soon surmounted. The view from the top of it across the Dead Sea, is very extensive; but our Arabs

[1] Compare the measurement of Josephus. See above p. 11.

[2] See raised Map of Palestine.

[3] 2 Kings xiv. 25.

were too anxious to get to Már Sábá with the light, to allow us to dwell on its particular localities. In this pass, and onwards, a good deal of bituminous limestone occurs. We passed several irregular ravines and chasms, branches of the Wádí en-Nár or Ráhib, the continuation of the Kidron; and then we came upon the plateau of the desert rising gradually toward the west. About half-way between the Naḳb and Már Sábá, we passed a body of Arabs, with whom our Tàámarah guides seemed to be on good terms. They were accommodated partly in tents and partly in huts and old houses, about half-way between the pass and Már Sábá.[1] They have considerable flocks of sheep and goats which feed on the tufts of the fescue grass, which were there pretty abundant, though forming nothing of a grassy turf, and on the usual herbs which are scattered over even the most arid parts of this portion of the wilderness. The Arab women made great demands on us for bakshish; and they readily answered the call which we addressed to them for some sour milk, than which nothing is more grateful in this country to the thirsty traveller. As we approached Már Sábá, we found some roads artificially constructed to facilitate the movements of the traveller along the brink of the fearful and wonderful ravine in which that ancient monastery is situated. We got to the end of our march at a quarter to seven o'clock, and the monks, who hailed us from the watch tower of the convent, readily granted us permission to enter it. At our social worship we read the nineteenth chapter of Luke, which referred both to the place from which we had set out in the morning, and the Mount of Olives, which we expected again to see on the following day. The monks looked with interest on us when we were engaged in our devotions. We wished that we could have conducted them in their vernacular language—the modern Greek.

[1] Query—At Mird of Robinson's map?

30th March.—The early part of the day we devoted to a survey of the place in which we were lodged, including both its natural and artificial curiosities. The convent is built on the steep side of a deep and wild ravine, the continuation of the Kidron, and consists of a congeries of erections on different levels, of various forms, and of unequal altitude, the highest of them being a watch-tower and a tower of defence against the Arabs. They are surrounded by a high wall on the north-west side, where alone they are liable to attack. They contain large accommodation for monks and pilgrims, and apartments finely fitted up for travellers, with diwáns and carpets somewhat in the oriental style. Some of the monkish cells are natural, and others of them are artificial. The rocks of the chasm, with their numerous caverns, in which the hermits of old were accommodated, form a kind of Petra in miniature. The most important buildings are a church and several chapels—one of which is considerably larger than the other. They are highly ornamented; and when we saw them they were undergoing repair, so far as the gilding of their fixtures is concerned, at the expense of the Greek convents in Jerusalem, of which this establishment is an offset, and with contributions received from Russia, now the grand support of the Greek monasteries in the Holy Land. They contain numerous handsome lamps and candelabra, principally gifts from abroad. Their pictures are tolerably well executed, though all of them are in what has been called, the hard Grecian style. Many of them are enshrined in silver, with the exception of the countenance, which is exposed to view. Among these were pointed out to us the portrait of St. Sabas himself, who, according to Surius, was born in the year 439,[1] and according

[1] De probatis sanctorum Vitis, sub 5 Dec. The veritable and legendary life of St. Sabas in this work, may be compared with that given by Cyrillus of Scythopolis.—Vid. Eccles. Græc. Monument. Cotelerii, tom. iii. pp. 220, et seq.

to the account we received from the monks, founded the establishment about 1432 years ago. Quaresmius, the monkish topographist, on the authority of Surius, attributes the erection of the tower and church dedicated to the Virgin, to the Emperor Justinian, in whose reign St. Sabas died.[1] The cell of Joannes Damascenus was shown to us; and, if we had chosen, we might have seen those of the monks Cyrillus and Euthymius. The sepulchre of St. Sabas was also pointed out to us; but we were told that his body had been removed to Venice. In a grotto, we were shown a large collection of skulls, said to be the remains of monks who had suffered martyrdom at the hands of the Turks. Quaresmius says, that he was told that no fewer than a thousand were here slaughtered under the Sultán Selim by the orders of Sanjak; but in this there is probably great exaggeration. Carrying back the history of the place, he notices the cruelties inflicted on its inmates by the Persian King, Chosroes, when he took Syria. Forty-four, he says, at that time, suffered death at the hand of the persecutor.[2]

The maintenance of an establishment like this, in a part of the wilderness where there is no culture, except on a very few square yards of artificial soil, must be very expensive as well as wholly useless. Except in its contiguity to an excellent well of water, said by Surius to have been miraculously produced, it has nothing attractive. Provisions for its inmates have to be taken to it from Bethlehem and Jerusalem, particularly the latter place. It is enough to enhance it in the eyes of the monks, that, as Quaresmius says, it is "sterilissimus et solitarius valde."

When we were exploring the rocks in the neighbourhood of the convent, I was delighted to point attention to a fa-

[1] Vid. Quaresm. Elucidat. Ter. Sanct., tom. ii. p. 689.

[2] Quaresm. tom. ii. pp. 689, 690.

mily or two of the *Wubar*, engaged in their gambols on the heights above us. Mr. Smith and I watched them narrowly, and were much amused with the liveliness of their motions, and the quickness of their retreat within the clefts of the rock when they apprehended danger. We were, we believe, the first European travellers who actually noticed this animal, now universally admitted to be the Shaphan, or Coney of Scripture, within the proper bounds of the Holy Land; and we were not a little gratified by its discovery.[1] We were unable at this time to procure a specimen; but our Arabs told us that early in the morning the animals could easily be hit. On a second visit to Már Sábá on the 21st of May, along with the Rev. Ridley H. Herschell, John Fuller Maitland, Esq., and the Rev. William Graham, I directed attention to this fact. The result I give in the words of Mr. Herschell, in his interesting little volume of Travels. "Dr. Wilson had perceived among the rocks a small animal, which he thought was the coney of Scripture. M. promised to endeavour to get one for him, which, by the help of the Bedouins, he succeeded in doing. We climbed up to see its nest, which was a hole in the rock, comfortably lined with moss and feathers, answering to the description given of the coney in Psalm civ. 18, and Prov. xxx. 26."[2] The specimen thus obtained when stuffed, I have had an opportunity of examining in England. The glyphograph here inserted is

[1] Schubert who, with his companion Dr. Roth, paid great attention to the natural history of the Holy Land during his travels, published in 1839, says, "Vom Wower oder *Hyrax Syriacus* Konnten wir in Palastina und Syrien, nach welchem er doch genannnt ist, keine Spuren entdecken,"—Reise in das Morgenlande, Dritt. Band, p. 119. Dr. Kitto, the editor of the Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature, says, quite in conformity with this, "Of the Waber or *Hyrax Syriacus*, to which in Arabia Petræa so much attention has lately been drawn, no trace has been found in Palestine or Syria, although it has been named from the latter country."—Vol. ii. p. 464.

[2] Herschell's Visit to my Fatherland, p. 197.

an exact representation of it, and, as far as I can judge, in the natural attitude. The preparer of the skin mistook it for a rabbit, though it is of a stronger build, and of a duskier colour, being of a dark brown. It is entirely destitute of a tail, and has some bristles at its mouth, over its head, and down its back, along the course of which there are traces of light and dark shade. In its short ears, small, black, and naked feet, and pointed snout, it resembles the hedgehog.

The Hyrax Syriacus, or Coney of Scripture.

It does not, however, belong to the insectivora, but, though somewhat anomalous, it is allied to the pachydermata, among which it is now classed by naturalists. Laborde, who procured specimens of the animal in Arabia Petræa, gives a drawing illustrative of its dental system,[1] which seems to agree with the following note by Colonel Hamilton Smith, which, so far as I have noticed, is correct. "In the upper jaw it has no incisors, but two rather pointed tusks directed downwards, with an open space between them; in the lower are four short, separated, rounded incisors, pointing obliquely

[1] The English translator of Laborde, as already mentioned, overlooking the figure given by the traveller, absurdly renders the wubar by *gazelle*.

forward; there are six molars on each side, above and below, the upper round on the surface, somewhat resembling the human back teeth, and the lower more narrow, but neither composed of alternate laminæ of bony and enamel substance, as in ruminants; nor is the jaw-bone articulated so as to admit freely of a similar action." The same writer remarks, that "the internal structure, as well as the whole osteology represents that of a rhinoceros in miniature, and has no appearance of the complicated fourfold stomachs of ruminants; therefore the hyrax is neither a rodent, like hares and rabbits, nor a ruminant."[1] In Leviticus,[2] the Shaphan is said to "chew the cud," but this must be from the peculiar action of its jaws in eating, in the popular sense in which the hare is said to chew the cud, from the use which it makes of its nippers when eating. So much does the action of the mouth of the hyrax resemble that of the true ruminants, that Bruce who found the animal in Abyssinia, and who clearly identified it as the Shaphan of Scripture, says that it "certainly chews the cud." "To discover this," he adds, "was my principal reason for keeping him alive."[3] Yet he inadvertently says, "When in my possession he ate bread and milk, and seemed rather to be a moderate than a voracious feeder. I suppose he lives upon grain, fruit, and roots." Comparing the figure of the hyrax which we observed, and which was drawn directly from the animal for Mr. Palmer's electrical process, with those which have been formerly delineated, some little variations will be seen which are worthy of notice. The upper lip does not protrude so far over the lower, as in the representation of Bruce. The eye is remarkably small. The ear is somewhat tipped; while those elsewhere given are generally round, as is the case in the va-

[1] Encyclop. of Bib. Literature, article Shaphan.

[2] Leviticus xi. 5.

[3] Appendix to Bruce's Travels.

riety of the animal found in Arabia Petræa and Abyssinia. The drawing accompanying the description of that accomplished naturalist, Colonel Hamilton Smith, in the Encyclopædia of Biblical Literature,[1] like that of Bruce, is somewhat of a caricature, as far as the general form of the body, and the feet are concerned. The hard foot of the animal has three toes, resting in a soft, fleshy substance, but with horny nails, the middle one being the longest. In the fore-foot, which is also soft and fleshy, there are four toes, the fourth being contracted, but having compensation in its greater length of nail. The animal is evidently not designed for burrowing, or catching prey, or defending itself by resistance against its enemies; and hence its feebleness, and the value to it of that instinct by which it is guided. "There be four things," says Solomon, "which are little upon the earth, but they are *exceeding wise*. . . . The Shaphans are but a feeble folk, yet make they their houses in the rock."[2] "The high hills," says the Psalmist, "are a refuge for the ibexes, and the rocks for the Shaphans."[3] It is remarkable that Europeans should have been so long of identifying the Shaphan with the Wubar, for the Arabic version of Rabbi Saadi Gaon, used in our polyglotts, has thus rendered it.[4] It is translated Wubar also in the propaganda Arabic version. Dr. Shaw, who found the animal in Lebanon, gives it the name of "Daman Israel," or "Israel's Lamb,"[5] as he renders it, evidently mistaking it for Ghanam غنم Isráyíl, or Israel's sheep.

I regret that when we were at Már Sábá, we made no inquiry about the library of the convent. We were not aware, that not many years ago it seems to have been of considerable importance. "They (the monks) have a good

[1] Encyc. Bib. Lit. vol. ii. p. 741.
[2] Prov. xxx. 24, 26.
[3] Psalm civ. 18.
[4] الوبر *el-Wubar*. Lev. xi. 5.
[5] Shaw's Travels, p. 376.

library of printed books and manuscripts, especially of the latter," says a traveller, whose interesting notes are scarcely known, "some of which were written in the fourth, fifth sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries, and some of later date, which contain the biography of many hermits and ancient fathers of the Church, together with their works; especially of St. John Damascenus, who ended his life there. They are written, some on lamb skins, and some on Pergamine leather, in the ancient Greek characters. . . . I used to go very often, and stay a week for the sake of the manuscripts, and enjoy the romantic situation."[1] About the fate of this library, it might be well to make some inquiry. The success of Dr. Tattam in procuring the most valuable and curious remains of Christian authorship in the monasteries of Egypt, may well encourage travellers to make search for similar treasures in the other countries of the East.[2]

In going from Már Sábá to Jerusalem, we kept as much as possible on the brink, and sometimes in the body, of the ravine. It is deep, romantic, and desolate throughout, and being that which leads from behind the site of the temple at Jerusalem to the Dead Sea, one cannot resist the conclusion that it was the locality before the eye of the prophet Ezekiel, when he describes the vision of the holy waters, as with increasing strength, and depth, and fructifying power, they "issue out toward the east country, and go down into the desert, and go into the sea: which being brought forth into the sea, the waters shall be healed."[3] About midway it divides into two branches, leaving a sort of chalky island between them; but it again meets in about a quarter of an hour's travel.

[1] A Series of Letters addressed to Sir William Fordyce, M.D., by S. L[usignan]. Lond. 1788, vol. ii. pp. 164-166.

[2] See Quarterly Review, December 1845.

[3] Ezek. xlvii. 8.

On the southern flank of the Mount of Offence, Jerusalem when it first appears in sight, seated like a citadel above the rugged and precipitous defiles of Jehoshaphat and Ben Hinnom, presents an extremely striking picture, the front view from the Mount of Olives, which is so often noticed and admired, being more a plan than a picture.

From this place, we descended into the bed of the Kidron. Passing the king's gardens, which I have already noticed, we could not but contrast their fertility and beauty with the barren scenes which had been before us for the last three days. Their trees and kitchen vegetables are of the finest quality. Among the latter, we noticed the artichoke (Cinara scolymus) thriving most luxuriantly. "Jerusalem artichokes at Jerusalem itself, how interesting!" exclaimed one of our party. It is scarcely necessary to remark, that both his botany and etymology were here alike at fault. The "Jerusalem artichoke," a kind of sun-flower, (Helianthus tuberosus,) was not before us. The name "Jerusalem" applied to this plant, is a corruption of *gira sole*, "turning to the sun."

Once more our feet stood within the gates of the Holy City. We met with a most cordial welcome from our kind host, Abu Habíb, the "Father of the Beloved," who devoutly ascribed our safe return to the kind protection of God. The forms of congratulation in the east, as far as expression is concerned, are marked by patriarchal simplicity and piety; but alas! they are too often nothing more than mere forms,—nay, worse, the breathings of profanity addressed to God, and of fulsome adulation addressed to man.

Nazareth.

CHAPTER XV.

FROM JERUSALEM TO TIBERIAS.

We had intended to leave Jerusalem on the 4th of April. A heavy fall of rain, however—the only one which we had experienced since we had left Hebron—prevented us from commencing our journey northward. We contented ourselves with dismissing some of our servants in advance, that they might have breakfast ready for us at el-Bírah, on the way to Nábulus, on our coming up next morning.

We made arrangements for the conveyance of ourselves and luggage to Beirút, by any route which circumstances might lead us to choose, with a party of Armenians from Diárbekr, who had brought up some of their countrymen and co-religionists to the Easter holidays, and who were anxious

to procure for themselves some secular employment when their friends were busy at Jerusalem in the celebration of the feast and the pursuits of the pilgrimage. Though they were respectable looking persons, we afterwards found that they were remarkably ignorant. Not a single one of them could read in any language; and we learned that the state of education among the Armenian peasantry, in the districts to which they belong, and also in Asia Minor, is remarkably low. We felt a peculiar regard to them, however, from the name which they bore; and we were glad once more to be served by "Christians."

Wednesday, 5th April.—We left Jerusalem this morning at six o'clock, emerging from the city at the Damascus Gate; and proceeded, in the first instance, along the road which leads to the north through the fields and gardens which we have more than once had occasion to notice, and which occupy the site of that part of the city which was formerly enclosed by the third wall, or that of Agrippa. Then, crossing the northern line of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, near the Tombs of the Kings, we began to ascend, by a much worn and rugged pathway, the hill of Scopus. On its summits, we made a pause to look back upon the city, which, from this commanding eminence, was first beheld by the warlike host of Titus, of "the nation of fierce countenance," destined to besiege and distress it in all its gates,[1] and ultimately to effect its overthrow, preparatory to its being trodden down of the Gentiles, during the weary ages of its dire affliction. Though the scene before us did not present even the shadow of the olden Jerusalem, with its "high and fenced walls," and glorious palaces and temple, and stirring and joyous people, it aided us in our conceptions of its former grandeur and magnificence. Though its natural features, owing to the

[1] Deut. xxviii. 50-52.

neglect of cultivation and providential changes, are those of a sered and grieved widowhood, they still reminded us of its beauty and freshness, before desolation and decay had begun to make their appearance. Mr. Smith was, if possible, more affected than myself by the view, as he considered that he was looking upon it for the last time, while I had the expectation of returning to the locality within a few weeks. Associating with the natural daughter of Zion, that Church of which she was the type, the prayer of each of us was, "Peace be within thy walls, and prosperity within thy palaces. For my brethren and companions' sakes, I will now say, Peace be within thee. Because of the house of the Lord our God, I will seek thy good"[1]

On the summit of Scopus, we met Dr. Schulze, the Prussian consul, accompanied by his janissary. He had been giving the convoy to the Austrian consul-general, who had got the start of us in the morning, on his return from a visit to Jerusalem to Beirút, his head-quarters. The Doctor politely turned back with us, and accompanied us for about a mile, till we were opposite Sháfát, a small village, with some old ruins, lying a few hundred yards to our left. About half a mile farther on, we passed to the right the Teleil el-Fúl, the "Hillock of Beans," with the ruin of some watch-tower upon it. It is nearly due west of Anátá, or ANATHOTH, which we had seen from the Mount of Olives, at a distance of about a mile and a half. Nabí Samwíl, the traditionary burying-place of the prophet Samuel, but more probably the MIZPEH of Benjamin, on a still more conspicuous height, at rather more than a couple of miles in the opposite direction, was here seen by us, as from many other points.[2] In-

[1] Psalm cxxii. 7, 9.

[2] The following passage from Dr. Robinson, respecting this site is very important, and to my mind, quite satisfactory. "The tradition, that here is the tomb of the prophet Samuel, necessarily includes the supposition, that this spot is the Ramah or Ramathaim-zophim of the Old Testament, the birth-place, residence,

termediate between Nabí Samwíl and the Nábulus road, is another small village, not noticed by us, called Beit Hanínah, which gives name to a well-marked Wádí, the counter-

and burial-place of that prophet. That this was a different city from the Ramah near Gibeah of Saul (now er-Râm) on the east of the Nâbulus road, is obvious; for the latter is only half an hour from Gibeah, Saul's residence; and its situation does not at all accord with the circumstances of his first visit to Samuel, when in search of his father's asses, nor with David's subsequent flight to Samuel for refuge. But the same difficulties lie with almost equal force against the supposition, that the present Neby Samwîl can be the Ramah of the prophet. As such, it could not well have been unknown to Saul; since, as being the highest point in the country, and not more than an hour and a half, or two hours distant from his native place, it must have been before his eyes, if not in Gibeah itself, yet whenever he went out into the adjacent fields.

"But there are still greater difficulties. There can be little doubt, that the visit of Saul to Samuel above alluded to, took place in Ramah, where the prophet entertained him in his own house. At his departure in order to return to Gibeah, the prophet anoints him as king, and describes his way home as leading him 'by Rachel's sepulchre, in the border of Benjamin.' . . . . Every step taken from Neby Samwîl towards the sepulchre of Rachel, only carries a person away from Gibeah. . . . .

"The true site of the Ramah of Samuel, seems to have been early forgotten; since both Eusebius and Jerome place it, with still less probability, in the plain near Diospolis or Lydda. Yet the present tradition as to the prophet's tomb, must have sprung up not long after their day; for apparently Procopius alludes to this spot, when he relates that Justinian caused a well and a wall to be constructed for (the monastery of) St. Samuel in Palestine. . . .

"Among the scriptural names after which we made diligent search in this region, (though without success,) was that of Mizpeh, a city of Benjamin, renowned in the Old Testament; where the tribes often assembled; where Samuel offered sacrifice and judged the people; where Saul was chosen king by lot; and where, under the Chaldeans, Gedaliah the governor resided and was assassinated. The position of this city is nowhere described, neither in the Old Testament nor by Josephus; and we only know that it must have lain near Ramah of Benjamin; since King Asa fortified it with materials brought from the latter place. The name, too, which signifies 'a place of look-out, watch-tower,' implies that it was situated on an elevated spot.

"There are two such high points, which in these respects might correspond to the site of Mizpeh. One is Tell el-Fûl, (Beanhill,) lying about an hour south of er-Râm, (Ramah,) towards Jerusalem. This we afterwards visited. It is high, and overlooks the eastern slope of the mountains, and has upon it the remains of a large square tower; but there are here no traces of any former city, either upon or around the hill. The other point is Neby Samwîl, which, though somewhat farther distant from

part of that of Jehoshaphat, and running in the opposite direction, and communicating with the Mediterranean.

Continuing nearly straight north, we came to a place called the Kharáib er-Rám, or "Ruins of RAMAH," the name of which Lord Lindsay emphatically says, he heard "like the crack of a pistol." At this place there are only a few ruined arches, and some heaps of stone, which, as conjectured by Dr. Robinson, have probably belonged to some khán. On an adjoining height, lying directly E.N.E. at the distance of a quarter of an hour, is an ancient site, marked by ruins,—including hewn stones, fragments of pillars, and a small village, or rather collection of Arab huts,—bearing the name of Rámah, which has been recognised as the RAMAH of Benjamin. To this place we did not diverge on this occasion, but I went to it, after my second visit to Jerusalem. It presents an extensive view, embracing at least four sites mentioned in Scripture, namely, ANATHOTH and MISPEH already noticed, GIBEON, now called el-Jíb, lying to the west, and MICHMASH, now Makhmás, lying to the north-east. Jebá, or GIBEAH, too, lies about a mile and a half to the east of Rámah, but it is not visible from the village.[1]

er-Râm, is a higher and more important station than the other. On these grounds, as well as from the traces of an ancient town upon it, I am inclined to regard Neby Samwîl as the probable site of Mizpeh. And further, the writer of the first book of Maccabees describes Mizpeh as situated 'over against Jerusalem,' implying that it was visible from that city; a description which is true of Neby Samwîl, but not as to Tell el-Fûl. Eusebius, also, and Jerome describe Mizpeh as lying near to Kirjath-Jearim, which must have been on the west of Gibeon, perhaps at Kuryet el-'Enab; and this, too, points at Neby Samwîl rather than to the other hill."—Rob. Bib. Res. vol. ii. pp. 141-144.

[1] Jeba "lies upon a low conical, or rather a round eminence, on the broad ridge which shelves down, like all the rest, towards the Jordan valley, and spreads out below the village into a fine sloping plain, with fields of grain. . . . The village of Jeba is small, and is half in ruins. Among these are occasionally seen large hewn stones, indicating antiquity. There is here the ruin of a square tower, almost solid; and a small building, having the appearance of an ancient church."—Bib. Res. vol. ii. p. 113.

Two miles in advance of the Kharáib er-Rám, proceeding on our journey to the north, we came to a hill, on the top of which are the ruins of Aṭárah, corresponding with the Hebrew ATAROTH, a name given to several places in the sacred Scriptures, but probably not here applied to any there specifically mentioned. We did not ascend to it for its examination. Kafr Aḳab, a small village, lay to our right. About a mile and a half in advance to the north, we came to el-Bírah, long since identified as the BEEROTH mentioned in Scripture among the towns of Benjamin,[1] and supposed by the monks to be the place where Joseph and Mary discovered that the youthful Jesus had tarried behind them, when he reasoned with the doctors in the temple. A well, with a copious and clear spring, close upon the road—where we found the Arab maids and matrons watering their flocks and herds—is supposed to have given the name to the town in the remotest antiquity. The present village lies a little to the N.E. of the well. Its population consists wholly of Muhammadans; but the remains of a Church of Saracenic architecture show that the Crusaders had at one time established themselves at this place. We found our breakfast ready for us in a ruined khán; and we were quite prepared for it after our ride from Jerusalem, over a rough, broken, and slippery road. The smiling fields contiguous to the village, with their thriving crops of grain, and luxuriant olive and fig-trees, advantageously contrasted with its confusion, dilapidation, and filth, and with the bare country lying between it and Jerusalem.

We did not diverge from el-Bírah to examine the ruins of Beitín, or BETHEL, which I had an opportunity of seeing on my second visit to this part of the country. We were again upon the direct road to Nábulus at half-past ten o'clock. When we were a little way in advance, we came upon a few

[1] Josh. ix. 17; xviii. 25; 2 Sam. iv. 2; Ezra ii. 25; Neh. vii. 29.

patches of Roman pavement. I do not know whether or not they belong to the ancient road referred to by Dr. Robinson, which led between Jerusalem and Gofna, now Jufná, which we observed on a height to the left, about an hour and a half after we had set out from Beeroth. Dr. Robinson, who has the credit of being the first in modern times to direct attention to the site of Gofna, suggests the idea that the name may come from the OPHNI of Benjamin, Josh. xviii. 24. Ophni, it would appear from the villages in connexion with which it is mentioned in Joshua, was in this direction. In the course of the day, we scarcely ever diverged from the main path, though we halted now and then for a little, to look at the different villages which came in our way, or were conspicuous on the heights at a little distance from the road. In the neighbourhood of some of them there is a good deal of culture. Yebrúd is one of the most considerable of them. Two or three of them are mentioned in Scripture.

We noticed Jibiá, called "Geeb" by Maundrell,[1] to the left of our road. Referring to this village, which is in Dr. Robinson's lists, though he does not appear to have noticed it, he says, "Eusebius and Jerome speak of a Geba, five Roman miles from Gofná towards Neapolis, which is probably the same; but they err in connecting it with the Gebim of Isaiah x. 31. It might rather be the Gibeah of Phinehas in Mount Ephraim."[2] I am much inclined to doubt the correctness of the latter opinion; for Mount Ephraim, in which Eleazar was buried, would appear from the passage in which Gibeah (or the hill) is referred to in Joshua,[3] and also from the traditions of the Jews and Samaritans, to have been near to Shechem.[4] Jibiá I consider to be the GABA of

[1] Under March 25.

[2] Bib. Res. vol. iii. p. 81.

[3] Joshua xxiv. 33.

[4] Though "Mount Ephraim," or the "range of Ephraim," extended to the south to the very borders of the kingdom of Judah, (2 Chron. xix. 4,) it extended, also, to the north, to the hill of Shechem, (1 Kings xii. 25, &c.)

Benjamin, mentioned along with Chephar-haammonai and Ophni.[1] *This Gaba*, it will be observed by looking at the place where it is mentioned in Joshua, was connected with the *Bethel* cluster of towns, and not with that of *Beeroth*, further south. We must look for it, then, to the north of Beeroth. It would appear, from the erection of the golden calf at Bethel by Jeroboam, that part of the tribe of Benjamin was lost to the government of Judah; and consequently, the Jibà to which I have incidentally referred as lying a little to the east of er-Rámah, was not the *Gaba* of Joshua xviii. 24 as Gesenius supposes,[2] though it was probably the *Geba* which was at the extremity of the kingdom of Judah, and to which the reference is made in 2 Kings xxiii. 8, where the phrase from "Geba to Beersheba" occurs.[3]

Coming over the hill upon Khán Lebbán, we were close upon the village Lebbán, from which it derives its name, and which has long been identified as the LEBONAH of Scripture. Had our time permitted us, we should here have made a detour to Seilún, or SHILOH. I had an opportunity of examining the ruins at this site during my second visit to these parts.

From Khán Lebbán, there is a considerable opening in the mountains along the Nábulus road, and fruitful and beautiful valleys lie to the right hand. The hills about Nábulus, which close this opening to the north, have rather an imposing effect. The whole aspect of the country appeared much more fertile in grain than further to the south.

Darkness gaining upon us, we found that we should not get to Nábulus this evening as we had intended when we left Jerusalem in the morning. At seven o'clock we were opposite Hawárah, a village of about fifty or sixty mean houses, inhabited by agricultural Arabs; and though it appeared by

[1] Joshua xviii. 24.

[2] See his Lexicon sub voc.

[3] See also Zech. xiv. 10. "All the land shall be turned as a plain, from Geba to Rimmon."

no means an inviting place, we resolved to endeavour to find accommodation in it for the night. We entered a sort of khán, used as a mosk by the villagers ; and there we spread our mats, hoping that we should be permitted to rest in peace. We were no sooner disposed of for the night, as we thought, than the whole population of the place, men, women, and children, moved by curiosity and cupidity, came in upon us, to overhaul our persons and luggage. It was in vain that we desired them to betake themselves to their slumbers. The place in which they were was *their* property, and they gave us to understand that we could occupy it only with the enjoyment of their company. They would neither be quiet within, nor go without. Hoping to impose some restraint upon them, which might make it agreeable to them to retire, we got hold of Josephus, and commenced reading him in a very formal manner. Whenever they interrupted us, we exclaimed, "Silence, silence." The expedient succeeded to a good extent; but a dozen of fellows remained with us till midnight, determined, as it appeared, to practise upon us either robbery or extortion. They became so insufferably insolent, that a Muhammadan traveller, who had been sitting quietly in the corner, began to scold them furiously in the Persian tongue, of which they were ignorant. He was much surprised to find that we understood what he said ; and probably thinking that we had some connexion with his country, he protested that he would defend us to the very last. The volley of abuse which he gave them drove them away ; and we were permitted quietly to surrender ourselves to the voracious assaults of a less bulky and blustering, but scarcely less annoying, class of enemies, which made us their prey during the whole night.

6th April.—We rose this morning at daybreak, and took a walk round the village. It is seated on the side of a hill rising to the left. We were delighted to find ourselves on the borders

of a most lovely and finely-situated valley, stretching to the north, and expanding, by the retirement of the hills, to the north-east. This was none other than the el-Makhnah, a southern prolongation of the valley of Moreh, before Shechem. It was most delightful to us as a scene, and most interesting in its associations. Our first movement from the door of the mosk, was the signal for the villagers renewing their vociferous attacks. They actually made a demand upon us, without precedent or postcedent in our journey, for payment of the *water* which we took from their well; and in various ways they forced upon us their disagreeable and unneeded services. In order to get rid of them, we started on foot for Nábulus as soon as we got our luggage adjusted, leaving our servants and muleteers to extricate themselves from their clutches as best they could. The Musalmán traveller, who had befriended us so much on the preceding evening, became our companion by the way. We had a long conversation with him in the Persian language. He proved to be a pilgrim from Kábul, and for some time a servant of Dost Muḥammad Khán. He gave us a very distinct account of his peregrinations, about which we made particular inquiry, as we were anxious to ascertain the exact route which he had followed. Starting from Kábul, he had proceeded to Ḳandahár. He had then come through the Bolan pass to the Indus, from which he passed over to Meskat on the shores of Arabia. After visiting two or three places in the Persian Gulf, he went up the Tigris to Baṣrah and Baghdád. From the latter place he went straight south to the ruins of Babylon, where he crossed the Euphrates on his way to Meshed Alí, the tomb of the martyr Alí. From this celebrated place of Muhammadan pilgrimage, he went north to that contiguous to it, Kerbelah, or Meshed Ḥusein. After paying his devotions at this famous shrine, he returned to Baghdád. From the "City of the Khalífs," he went north to Kerḳuk, the ancient

Corcyra. Mosúl, Merdín, Diárbekr, Urfá, Aintáb, and Háleb, were subsequent stages of his journey to the north of Syria. From Aleppo he travelled to Damascus, and from Damascus to el-Kuds Sharíf. From Jerusalem he went to Yáffá, or Joppa, where he embarked for Damietta. Cairo and Suez next occurred on his route. From the latter place he sailed to Jeddah, from which he visited Makkah and Medínah, the holy cities of Arabia, and the goal of his pilgrimage. Returning to Jeddah, he crossed over to Kusseir, from which he struck across the desert to the banks of the Nile, down which he sailed to Dhamíat. Yáffá and Jerusalem had a second time fallen in his way; and he was now retracing his steps to Damascus. Like most Muhammadan pilgrims whom I have met in the East, he had become quite sick of travel. He had suffered much, he said, from hunger, cold, and thirst; and he had no consolation afforded to him but in the hope of reward in the world which is to come. He had heard nothing of the result of the Affghan war, nor did he seem to care about its issue.

Our journey onwards was the most pleasant which we had hitherto enjoyed within the bounds of the Holy Land. We kept on the road which lies a little above the lovely and highly cultivated valley on the flank of the hills. Another road lies below it, passing through the valley itself. On the hills bounding the Makhnah, we observed several villages, the bearings of some of which we afterwards took from the summits of Mount Gerizim.* Baulín and Kafr Kallín, both mentioned by Dr. Robinson, were on our western side. At the latter place we halted for a few minutes, and we passed down from it to the lower road now referred to, that we might have a better view of Mount Gerizim, at the eastern base of which we now were. We were reluctantly obliged to pass through a field of barley, but the people, who observed us, did not give us any trouble on this account.

Near the entrance of the valley of Nábulus, which passes out of the Makhnah to the west, we came upon JACOB'S WELL; but as we wished to examine it afterwards at leisure, we did not linger at its entrance. JOSEPH'S TOMB, marked by a Wali, or small mosk, lay to our right, intermediate between Gerizim and Mount Ebal. The latter mountain appeared very steep in its flanks, and much covered, wherever the soil remained, with the cactus Indicus.

Nábulus,[1] or SHECHEM, was now in sight. We reached it in about half-an-hour after we left the Makhnah. Embosomed in the mountains, with its rich and well-watered fields and orchards, and gardens of flowering and fruit-trees, it fully sustained the conceptions which we had previously formed of its beauty and loveliness. The Jew Mordecai, who had hitherto been much disappointed with the land of his fathers, and who was always contrasting its naked asperities with the grandeur and fertility of Western India, was forced to admit that this part of the country, at least, seemed to flow with milk and honey.

Nábulus lies principally along the eastern base of Gerizim. We were impatient to enter it from our desire to find out the remnant of its oldest inhabitants, the Samaritans, with whom, if possible, we were anxious to take up our abode, that we might learn as much as possible from them of their creed and condition. We asked for them at the gate first by the name of *Samaritáni*; but by this cognomen they were unknown by the Arabs, to whom we addressed our inquiry. That of the Hebrew *Shomeronim* was equally unintelligible. As soon as I stumbled upon the *Sámarah*, several voices exclaimed, Yes, the Sámarah! We shall soon show you where they

[1] The Arabic نابلس *Nábulus* is a corruption of the Greek Νεάπολις. See about the origin of this name, and its occurrence on the ancient coins of the city in Relandi Palestin., p. 1004, et seq.

live.[1] A young man politely volunteered to be our guide to their abodes. Conducting us through the bázár, he directed our attention to a venerable native trudging along, and dis-

[1] The following observations by the learned Baron de Sacy, explain the meaning which the Samaritans attach to the name which they bear. "On peut demander d'où vient le nom de Samaritains, et quelle est la signification de ce nom. Une telle question paroîtra peut-être superflue au plus grand nombre des lecteurs, qui, sans l'avoir jamais examinée, s'imaginent qu'il n'y a aucun doute que le nom de *Samaritains* ne signifie les *habitans de Samarie*, et ne vienne de celui de cette ville. Cette étymologie, toute naturelle qu'elle paroît, n'est cependant point sans difficulté, et elle n'est admise ni par les anciens pères de l'église, ni par les Samaritains. Les unes et les autres dérivent ce nom de שומר *schomer*, au pluriel שומרים *schomerim*, participe du verbe שמר *schamar*, *garder*. S. Epiphane ne fait aucune difficulté, d'interpréter le nom de *Samaritains* par le mot grec, *φύλακες*, et dit que 'les Samaritains furent appelés ainsi, parce qu'ils avoient été établis dans ce pays pour le garder, ou parce qu'ils étoient les gardiens des lois de Moïse.' *Ἐμπνέονται Σαμαρεῖται φύλακες, διὰ τὸ ἐν τάξει φυλάκων τετάχθαι ἐν τῇ γῇ, ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ φύλακας αὐτοὺς εἶναι τῆς κατὰ τὸν νόμον Μωσέως διατάξεως.*

"Eusèbe ou S. Jerome son traducteur, suit la meme interpretation, et paroît adopter pour motif de cette dénomination, la seconde des raisons proposées par S. Epiphane. *Rex Chaldæorum*, dit il, *ad custodiendam regionem judæam accolas misit Assyrios qui emulatores legis judææ facti, Samaritæ nuncupati sunt, quod latinâ linguâ exprimitur custodes.* Le même père, en plusieurs endroits de ses ouvrages, fait allusion à cette signification du nom des Samaritains. Il me paroît vraisemblable que les pères que j'ai cités avoient emprunté cette opinion des Samaritains eux-mêmes, qui encore aujourd'hui n'en ont point d'autre, comme nous le voyons par leurs lettres à leurs frères supposés d'Angleterre, où ils expriment ainsi: 'Nous vous assurons maintenant, nos frères les enfans d'Israel, que nous sommes attachés à la loi de Moïse le prophète en vérité, et que nous gardons la loi sainte, et que nous sommes appelés GARDIENS.' Ce qu'il y a de certain, c'est qu'une pareille interprétation ne peut venir des Juifs. Outre que ceux-ci, ennemis déclarés des Samaritains, étoient bien éloignés de les considérer comme les gardiens de la loi de Moïse, c'est qu'ils ne les ont jamais désignés en leur langue que sous le nom de *Cathéens*, nom qui appartenoit primitivement à l'une des nations desquelles avoient été pris les colons que le roi d'Assyrie avoit envoyés dans le royaume des dix tribus. On doit croire que les Cathéens avoient fourni le plus grand nombre de ces colons, et que par cette raison leur nom devint commun à tous ces étrangers, et même au reste de la population ancienne avec laquelle ils s'incorporèrent. Josèphe nous assure positivement que *Σαμαρεῖται* est le nom grec de ceux que les Juifs appellent *Χουθαῖοι*, et encore aujourd'hui les Juifs les nomment כותיים *Couthiim*. D'ailleurs le nom de Samarie étant en hébreu שמרון

tinguished by a white turban and nearly as white a beard, whom he introduced to us as their priest. This proved to be the very person of whom we were in search. "I am, indeed," he said, after receiving our salutations, "the priest of the Samaritans, Salámah Ibn Tobíah, the veritable correspondent of the learned Frenchman, the Baron de Sacy; whence do you come?" "From Hind, from Bombay!" "Have you brought a letter from the Samaritans there?" "I have brought," I said in reply, "a communication from the Bene-Israel of Bombay, whom you suppose to be Samaritans." "This," cried he, "is what we have long wanted. Come along to my dwelling." Leading the way through the narrow streets, he conducted us to a small conglomeration of houses on the north-western part of the town, and close on the gardens lying along the base of Gerizim; and after passing through a darkish vault, we ascended a staircase, which led to his residence directly over the synagogue. "This is your own house," were the simple terms in which he welcomed us

Schomeron, si ce nom eût été l'origine immédiate de celui des Samaritains, on auroit dit שמרנים *Schomeronim*, et non pas שמרים *Schomerim*. Ce dernier mot ne se trouve nulle part dans le texte hébreu de la Bible. Le mot שמרנים *Schomeronim* régulièrement formé de שמרון *Schomeron*, se rencontre en un seul endroit, et il signifie les habitans de la ville de Samarie, avant la destruction du royaume des dix tribus par le roi d'Assyrie. Si l'on trouve dans la vulgate *frequentia Samaritanorum*, cela n'est pas exactement conforme au texte, qui porte חיל שמרון *turba Samariae*. Il faut donc reconnoître que ce sont les Grecs qui ont donné à ceux que les Juifs appelloient *Cathéens*, le nom de Samaritains, dérivé de celui de Samarie; qu'il a dû être en usage avant l'époque où Samarie commença à porter le nom de *Sébaste*, ou même celui de *ville de Gabinius*, πόλις Γαβινίων ou Γαβινίου; enfin, que ce nom, inventé par les Grecs, ayant été connu des Samaritains, ils ont cherché à lui donner une signification honorable pour eux: ce qui étoit d'autant plus naturel, que les formes du langage qu'ils parloient, ne leur permettoient pas de dériver le mot *Samaritains* שמרים, du nom de la ville de *Samarie* שמרון." Correspondance des Samaritains de Naplouse.—Notices et extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi. Tome douziéme, pp. 4-6.—Yet, we cannot doubt that their name is really from the district of Samaria, which they have so long inhabited.

to its hospitalities. When we told him that we had lodged with the people of Hawárah during the preceding night, he began to curse them, and declared that they were fit for every evil deed, being known throughout the country as "sellers of water."

Our host was much disappointed to find that we had strong doubts about the propriety of ranking the Bene-Israel of Bombay among the Samaritans. That we might make no mistake in forming a judgment of them, he would repeat, he said, the articles of the Samaritan creed, which he did in the following terms:—

1. اللهُ وَاحِدٌ—Allah Wáḥid—God is one.

2. مُوسَى نَبِيُّهُ—Músá Nabíyah—Moses is the prophet.

3. التَّوْرَاةُ هِيَ الْكِتَابُ—Et-Torâh hí el-Kutáb—The Law is the book.

4. كَرِيزِيمُ الْقِبْلَةُ—Karízím el-Ḳiblah—Gerizim is the Ḳiblah.

5. يَكُونُ يَوْمُ الْقِيَامَةِ وَالدِّينُونَةِ—Yakún yom el-ḳeiámat wa ed-deinúnat—There will be a day of resurrection and judgment.

He also repeated some Arabic verses, in which this creed was given at greater length, but without any addition to its substantial meaning. When we said that the Bene-Israel do not view Gerizim as a Ḳiblah, he said, "Then, most assuredly they are not Samaritans." This concession, however, he made only to ourselves. To some of the members of his flock, who had begun to collect around us, he said, "These gentlemen have brought me tidings of the *Samaritans of Bombay.*"

We felt much interested in the avowal of the doctrine of the resurrection by the Samaritans. When I asked the

priest, on what passage of the Law he founded this important tenet, he quoted the verse, "See now that I, even I, am he, and there is no god with me: I kill, and I make alive,"[1] with a great air of confidence in the correctness of his interpretation, and asked us, "Do you think that men are to remain in their graves after they are made alive again?" In answer to a question which we afterwards put to him, he supplemented his creed, by declaring his belief in the existence of Satan, as a malignant and injurious spirit having access to the souls of men, to tempt and allure. When we asked him to point out the authority in the Pentateuch, the standard of his faith, for this doctrine, he said, "The Náḥásh which addressed Eve was evidently more than a serpent. It was Satan who spoke within that animal." "True," we said, "but have you no more direct proof for the personality of Satan in the books of Moses?" "Verily, we have," he replied with great emphasis, "look at these texts, 'Certain men, the children of Belial, are gone out from among you;'[2] 'Beware that there be not a thought in thy heart of Belial.'"[3] We could not but be much struck with his application of these passages of holy writ. With all due deference to Gesenius and others, I am more than inclined to believe, that the translators who render Belial as a proper name, have better authority for so doing, than those who render it abstractly, "worthlessness," "evil," and so forth. It remains to be proved, that it is either a late or New Testament usage merely, which sets it forth in a personal sense.[4]

Among the articles which the priest first showed to us,

[1] Deut. xxxii. 39.

[2] Deut. xiii. 13.

[3] Deut. xv. 9. The English version gives it, in this instance, "beware that there be not a thought in thy wicked heart."

[4] See Gesenii Lex. sub voc. בְּלִיַּעַל

was a copy of the Samaritan Pentateuch, tolerably neatly written on paper. At my request he explained to me the powers of the Samaritan letters, and slowly read a portion of Genesis. I endeavoured to mark his method of pronunciation, which, of course, differed much from that of the Jews, as the Samaritans have never received the Masoretic points, by which the Jews regulate their reading. The notes which I made on this occasion, I elsewhere insert.[1] When we told him that the Samaritan Pentateuch had been printed in England, he said, "I know that," and then brought us a few leaves, and afterwards the body, of the first volume of Walton's Polyglott, in which it is contained.

It was now full time for breakfast, and the kind priest who had his table spread before us, took care that we should do justice to all the good things which he had provided for our refreshment. To do us honour, he produced a considerable quantity of silver plate, which had been in the family for several generations. He also introduced us to his son, a handsome and agreeable person, about thirty years of age. Into the hands of this young man we put a copy of the Arabic New Testament; and he read with us the fourth chapter of John's gospel, in which is contained the interesting and affecting narrative of our Lord's interview with the woman of Samaria at Jacob's well, in our immediate neighbourhood. I made the perusal of this portion of the Divine word the occasion of examining both father and son as to the views and expectations of the present Samaritans relative to a Messiah. "The Messiah," they said, "is not one

[1] The Baron de Sacy, in his correspondence with the Samaritans, in vain endeavoured to elicit from them an account of their method of pronouncing the Hebrew. All the information which he got on the subject from the cautious Salámah, was simply this, "Our pronunciation is different from that of the Jews; but the Torah is the same from the beginning to the end."—Correspondance des Samaritains, p. 25.

of our terms; but we do not particularly object to its use. We still expect a great instructor and guide, whom we call Hathab,[1] to appear in the world."

The conversation, on this avowal, of the Samaritans, proceeded as follows:—

W.—"Upon what passage of the Law do you found this hope?"

Priest.—"Upon the words of Moses, 'The Lord thy God will, from the midst of thy brethren, raise up a prophet, like unto me, unto him shall ye hearken.'"[2]

W.—"What do you think of the passage, 'And I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel?'[3] Does this apply to the Messiah?"

Priest's Son.—"It may apply to the Messiah, and it may not apply to the Messiah."

Priest.—"It does *not* apply to the Messiah."

W.—"What do you think of the passage, 'The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come; and unto him shall the gathering of the people be?'[4] To whom does this apply?"

Priest.—"Don't say *Shiloh* (שילה) but *Shalah*" (שלה.)

W.—"Take the word in either form you please."[5]

Priest.—"Shalah is equivalent to Shalamah, (שלמה, Solomon) [the peaceful one?"]

[1] The Samaritan equivalent of the Hebrew השוב. "De toutes les interprétations qui ont été données du mot השוב ou הדוב, aucune n'est plus vraisemblable que celle que propose M. Gesenius, qui dérive ce mot de la racine שוב ou תוב, *revenir, ramener, se repentir, pardonner.*"—Correspondance des Samaritains, p. 29.

[2] This is, of course, according to the Samaritan reading. According to the Jewish, the passage runs as in our version, "The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a prophet *from the midst of thee*, of thy brethren."—Deut. xviii. 15.

[3] Gen. iii. 15.

[4] Gen. xlix. 10.

[5] שילה is the form in most Jewish MSS. שלה occurs in all the copies of the Samaritan Pentateuch, examined by Europeans, and in twenty-eight Jewish MSS.

W.—"How do you make the passage agree with this interpretation?"

Priest.—"The sceptre did not depart from Judah till the days of Solomon, till the days of his son Rehoboam, as you may see even from those unworthy historical books that are in the hands of the Jews."

W.—"But how do you make out that the gathering of the nations was to Solomon?"

Priest.—"Why, do you not know that his kingdom extended from el-'Arish to Damascus, and from the Great Sea to the Euphrates? The Queen of Sheba came to visit him, and brought him presents from a far country. He held the birds of the air and the beasts of the field in subjection. Joseph, and not Judah has been, and will be the deliverer. 'From thence is the Shepherd, the stone of Israel.'"[1]

The fable with which the priest concluded his notice of Solomon, is common to the Jews, the Muhammadans, and the Samaritans.

We all felt much interested in this conversation; and I defended the Christology of the passage as I best could. I was quite convinced from the keenness with which my views were impugned, that the prophecy respecting Shiloh is a very sore one in the eyes of the Samaritans, and that they feel that their interpretation of it is a very unnatural one. This opinion is strengthened by a reference to the curious Samaritan commentary on Jacob's dying address to his sons, published by Schnurrer in 1785.[2]

[1] Gen. xlix. 24.

[2] This fragment, strange to say, has the reading שילה. The following is the commentary on the passage in which it occurs, and Schnurrer's translation.

" بقواة לא יסור שבט מיהודה اي
لا يزول القضيب من יהודה لما
انتهي من وصف مجا سنه ذكر
ما يكون من نسله من المعاصي
فقال לא יסור שבט מיהודה ומPP مبين

We then expressed our intention to set out for the inspection of Jacob's Well; and a Samaritan lad, named Yákúb, offered himself as our guide. As we determined to effect, if possible, a thorough exploration of it, we took with us a supply of wax candles for its illumination, and all the ropes from our boxes, that we might make of it a correct measure-

"לא יסור שבט מיהודה, non recedet virga a Iuda. Finita commemoratione bene meritorum ejus significat, quaenam profecturae sint a posteris defectiones. Itaque pergit רגליו —

— לא יסור i. e. non deficiet scientia legis et obedientia erga Deum ex Iuda, et designator e medio pedum ejus. Spectat hoc ad legem Domini prophetae, quod ipse sit missus cum statuto, et lex designatoris quod futura sit stabilis, donec oriatur שילה, hic enim est ille, qui mutabit legem, eumque sectabuntur multi populi, quoniam amant licentiam, suntque ad eam propensi. Describit personam a prosapia ejus, quae auferet id, quod rectum est, ab hac tribu, et adsciscet sectam pravam, et perpetrabit licentiam. Et sectabuntur eum homines, atque ad eum propendent, studio licentiae. Appellat illum שילה a verbo של, quod notat ablationem juris, et littera Iod est signum nominis, et He est augmentum, ob ablationem juris. Dicit autem מבין רגליו, quod distingui solebant in bellis Iosuae eorumque, qui succedebant illi regnantes ex tribu Iosephi; usque dum exortus est hic, qui pervertit consilium, et corrupit rectam rationem, mutavitque ordinem."—Repertorium für Biblische und Morgenländische Litteratur, 1785, pp. 168-170.

רגליו معناه لا يزول حكم الشرع وطاعة الله من יהודה والمرسم من بين رجليه وهو اشارة الي شريعة السيد الرسول فهو المبعون بالموقف وشريعة الراسم انها لا تزال ثابتة الي يقوم שילה وهو الذي يغير الشريعة ويتبعه اكثر الامم لانهم يحبوا الرخصة ويميلوا نحوها فعين الشخص من نسله الذي ينزع الحق من هذا السبط ويتخذ مذهبا رديا ويرتكب رخصا فتتبعه الناس ويميلون اليه اتبعا للرخص وسماه שילה من של وهو رفعة الحق واليا علامة الاسم والها تعظيم لنزع الحق ورفعه وقوله מבין רגליו لانهم كانوا متميزين في الحروب ליהושע ومن قام بعده ملكا من سبط يوسف حتي قام هذا فاخلف الراي وافسد النظام وغير الترتيب"

ment. We attracted a good deal of attention as we passed through the town in our Indian travelling dresses. In the olive grove to the east of it, we found the Turkish women and the young members of their families, observing their holiday, squatted in the shade, or swinging from the branches of the trees. They began to abuse us with their tongues as we passed; and at length they found themselves emboldened to treat us to a shower of stones. A brickbat of considerable size gave me rather a severe blow on the back.

On arriving at Jacob's Well, we found the mouth of it—which is in the middle of the ruins of a church by which it was formerly surmounted—covered with two large stones. These we were unable ourselves to remove; but a half dozen sturdy Arabs, from a small hamlet close by, did the needful for us, in expectation, of course, of a due reward. The opening over the well is an orifice in a dome or arch, less than two feet in diameter. Our Samaritan friend was the first to enter. He held by a piece of rope, which we kept in our hands till, swinging himself across the mouth of the well, properly so called, he found footing on the margin of the excavation over which the dome extends. Mr. Smith and myself, dispensing with the superfluous parts of our dresses, followed his example, the Jew Mordecai and Dhanjibhái, whom we thought it expedient to leave without, keeping fast hold of the rope till, with the assistance of Jacob, we got a firm footing beside him. The Arabs entered one after another without difficulty. All within was hitherto darkness; but by the aid of a packet of lucifers, we lighted our candles, and were able to look down the well to a considerable depth. It was now time to disclose our plan of operation to our native attendants. "Jacob," said we, "a friend of ours, an English traveller, and minister, (the Rev. Andrew Bonar, of Collace,) dropped the five books of Moses and the

other inspired records into this well, about three years ago,[1] and if you will descend and bring them up, we shall give you a handsome *bakshish.*" "Bakshish!" said the Arabs, kindling at the sound, "if there is to be a bakshish in the case, *we* must have it, for *we* are the lords of the land." "Well, down you go," said we, throwing the rope over their shoulders, "and you shall have the bakshish." "Nay, verily," said they, "you mean to hang us; let Jacob do what he pleases." Jacob was ready at our command; and when he had tied the rope round his body below his shoulders, he received our parting instructions. We asked him to call out to us the moment that he might arrive at the surface of the water, and told him that we should so hold the rope as to prevent him from sinking if there was any considerable depth of the element. We told him also to pull out one of the candles with which he had stored his breast, and to ignite it when he might get below. As he looked into the fearful pit on the brink of which he stood, terror took hold of him; and he betook himself to prayer in the Hebrew tongue. We, of course, gave him no interruption in his solemn exercises, as, in the circumstances of the case, we could not but admire the spirit of devotion which he evinced. On a signal given, we let him go. The Arabs held with us the rope, and we took care that he should descend as gently as possible. When our material was nearly exhausted, he called out, "I have reached the bottom; and it is at present

[1] "Mr. Bonar engaged a very affable Jew to show him the road to Jacob's Well, who, after leading him through the town, gave him in charge to another that knew the place. . . . The guide removed a large stone that covers the mouth of the low vault built over the well; and then, thrusting himself through the narrow aperture, invited Mr. Bonar to follow. This he accordingly did; and, in the act of descending, his Bible escaping from his breast-pocket, fell into the well, and was soon heard plunging in the water far below. The guide made very significant signs that it could not be recovered, 'for the well is deep.'"—Narrative of a Mission of Enquiry to the Jews, pp. 283, 284.

scarcely covered with water." Forthwith he kindled his light; and that he might have every advantage, we threw him down a quantity of dry sticks, with which he made a blaze, which distinctly showed us the whole of the well, from the top to the bottom. We saw the end of the rope at its lower part; and we put a knot upon it at the margin above, that we might have the exact measurement when Jacob might come up. After searching for about five minutes for the Bible among the stones and mud at the bottom, our kind friend joyfully called out, "It is found! it is found! it is found!" We were not slow, it may be supposed, in giving him our congratulations. The prize he carefully put into his breast; and then he declared his readiness, with our aid, to make the ascent. Ready, however, he was not to move. He was evidently much frightened at the journey which was before him to the light of day; and he was not slow to confess his fears. "Never mind," cried Mordecai to him from the top, on observing his alarm, "you will get up by the help of the God of Jacob." He betook himself again to prayer, in which he continued for a much longer time than before his descent. When we got him in motion, he dangled very uncomfortably in the air, and complained much of the cutting of the rope near his armpits. By and bye he became silent. We found it no easy matter to get him pulled up, as we had to keep the rope from the edge of the well, lest it should snap asunder. When he came into our hands, he was unable to speak; and we laid him down on the margin of the well, that he might collect his breath. "*Where is the bakshish?*" were the first words which he uttered, on regaining his faculty of speech. It was immediately forthcoming, to the extent of about a sovereign, and to his fullest satisfaction. A similar sum we divided among our Arab assistants. The book, from having been so long steeped in the water and mud below, was, with the exception of the

boards, reduced to a mass of pulp. In our effort to recover it, we had ascertained the depth of the well, which is exactly seventy-five feet. Its diameter is about nine feet. It is entirely hewn out of the solid rock, and is a work of great labour. It bears marks about it of the greatest antiquity. "The well is deep," was the description given of it by the woman of Samaria to our Lord.[1] It still, as now noticed, has the same character, although to a considerable extent it is perhaps filled with the stones which are thrown into it, to sound it, by travellers and pilgrims.[2]

The adventure which I have now noticed being over, we emerged from the well; and sitting down at its mouth, we could not but think of the scenes and events of other days. We were near to the very "parcel of ground that Jacob gave to his son Joseph." Jacob's well was here! Here Jesus, the Saviour, sat, wearied with his journey, suffering from the infirmities of that lowly human nature which he had assumed, when he came from heaven to accomplish the work of our redemption, which his Father had given him to do. Here he spake with inimitable simplicity and majesty, as never man spake, setting himself forth as the Source and

[1] John iv. 11.

[2] Maundrell, under March 24, says, "It is dug in a firm rock, and contains about three yards in diameter, and thirty-five in depth."—Journal, p. 63. In transcribing his notes, he has perhaps substituted *thirty*-five for *twenty*-five,—which, we have seen above, is the real depth,—for he is generally very accurate in his measurements. Dr. Robinson says that Mr. Homes, now of Constantinople, found the depth to be "one hundred and five feet." I have heard from Mr. H. that when he made this measurement, the well was not lighted. The measurement of Mr. Calhoun, another American missionary, exactly agrees with our own. He "found it seventy-five feet deep."—Bonar and M'Cheyne's Narrative, p. 284. Beda, (cir. 740,) who, in his treatise de Locis Sanctis, gives an abstract of Adamnanus, makes the depth forty cubits. He says, "Prope civitatem Sichem, quæ nunc Neapolis dicitur, ecclesia quadrifida est, hoc est, in crucis modum facta. In cujus medio fons Jacob quadraginta cubitos altus, à latere ipso usque ad summum digitorum extentus, de quo Dominus aquas à Samaritana muliere petere dignatus est."—Beda de locis Sanctis Libellus in Bedæ Oper., tom. iii. col. 369.

Giver of the copious and satisfying waters of Eternal Life. Here he declared that the time was at hand when the whole world should be consecrated as the temple of God, and the spirituality of Divine worship manifested in its fullest extent:—"Woman, believe me, the hour cometh, when ye shall neither at this mountain, (Gerizim,) nor yet at Jerusalem, worship the Father. . . . The hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth: for the Father seeketh such to worship him."[1] Here, by his perfect knowledge of the human heart, and of the dark events of the woman's life, and by the wisdom, and power, and grace of his words, he so revealed himself as that Messiah whom the Samaritan as well as the Jew expected, that many believed on him, and knew that he was indeed the Christ, the Saviour of the world.

The earliest notice of the locality of the well, after the time of Christ, is in the Jerusalem Itinerary, A.D. 333.[2] Frequent references to it and to a church which surmounted it, are contained in subsequent writers. Most of these I have examined; but the most important have been collected by Quaresmius and Reland, and referred to by Dr. Robinson.[3]

[1] John iv. 21, 23.

[2] Speaking of Neapolis, the writer says, "Ibi (Neapolis) est mons Agazaren. Ibi dicunt Samaritani Abraham sacrificium obtulisse, et ascenduntur usque ad summum montem gradus num. ccc. Inde ad pedem montis ipsius locus est, cui nomen est Sechim. Ibi positum est monumentum, ubi positus est Joseph in villa, quam dedit ei Jacob pater ejus. Inde rapta est et Dina filia Jacob a filiis Amorræorum. Inde passus mille, locus est cui nomen Sechar, unde descendit mulier Samaritana ad eundem locum, ubi Jacob puteum fodit, ut de eo aqua impleret, et Dominus noster Jesus Christus cum ea locutus est. Ubi sunt arbores platani, quos plantavit Jacob, et balneus qui de eo puteo lavatur."—Itin. Wesselling, pp. 587, 588.

[3] Ecclesiæ non longe hinc structae circa puteum Jacobi meminit Hyeronimus in epitaphio Paulæ. Transivit Sichem, non ut plerique errantes legunt Sichar, quæ nunc Neapolis appellatur, et ex latere montis Garizim extructam circa puteum Jacob intravit Ecclesiam super quo residens Dominus sitiensque et esuriens Samaritanæ fide satiatus est.

Sæculo sexto Antoninus martyr hanc urbem vidit, et in itinerario suo

The traditions of Jews, Samaritans, Christians, and Muhammadans agree in its identification. Its depth, compared with that of other wells at and near Shechem, tells in favour of the accuracy of the judgment which has been formed respecting it. It appears to me that there is much good sense in the following observations on this matter of Messrs. Bonar and M'Cheyne. "In all the other wells and fountains which we saw in this valley, the water is within reach of the hand, but in this one the water seems never to rise high. This is one

his verbis describit. Civitatem quæ nuper appellata est Samaria (in eo fallitur; *Sichem* appellata fuit) nunc vero Neapolis, in qua puteus est ubi Dominus a muliere Samaritana aquam petiit, ibique facta est basilica in honorem Sancti Johannis et ipse puteus ante cancellos altaris est, et situla de qua dicitur quod de ea bibit, multique ægri veniunt et sanantur. Ubi autem lapis fuerit, cui Christus insedit sermonem faciens cum Samaritana, docet Codinus de orig. Constantin. illum tempore Justiniani allatum fuisse ex Samaria Constantinopolin.

Sæculo septimo illic supererat ecclesia illa extra murum urbis, supra fontem Jacobi structa, de qua lubet audire Adamnanum de locis Sanctis libro II. Arculfus sacerdos sanctus regionem Samariæ peragrans ad ejusdem provinciæ pervenit civitatem quæ Hebraice dicitur Sichem, Græca vero et Latina consuetudine Sicima nominatur: quæ quamlibet vitiose Sichar vocitari solet. Itaque prope hanc, eandem civitatem quamdam extra murum vidit constitutam ecclesiam, quæ quadrifida in quatuor mundi cardines formata extenditur, quasi in similitudinem crucis. . . .

Itinerarium S. Willibaldi, qui sæculo octavo iter per loca sancta instituit, hujus ecclesiæ, etiam meminit. Et ibi puteus ille prope castellum, ubi Dominus postulavit aquam bibere a Samaritana muliere, et super illum puteum nunc est ecclesia; et ille mons est ibi in quo adorabant Samaritani. Fortasse tamen legi debet puteus ille prope cancellos, non castellum: nam ita legitur in itinerario Antonini martyris.

Sæculi duodecimi scriptor Phocas (vidit enim loca sancta anno 1185,) ita situm hujus urbis describit. Ἡ τῶν Σαμαρέων μητρόπολις Σιχὰρ, ἡ μετὰ ταῦτα κληθεῖσα Νεάπολις, κειμένη μέτον δύο βουνῶν ἀμφοτέρων περιαπτομένη τῷ θεμελίῳ ἐπὶ μήκει τοὺς πρόποδας. Metropolis Samaritanorum Sichar, postea dicta Neapolis, sita inter duos colles quorum pedibus ipsa fundamentis suis qua se longius extendit inhæret . . . . . Et mox: Ἐν δὲ τοῖς τοῦ βουνοῦ προπόδοις ἐστὶ τὸ χωρίον ὁ δέδωκεν Ἰακὼβ Ἰωσὴφ τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ ἐν ᾧ ἐστὶ τὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἰακὼβ φρέαρ. Ad radices montis (Gerizim) est ager quem Jacobus Josepho filio suo dedit, in quo est puteus Jacobi. Ibi nulla mentio Ecclesiae supra puteum."—Relandi Palestin., pp. 1007, 1009. Sæwulf, A.D. 1103, makes no mention of the church. Subsequent writers refer to it as injured or ruined.

of the clear evidences, that this is really the Well of Jacob, for at this day it would require what it required in the days of our Lord, an ἀντλημα, 'something to draw with, for it was deep.' On account of the great depth, the water would be peculiarly cool, and the associations that connected this well with their father Jacob, no doubt made it to be highly esteemed. For these reasons, although there is a fine stream of water close by the west side of the town, at least two gushing fountains within the walls, and the fountain el-Defna nearly a mile [half a mile ?] nearer the town, still the people of the town may very probably have reverenced and frequented Jacob's Well. This may, in part, account for the Samaritan woman coming so far to draw water; and there seems every probability, that the town in former times extended much farther to the east than it does now. The narrative itself, however, seems to imply that the well was situated a considerable way from the town."[1] No one acquainted with the custom of the people of the east, to have their wells in their own fields, will be at a loss to account for the digging of this well even in the vicinity of the natural fountains and streamlets of the valley in which it is situated.

The tomb of Joseph is often coupled in ancient writers with the well of Jacob. It lies about two or three hundred yards to the north of it, across the valley, and we repaired to it after leaving the well. As it at present stands, it is a small solid erection in the form of a wagon roof, over what is supposed to be the patriarch's grave, with a small pillar or altar at each of its extremities, sometimes called the tombs of Ephraim and Manasseh, and in the middle of an enclosure without a covering. Many visiters' names, in the Hebrew and Samaritan characters, are written on the walls of this

[1] Narrative of a Mission of Enquiry to the Jews, pp. 284, 285.

enclosure. We observed the following inscription, intimating the repair of the tomb by a Jew of Egypt, (or of the East) about a hundred years ago:—

בסמ ינו עמיעשו „ בן פורת יוסף „ לכו חזו בנין מפואר מחודש הליזו ברוכ
ה אשר נתן בלב אליהו בן מאיר רבינו ה יי לבנות שנת את בית יוסף בחודש סיון שהתקט „
הכותב מאיר בין יוסף מזרחי סט.

"*With the good sign. The Lord endureth for ever. My help cometh from the Lord who made heaven and earth.* Joseph is a fruitful bough. Come see a building. . . . . Blessed be the Lord who hath put it into the heart of Elijah, the son of Meir, our rabbi, (*Let the Lord bless him,*) to build again the house of Joseph in the month Sivan, in the year 5509. The writer is Meir, the son of Joseph from the East. *With the good sign.*"[1] The Jews of Nábulus at present, now take upon themselves the duty of keeping the tomb in order. They applied to us for a subscription to aid in making some repairs, and we complied with their request.

An excavation under Joseph's tomb, if made with suitable caution, might lead to some very important discovery. It is not at all improbable that the coffin or ark in which Joseph's body was put, when it was embalmed in Egypt,[2] and which was taken by the Israelites to this place, was deposited in a stone sarcophagus, which may remain to this day.

From Jacob's Well, we went to the Jewish synagogue in the interior of Nábulus. It is merely a small room connected with the cluster of their houses, about four yards by eight; but it is sufficient in size for the accommodation of the community to which it belongs, which, by the chief Rabbi, was represented to us as consisting merely of twenty families with sixty souls. When we expressed our surprise to this individual that so few Jews have established themselves in this flour-

[1] The words in italics are given in a contracted form in the Hebrew.

[2] Genesis l. 26.

ishing and beautiful town, he said, "Many of our people are inclined to settle here; but the ruling rabbi at Jerusalem, to whom we all owe subjection, won't grant them permission. We are not allowed to think of colonizing the country at present, or even, generally speaking, to engage in secular pursuits. We are here to weep over the desolations of the country, and to engage in religious services as a holy people." In another part of this work, under the head of the "Jews in their own Land," will be found some explanation of the views which they take of their present inhabitation of the country. Two of the Jews of Nábulus, we were told, are merchants, one is a goldsmith, and the rest are mostly poor religionists. The Rabbi, before we left him, asked us why we had not taken up our abode with his people, instead of the "*despicable Samaritans.*" "There are Jews everywhere," we said in reply; "but there are Samaritans only at Nábulus. We wish to make inquiry into their sentiments and practices. Come and visit us at their houses." The Rabbi and two of his friends next morning availed themselves of our invitation. When the Samaritan priest saw them approaching us, he called out, "Who told these *brutes* to come hither?" To this day we see something of that spirit which brought matters to such a state, that it was said, that "the Jews have no dealings with the Samaritans."[1]

In passing through the town to the house of the Samaritan priest, we looked at an ancient church, now used as a Muhammadan mosque. It has long been the rule of this place that no Christian shall be allowed to enter it; but owing to an occurrence to be afterwards mentioned, the Rev. Mr. Graham and I were permitted to go within it, and to remain in it for a few minutes, during my second visit to this town.

The Samaritan priest gave us a luxurious dinner at his house; and when it was concluded, he complied with a re-

[1] John iv. 9.

quest which we made to him, to ask as many of his people as possible to come to converse with us in the evening. Altogether about forty-five individuals, men, women, and children, assembled, and nearly filled the room in which we were accommodated. Their entire community they estimated at twenty families, and a hundred and fifty souls. There was something peculiarly striking and pleasing in their appearance, which much resembled that of the Káṭhís in Kaṭhiáwád, in India; and most of them had what may be called a strong family likeness, particularly in their faces, which were dissimilar to those of the Jews, being somewhat of a rounder form. All the men wore red turbans, with the exception of the priest, whose head-dress was white. The priest had a long tuft of hair folded back behind his ears. The laymen wore a tuft on the crown of their heads, like the Hindú Shendí. Striped cotton cloth was the prevailing material of their dress. The habiliments of the women, including their wide trowsers, were similar to those of the Muhammadan females of the country. Some of the children were remarkably beautiful, and fair as those of our own land. The priest's family, they said, is descended of Levi. All the others are from Ephraim and Manasseh.

In reply to our inquiries, our friends mentioned to us the names of men and women which are current in their community. I give them below, as far as possible, according to their own pronunciation, although it is evidently not systematic, arising probably from their frequent use of the Arabic forms of their names. It is obvious from the list, that the Samaritans have kept clear of the names which figure in the history of the Jews posterior to Solomon.[1]

[1] Names of Men.—'Amram, Ishmael, Isḥráel, Shalamah, or Salámah, (Solomon,) Kohen, Yuseph, Yákob, Ábrám, Isaac, Shálih, Baniámin, Jeshua (Joshua,) Shalom, Mar'ib, Nebusha, (Babylonish?) Ab-Sekuwah, Ab-Zautá, 'Abed-El, 'Abed-Hannnah, 'Abed-Rahaman, Sa'id, Tabiah, 'Abed-

No individuals of the Samaritan faith, with whom they have any acquaintance, we were told, are now found resident at any other place than at Nábulus. The congregation which they had in Egypt was broken up about 260 years ago. For a long time there have been none of them resident at Askelon, Gaza, Joppa, Damascus, or any other parts of Syria, where some of their sect were found a little more than a century ago. No Samaritan likes to travel to distant countries, on account of the difficulties which he encounters when from home, in the matter of eating and drinking, and the performance of religious rites. They don't eat with Musalmáns or Jews unless they cook their own food, and repeat their own prayers before and after their meals.

The Bene-Israel of Bombay were among the first topics of a conversation which we maintained till near midnight. The Samaritans were pleased with a good deal of what we said about the objects of their inquiry; but they were awfully shocked when we told them, that when the Bene-Israel were discovered by the English, they were found reverencing the serpent as well as Jehovah, and serving other Gods which neither they nor their fathers had known, even wood and stone.[1] They expressed the utmost horror at this idolatry, and exclaimed, "They cannot be Samaritans; they do not make Gerizim their Kiblah." "Ye worship ye know not what," was our Lord's observation to the Samaritans in his day. History makes us acquainted with the idolatries which from the beginning they commingled with the service of the true God. They profess now to worship only Jehovah the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.

el-Fattah, Eláazár, Phinás, Itámár, Hárun, Reuben, Naphtali, Zebulon, Shamson, Khalíb, Saduk, Iudah, Ephraim, Menasseh, Surur.

Names of Women.—Kibkah, Sharah, Ráhel, Phuah, Shifrah, Zera, Ses, Kephtira, Leah, Milkah, Eseneth, Miriam, Hannah, Hanunah, Iubánah, Tamimah, Katubah, Utabah, Maribah, Hadáshah, Phiri. N.B.—The letter *h* beginning a syllable was but feebly sounded.

[1] Deut. xxviii. 64.

Much of our conversation turned upon their religious festivals and observances. The following memoranda respecting these, I wrote down in their presence. They may be compared with the notices contained in their correspondence with learned Europeans, than which they are somewhat fuller.

The Samaritans practise circumcision on the eighth day, at the eighth hour, after birth. The priest officiates when he is at hand. In his absence, an elderly person performs the ceremony. A feast of some kind or other is given by the family, on the occasion, to the members of the congregation.

They celebrate marriage when their children arrive at puberty. The parents of the bridegroom have generally some sum to pay to the parents of the bride. They always practise monogamy, unless in cases of barrenness; and they are "thankful even to get one wife," as their community is now very small. Feasting is always among them a concomitant of marriage. A written covenant—of which, as afterwards related, I had the good fortune to obtain two specimens, given in another part of this work—is made out for the ratification of matrimonial alliances. The members of the congregation consider it to be a privilege to adopt and educate its orphans.

Gerizim, they said, is the hill on which Abraham was about to sacrifice Isaac. The spot where the sacrifice was to have been presented to God is called Ha-araz Moriah, or the land of Moriah. That the hill of Gerizim, which was thus sanctified, may be kept pure, the dead are not to be buried upon it, but at its base.

The Samaritans observe the *Shabát*, or Sabbath, with the greatest strictness. They won't, they said, do any work on that day, except in reading, worshipping God, and eating and drinking. They neither kindle a fire, nor cook during its sacred hours.

The Samaritans observe as sacred the first day of the year, the Hebrew name of which they pronounce *Reosh há-Shánáh.* The day of the new moon is called by these Samaritans *Reosh hádesh,* (Rosh Hodesh,) or the first of the month. They pray for an hour the preceding evening, when it occurs before noon; and they pray for the same space of time in the evening following it, when it occurs after noon.

To the passover they give the name of *'Afseh.* It is observed by them for seven days in the month Abib, pronounced by them Ebib. They sacrifice at this time as many lambs or kids about a year old as can be ate by their families. This ceremony should be performed on Mount Gerizim: but on account of the opposition and exactions of the Turks and Arabs, it is now gone through at their own houses. When Ibrahim Pásha was in occupation of the country, it was performed on one or two occasions at the place appointed by their fathers. The paschal lamb they eat with unleavened bread and *marurim,* or bitter herbs, according to the Law. Like the Jews, they abstain from the use of leaven for the period of seven days. They have no objection during this time to drink wine. None of them, they said, have occasion to observe the second passover, mentioned in Numbers x. 10, 11.

To the feast of Weeks the Samaritans give the Arabic name of Hamsín, and Hebrew *Shábuoth,* exactly corresponding with Pentecost. During its continuance, they engage in prayer as a congregation, both morning and evening. It is most strictly observed by them, however, on the first and fiftieth days, on the latter of which they ascend to the top of Mount Gerizim, repeating the law. In connexion with it, they have no services appertaining to the produce of the fields. "We are now," they said, "merchants, agents, clerks, weavers, and tailors, and not agriculturists."

The day of Atonement, called by the Samaritans *Kibbor*,[1] they rigidly observe, afflicting their souls and fasting for twenty-four hours, and praying in the synagogue both morning and evening. Each adult individual of them, the priest said, kills a cock on this occasion. This custom is that of the Jews at present, who give the cock the name of the Kappárâh, or Expiation.

The Samaritans celebrate the Feast of *Sikot*, (Succoth,) or Tabernacles, for the seven days appointed in the law. This they do in the fields when they expect to escape interference, but most commonly in their own houses, with palm branches so disposed of as to represent tabernacles. On the first day of the feast, they make a holy procession to the top of Mount Gerizim. The last day of the seven they celebrate with more than ordinary attention.

The whole of the Jewish festivals and fasts not recognised by the law, they utterly discard. Neither on this occasion, nor on a subsequent one, when I visited the Samaritans along with my friend Mr. Graham, could we learn that they look upon sacrifice as having any typical import. It was instituted, they said, wholly for purposes of commemoration and thanksgiving. When we asked them why Abel's offering was more acceptable to God than that of Cain, they said, "Solely, because in making it he followed the commands of God, while Cain disobeyed them." When we asked them why God preferred the sacrifice of an animal to an offering of fruit, they gave an answer more worthy of those who walk in the darkness of absolute heathenism than of those who profess to be guided by the light of a divine revelation,—"God likes blood; because in blood there is life." When they confessed that they could not explain to us how the guilt of man could be removed by the blood of

[1] This is evidently the Hebrew *Kippur*, the *p* being transmuted into *b*, to suit the pronunciation of those accustomed to the use of the Arabic.

bulls and of goats, we sought to point their attention to Jesus Christ, the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sin of the world, and who is the great antitype of all the olden sacrifices. Our conversation we continued to a late hour.

7th April.—We rose early this morning, and commenced the ascent of Mount Gerizim at twenty minutes past six. Amrán, the son of the Samaritan priest, and Yúḳúb, who had descended Jacob's well for us, acting as our guides and informants respecting its various *loca sancta*. We left the town at the south-west corner, and proceeded, in the first instance, up a fertile and well-watered ravine which comes down to the town at this part, with fine fields, and some gardens and orchards on each of its sides, and passed a copious fountain, called the Rás el-Ain, and an aqueduct. Some of the people, as we were going along, brought us offerings of green almonds, which they plucked from the trees, and which we accepted as tokens of their kindness. We noticed some very large specimens of the cactus Indicus growing near the road. They were almost like trees in point of size. This plant is very abundant on Mount Ebal, covering the greater part of its surface, where any soil is to be found.[1] A little way out of the town, we met one or two Samaritans driving six lambs before them. They had been washing them, they said, as they are accustomed to do each day for about a week

[1] I have heard it maintained by some that this plant is an exotic in Asia, and a native only of South America. If so, it has certainly increased and multiplied to an extraordinary extent since it first visited the old world. It abounds in every province of India, as well as in the Holy Land; and has indigenous names in all the provinces in which it is there found. Dr. Roxburgh says, that "independent of its proper Bengali name [*nágphaní*, or serpent's comb] and medicinal uses, [adverted to in Hindu medical works,] there is every reason to imagine it is a native of these countries." Speaking of its *trunk*, he adds, "I have not seen any plant with anything like one, though I am informed it grows to a perfect tree. Here it is a ramous bush, with tolerably erect joints."—Flora Indica, vol. ii. p. 475. In the Holy Land it is frequently seen with a distinct and large trunk.

before the Passover, which was nigh at hand. After an ascent of twenty minutes from the town, we sat down to take a rest, as we found the way rather steep. Five minutes further on, turning a little to the left from the path we were following, we came to a piece of ground, which our guide told us was the site of the Kenísah Adam, the church of Adam, where Moḳádá, the daughter of our first progenitors, was born. We were now on the top of the mountain. Proceeding for a quarter of an hour over the table land, we came to the Mazbih, or "place of sacrifice." It is a small drain, about fifteen inches wide, between two rows of five stones on each side, there having been, we were told, originally six. Money, we were informed, now fails to secure from the Turks and Arabs, the privilege of sacrificing at this spot. At ten minutes in advance, we came to some ruins of a town and fort, which our guide gravely informed us, was Luz or Bethel! On approaching this place, our Samaritan friends, under the allegation that the ground in its neighbourhood is holy, took off their shoes, which they covered with stones, lest they should be stolen in their absence. They asked us to imitate their example; but of course we declined. The ruins here, which are very considerable, we particularly examined, and found them to be correctly described by Dr. Robinson.[1] Contiguous to them, on the west side, we had our attention directed to one or two flat stones,

[1] "On ascending the rise of ground beyond this spot, [the place of sacrifice,] the first object which presents itself are the ruins of an immense structure of hewn stones, bearing every appearance of having once been a large and strong fortress. It consisted of two adjacent parts, each measuring about two hundred and fifty feet from E. to W., and two hundred feet from N. to S., giving a length in all of about four hundred feet in the latter direction. The stones are the common limestone of the region, tolerably large, and bevelled at the edges, though rough in the middle. The walls in some places are nine feet thick. At the four corners of the southern division were square towers, and one in the middle of the eastern side. In the northern part is now the Muslim Wely, and also a cemetery."—Bib. Res. vol. iii. p. 99.

which our Samaritan friends maintained cover the twelve stones brought from the Jordan by the Israelites. When we expressed our doubts about the accuracy of their belief as to this matter, they said, "we shall dig down and show you that it is well-founded." Though we held them to their word, they took special care to make no progress in the work. It is on this hill, and not on Ebal, I need scarcely observe, that the Samaritans, according to the reading in their copies of the Pentateuch, maintain that the stones from the Jordan were originally placed.[1] The Muslim Walí, by which Mount Gerizim is marked at a distance, is close on those ruins. Similar tombs are to be seen in almost all the more remarkable heights of the country. In its neighbourhood we observed a spring, to which the name Najíj was given, and at which it was said the Great Prophet or the Messiah will be called when he makes his appearance. A few yards from this fountain we were shown the site of the ancient Samaritan temple. It is of the form of a trapezium, about four-

[1] "As for the difference between the Hebrew and Samaritan copy, Deut. xxvii. 4, the priest pretended the Jews had maliciously altered their text, out of odium to the Samaritans; putting for Gerizim, Ebal, upon no other account, but only because the Samaritans worshipped in the former mountain, which they would have for that reason, not to be the true place appointed by God for his worship and sacrifice. To confirm this, he pleaded that Ebal was the mountain of cursing, Deut. xi. 29, and in its own nature an unpleasant place; but, on the contrary, Gerizim was the mountain of blessing by God's own appointment, and also in itself fertile and delightful; from whence he inferred a probability, that this latter must have been the true mountain appointed for those religious festivals, Deut. xxvii. 4, and not (as the Jews have corruptly written it) Hebal. We observed that to be, in some measure, true, which he pleaded concerning the nature of both mountains. For, though neither of the mountains has much to boast of as to their pleasantness, yet as one passes between them, Gerizim seems to discover a somewhat more verdant, fruitful aspect than Ebal. . . . The Samaritan priest could not say that any of those great stones which God directed Joshua to set up, were now to be seen in Mount Gerizim, which, were they now extant, would determine the question clearly on his side."—Maundrell's Travels, pp. 60, 61.

teen by sixteen yards, and is cut on the bare and level rock. It has a gentle slope to the west. There is a small tank at its western corner. A few yards further on, on the edge of the mount, was shown the place where Abraham was about to sacrifice Isaac. The Samaritans, like the monks, thus bring their *loca sancta* into convenient proximity. "The place where Abraham was going to sacrifice his son!" we said, on hearing their opinion of this spot, "why that place was nearly three days' journey distant from Beersheba."[1] "Oh," said the Samaritans, "we make Gerizim just three days from Beersheba." "Hard days of travel," we remarked, "they must have been, and for an old man like Abraham very impracticable." "What!" said they in triumph, "do not you think that Abraham was strong as well as old? We must not judge of a man who had a child when he was a hundred years of age, as of an ordinary person."

Though in various parts of the land we enjoyed a more magnificent prospect than at this place, we felt much interest in the view of the adjacent country which we had from Mount Gerizim. Mount Ebal, lying to the north of us, appeared to be higher than the height on which we stood, and more precipitous and barren on its flanks.[2] It prevented us from seeing Mount Hermon, which is visible on its own summits. On all sides of us, we had the mountains of Ephraim, more capable of cultivation, on the whole, than those near Jerusalem. The vale of the Makhnah, which we took to be one of the valleys of Moreh,[3] with its fine "parcels of fields" of emerald green, on which the crops were making progress, and with others newly dressed and ready to receive the seed, lay before us in the east and south-east, in all its loveliness, and undivided by dykes and hedges. Eleazar's tomb was pointed out to

[1] Gen. xxii. 4.

[2] Mount Ebal is now called Sittí Salámíyah, from a conspicuous Walí upon it, north of the summit of Gerizim.

[3] Compare Gen. xii. 6; Deut. xi. 30.

us at the village of Awartah, on an insular hill to its south, which we had noticed to the right on leaving the village of Hawárah. To the north of this place, but a little farther to the east, we saw Raujib, which was said to be of Muhammadan origin. At the head of the Makhnah, to the north, we saw Azmút, corresponding with the Hebrew ASMAVETH, but not the village named Beth-Azmaveth in Nehemiah vii. 28; Ed-Deir, or Deir el-Hatab of Dr. Robinson's map; and Sálim, which our Samaritan friends agreed with us in thinking, is "SHALEM, a city of Shechem, which is in the land of Canaan," visited by Jacob "when he came from Padanaram, and pitched his tent before the city."[1] Of the position of Kafr Beitá, Beit Dajan, an unknown BEIT-DAGON, and Beit-Fúrik, seen by Dr. Robinson, we took no note.[2]

We found some patches of culture on Mount Gerizim; but it is mostly devoted to pasturage. We observed upon it several large flocks of sheep tended by Arabs. Of one of these sons of Ishmael, who came running to us as if he intended to empty his firelock upon us, our guides appeared to be rather shy.

Our ascent and descent of Gerizim, including stoppages, occupied us four hours. On returning to Nábulus, we found admission to the Samaritan synagogue. It is a plain and simple room, covered with mats and carpets; and it is in the form of a parallelogram, rendered imperfect, however, at one of the corners, where the breadth is contracted. There are three

[1] Gen. xxxiii. 18. The identification of this village by the Samaritan priest's son is worthy of notice. Dr. Robinson says,—"The existence of this ancient name of a village so near to Nâbulus, or Shechem, shows at least that it is not necessary to suppose the name Shalim (Salem) to be applied in this passage to Shechem itself; as is done by Eusebius and Jerome, and others after them. Onomast. Art. *Salem* and *Sichem*. Equally unnecessary is the other mode of interpretation, which regards it as an adjective, in the meaning *safe, prosperous*. See generally, Reland's Dissertat. Miscell. i. 3. p. 143."—Bib. Res. vol. iii. p. 102.

[2] For a long list of bearings from Gerizim, taken by Mr Woolcott, the American missionary, see Bibliotheca Sacra, vol. i. pp. 73, 74.

inscriptions, in the Samaritan character, on marble slabs on the wall; but the Káhen told us that they are only about seventy years old. The heikál is so placed that the worshipper who looks to it has his face turned towards the site of the old temple on Mount Gerizim to the S.E. An ornamental screen is hung in front of it; and, as in the Jewish synagogues, it contains the copies of the Law, which are both on rolls and skins joined together in the form of sheets. Several of both descriptions of these manuscripts were shown to us, including that which the Samaritans suppose to be the most ancient of all, which was taken out of the place of its deposit with extreme reluctance, the priest declaring that he had avoided showing it to all the Europeans who had visited him, (producing another in its stead,) except to the Rev. Mr. Williams, the chaplain of Bishop Alexander at Jerusalem. It was taken from a box, covered with many folds of silk. This copy was not on synagogue rolls, as many which he showed us were, but on sheets of parchment. It was maintained respecting it, that it was written by Abishua, the son of Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron.[1] This plea of antiquity they have long been accustomed to urge in its behalf. It did not appear to us to be so old as some others which we saw; but this may be owing to the great care which is taken of it. The handwriting was remarkably good. The sections of the Law recognised by the Samaritans, the priest informed us, differ from those of the Jews. The Samaritans, he said, have eighteen in Genesis, and eight in Deuteronomy, while the Jews have twelve in the former, and ten in the latter book. Deuteronomy is the only part of the Law, he added, which they read during the processions to Mount Gerizim on the occasion of their annual festivals. The other four they recite in the synagogue on the day of their ascent, or on the preceding evening.

[1] See 1 Chron. vi. 4.

I endeavoured, without success, to purchase a copy of the Pentateuch from the Samaritans. Our conversation on this subject ran in the following strain.

Travellers.—"Will you allow us to purchase a copy of the Torah?"

Priest.—"No, one is worth its weight in gold."

T.—"Well, we shall give you a good price for it, say 5000 piastres," (£50.)

P.—"We shall on no account whatever sell a copy of the books of our prophet."

T.—"Take care what you say; if the English come and take possession of the country, and restore to you Mount Gerizim, won't you give them a copy of the Law in token of your gratitude?"

P.—"The English, we know, will come and take possession of the country, and we shall beg Mount Gerizim from them."

T.—"You do not appear to us to have the spirit of Moses. He said הַרְנִינוּ גוֹיִם עַמּוֹ, 'Rejoice, O ye nations, *with* his people.'"[1]

P.—"Well, come and rejoice with us. Become Samaritans; and we shall give you a copy of the Law."

T.—"You say, Become Samaritans. But, according to your principle of withholding the Law from us, how could we ever, except from independent sources, know what the Law is, and what the Samaritans are?"

P.—"It is in vain to ask us to sell a copy of the Law."

T.—"Your fathers sold the copies which are now in the possession of Europeans."

P.—"They did not sell them. They must have been stolen from them."[2]

Our young friend Jacob, who thus learned our anxiety to

[1] Deut. xxxii. 43.

[2] The first of these copies was purchased at Damascus in the year 1616, for M. de Sancy, the ambassador of France at Constantinople, by Pietro della Valle. Viaggi de Pietro della

acquire a copy of the Pentateuch, said to us privately, "If you will take me with you to England, I shall take my copy along with me, and we shall get on well together." Finding him perfectly serious in his proposal, we gave our consent. Jacob agreed to have every thing ready for his departure on my expected return to Nábulus from Beirút.

Both on this occasion, and during my subsequent visit in company with my friend, the Rev. William Graham, we made many inquiries into the extent and nature of the literature of the Samaritans. The substance of the information which we received from them is the following:—

1. They have many more copies than they showed us of the law of Moses in the Hebrew language and true Hebrew (Samaritan) character; and some of them are of the highest antiquity.

2. They have copies of the Version of the Pentateuch in their own Samaritan language, which is a mixture of Hebrew, Chaldaic, and Syriac words, with peculiar grammatical inflections.[1] They did not mention to us the name of its author, respecting whom nothing is known by Europeans.[2]

Valle, tom. iv. p. 605. Robert Huntington, chaplain of the English factory at Aleppo, and afterwards bishop of Raphoe, in Ireland, procured a copy on his journey to Jerusalem in 1671, under the pretence of taking it to the Samaritans of England! Baron de Sacy, Correspondance des Samaritains, p. 9. Archbishop Usher procured six copies from the East, some of which are in the Bodleian library. Kennicott caused sixteen copies, more or less complete, to be collated for his work.

[1] For the grammar of this language, see Joannis Morini Opuscula Hebræo—Samaritica, Parisiis, 1657; and Institutiones Linguæ Samaritanæ a Friderico Uhlemanno, Lipsiæ, 1837.

[2] The first copy of this version which came into the hands of the scholars of Europe was purchased at Damascus, along with the Samaritan-Hebrew, referred to above, by Pietro della Valle. Viaggi, tom. iv. p. 605. M. Gregoire and the Baron de Sacy, having quoted a few lines of this version, as given in the Paris and London Polyglotts, and asked the Samaritans if it agrees with the copies of the version now in their hands, Salámah replied, "The matter is as you tell us with regard to the

3. The Samaritans have an Arabic translation of the Pentateuch. It was made, they said, by Heibat Allah of Cairo, and by Abu 'Obed (or Abu Sâid) Dastan[1] of Eshken, or Shechem.[2] The priest declared that it was executed 945 years ago. This gives it an antiquity to which it is not entitled, as in many places it follows the Jewish version of Rabbi Saadi Gáon.

4. They have a history of Joshua in Arabic; but they said that it is not according to the Jewish-Hebrew, but derived from the Syriac. They do not reckon it canonical.

5. They have a Chronicle and Genealogy of the priests from Aaron, and other traditions and historical notices in Samaritan, called Debar ha-Yámim (Yomim.)[3]

6. They have a work corresponding, they said, with the Talmud of the Jews, called كَلَام حَاخَامِيم زَاكِنِيم مِنشَان تفسير خَخمَا مِنشَان تَفسِير صَلَوت طَفلَه Kalám Ḥakhamim Zákanim Minshán tafsir Ḥakhmá minshán tafsír Ṣalawat Taflah, "The Word of the Sages and Elders respecting the exposition of Wisdom and the exposition of the Supplications and Prayers." They enumerated the following persons as

translation of Genesis and Exodus. It is taken from the translation that God has given to us, (or from the translation of Natanael,) which still exists among us."—Correspondance des Samaritains, pp. 81, 121. Gesenius thinks that Salámah means to ascribe the translation to Nathanael, for there was a distinguished priest of this name a little before the time of Christ. De Pentateuchi Sam. Origine, Indole et Auctoritate, p. 18. Compare the Samaritan Chron. in Paulus N. Repert. tom. i. p. 149.

[1] Probably used as equivalent to دستور *dastúr*, doctor or councillor.

[2] The name of the first of the persons here mentioned is not usually connected with this version; but the name of Abu S'aid is generally coupled with it. It accords more with the Samaritan Hebrew than the Samaritan Version.

[3] Probably the Samaritan Chronicle, of which a copy was obtained by Scaliger, and deposited in the University of Leyden. See Nouveaux Eclaircissemens sur le Pentateuque Samaritain, Paris, 1760, p. 57.—Basnage's History of the Jews, Taylor's Translation, pp. 78-81.

the authors of this work,—Amrám Dárí, Marke, Abishá ben Ḥás Káhen, Eleazar Káhen, Joseph Káhen, Abraham Káhen, Abdallah Káhen, Satdín Káhen, Tobiah Káhen, Mátánah Muṣri, (of Cairo,) Akbán Káhen, Nataniel Káhen, Yáḳúb Káhen, Daliah Káhen, Menasseh Káhen. The work, they said, occupies twelve volumes,—two thin folios of which they showed to us,—and is both in poetry and prose. The information which we received from them respecting it is both novel and important; and would have formed a proper answer to a question proposed to them by M. Gregoire and the Baron de Sacy, but which they studiously avoided answering.[1] It was in vain that we attempted to get possession of any parts of it.

7. Their Liturgy, they said, consists of portions of, and references to, the Torah; of Prayers; and particularly of Hymns, both in Arabic and Samaritan. A portion of the hymns, as found in the manuscripts of the British Museum and the library at Gotha, has been published by Gesenius.[2] As afterwards mentioned, I had the good fortune to purchase from an individual of their community a much larger portion of these very curious and interesting compositions.

They made no mention of any Greek version of the Pentateuch.[3] They gave us to wit that they are in possession of other works in Hebrew and Samaritan besides those which they enumerated.

The letters of their alphabet the Samaritans call *'Ebrí* or *'Ebráni*. The square characters used by the Jews, they denominate not "el-Kâshúry," as mentioned by Dr. Robin-

[1] Correspondance des Samaritains, p. 81.

[2] Carmina Samaritana e codicibus Londinensis et Gothanis edidit et interpretatione Latina cum commentario illustravit Guil. Gesenius. Lipsiæ, 1824.

[3] A Greek version of the Samaritan Pentateuch is referred to in the marginal notes of the Septuagint version. It is quoted by the Fathers who lived after the third century, and contains explanatory passages similar to those found in the Samaritan version of the Pentateuch, from which it is supposed to have been derived.

son,[1] but el-*Ashúrí*, or the Assyrian.[2] Fac-similes of the different forms of this character from the manuscripts which I procured at Nábulus, are given in another part of this volume, in which I refer to the works which treat of their history and literature, so far as it is yet known to Europeans.

During both our visits to the synagogue of the Samaritans, we re-introduced the question of the typical import of sacrifice. We explained our own views on the subject to them, showing that men, on account of their sins, are worthy of eternal punishment, and that the Messiah was appointed by God to die for sinners, to allow such a demonstration of the evil of sin to be made before the universe, as should uphold the authority of the moral administration of God, even when he pardons sin in consideration of the work of the Messiah. The priest professed to be much offended by our bringing forward our views in the synagogue; and we agreed to adjourn the discussion to his own house. He was not anxious, however, that even there it should be resumed.

We expressed a wish, before leaving him, to ascertain the sense which he attached to the words "Spirit of God" in Genesis i. 2. "Spirit," he said in reply, "is of three kinds, —Ruḥ el-Ḥeiyát, the Spirit of Life; Ruḥ Jismaníyat, the Carnal Spirit; and Ruḥ Nifsáníyat, the Spiritual Spirit. It was the Ruḥ el-Ḥeiyát," he added, "which brooded on the waters,—the Spirit of God which was breathed into Adam."

Nothing could be more interesting to us than the intercourse which on this, as well as on a subsequent occasion, we were privileged to have with the small remnant of an ancient

[1] Bib. Res. vol. iii. p. 104.

[2] Yet, Salámah in his letter dated in 1808, and published by the Baron de Sacy, speaks of the character of the Samaritan Pentateuch as الخط القديم الاتوري *el Khat el Kadím Atúrí*, "the ancient Atúri character." *Aturí*, here, is probably used for Ashurí, (Assyrian,) as supposed by de Sacy.—Correspond. des Samarit. pp. 60, 70.

people, whose representatives have remained at the home of their fathers between twenty-five and twenty-six centuries,[1] and the acquisition of valuable, and, to a good extent, novel information, which we received from them. Our prayer in their behalf was, that like many of their kindred when instructed by Jesus himself, they might speedily know and acknowledge that, "This is indeed the Christ, the Saviour of the world;"[2] and that of Shechem, as of Samaria of old under the preaching of Philip, it might speedily be said, "there was great joy in that city,"[3] even the joy of salvation.

In continuation of our journey, we left Nábulus at eleven o'clock, having procured a local guide, who was to accompany us as far as Samaria. Our path, a little after we left the town, lay for about fifty minutes along the northern side of the valley of Shechem, and in the general direction of W.N.W. along the base of what may be called a continuation of Mount Ebal, a similar continuation of Mount Gerizim, bounding the valley on its opposite side. We were greatly charmed with the appearance of the country as we proceeded, it being highly picturesque in its features, thoroughly irrigated, fertile, and well-cultivated. The gardens and orchards near the town from which we set out, with their fig and olive, and almond, and pomegranate, and other fruit and flowering trees, were truly pleasing. We noticed numerous birds among their branches, and directed our particular attention to them, as in no region in which we had before travelled, had we seen so few of the feathered race as in the Holy Land, and because to the country generally, in the view of its desolations, the language of the prophet may be strictly applied, "How long shall the land mourn, and the herbs of

[1] 2 Kings xvii. 24. "The king of Assyria brought men from Babylon, and from Cuthah, and from Ava, and from Hamath, and from Sepharvaim, and placed them in the cities of Samaria, instead of the children of Israel; and they possessed Samaria, and dwelt in the cities thereof."

[2] John iv. 42.

[3] Acts viii. 8.

every field wither, for the wickedness of them that dwell therein; the beasts are consumed, *and the birds;* because they said, He shall not see our last end."[1] We noted particularly the goldfinch, the Saḳakíyah of the Arabs, which we had not observed at liberty since we had left our native shores; and the roller (coracias garrula) so common in India, and called Shikrák in Arabic. On the sides of the hills both to our right and left in front,—on which we observed several villages, tolerably correctly laid down in our map,[2] —the fields were waving with barley and other corn already nearly ripe. The language of the Psalmist seemed peculiarly descriptive of the whole of this scene.

> He sendeth the springs into the valleys,
> Which run among the hills,
> They give drink to every beast of the field:
> The wild asses quench their thirst.
> By them shall the fowls of the heaven have their habitation,
> Which sing among the branches.
> He watereth the hills from his chambers:
> The earth is satisfied with the fruit of thy works,
> He causeth the grass to grow for the cattle,
> And herb for the service of man,
> That he may bring forth food out of the earth;
> And wine that maketh glad the heart of man,
> And oil to make his face to shine,
> And bread which strengtheneth man's heart.[3]

When we got opposite to Beit-Ibá, we had before us to the west, the village of Keisín, and another village still farther distant. We here began to turn more to the north than we had hitherto done, and to cut off a shoulder of the hill, which makes the road to Samaria much shorter than when the traveller keeps along the curvature of the Wádí. In the valley we noticed a few aqueducts and mills, some of

[1] Compare Jer. xii. 4; iv. 25.

[2] That of Dr. Robinson. To our left, we saw Ráfidiah, Jenad, Beit-Uzin, Beit-Ibá, and to our right, Zawátah.

[3] Psalm civ. 10-15.

the arches of which seemed to be both Roman and Saracenic. After we had ascended for about forty minutes in this direction, the hill on which Samaria of old stood, came in sight. It is quite insular in its position, being surrounded by deep valleys, that on the south communicating with the one running north-west from Nábulus; and it is encompassed by hills of a greater height. It has a most commanding position, and when crowned by the capital of Israel, with its ranges of houses and public buildings occupying its different terraces, it must have been very imposing. Various detached olive trees, and olive clumps and groves, are seen on the hill; and the greater part of it is under culture. The ruins which are visible upon it are not numerous, and one is almost at a loss to account for the manner in which the material of which the city was built, has been disposed of. Doubtless, much of it has been carried away, buried in the soil, or rolled down into the circumjacent valleys. Where we crossed the southern valley, we observed some hewn stones, which had probably come from the heights above. A large colonnade, which was particularly examined during my second visit to the place, extending to a considerable distance to the west, is on a line with the present village of Sebastíyah. In the name of this hamlet, is recognised the Greek Σεβάστη, the synonyme of the Latin Augusta, the name given to Samaria by Herod, when it was rebuilt by him, and dedicated to his patron, the Emperor Augustus. The houses of which it is composed, though partly formed of hewn stone, are very wretched; and the people who inhabit them may be said rather to burrow than to dwell in them. Like other travellers, we experienced considerable rudeness at the hands of these folks. They were very exorbitant in their demands when we proposed to enter the church of St. John the Baptist, the most conspicuous erection at the place; and rather than sanction their rapacity, we were contented to view the fabric

merely from without. It is known among the Arabs by the name of Nabí Yehíyá; by which they designate John the Baptist, whom they suppose to be interred within it, even though Josephus says, that he was beheaded in the castle of Machoerun, a place which, according to him, was situated on the "confines of the jurisdiction of Aretas and Herod," and which must consequently have lain to the east of the Dead Sea.[1] The reputed sepulchre of the Baptist is under a Walí in the enclosure of the church, according to Dr. Robinson, "a little chamber excavated deep in the rock, to which the descent is by twenty-one steps."[2] A good part of the walls of this fabric still remain, particularly at its eastern end, where it overlooks a rather steep precipice. The upper windows are Saracenic; and, as supposed by Dr. Robinson, they probably indicate the workmanship of the knights of St. John, though the substructions of the church may be more ancient. Reland notices four bishops of Sebaste mentioned in the acts of the Christian councils. The first name which he gives is that of Marius, attached to the first council of Nice.[3]

Near the church there are some other ruins on a different level; but nothing distinctive can be made of them. At

[1] Joseph. Antiq. lib. xvii. vi. 1, 2. Matthew says of the disciples of John, that "they came and took up the body, and buried it." It is possible that it may have been subsequently transferred to Samaria, though Eusebius (Eccles. Hist. lib. i. cap. xi.) when noticing the account of John's death given by Josephus, says nothing additional about the disposal of his body. Reland (Palestin. p. 980, etc.) quotes several passages from Jerome, according to which it appears that in his day, it was believed that the bones of the Baptist, and also of Elisha and Obadiah, were interred in Samaria. Theodoritus says, that the Pagans under the Emperor Julian opened the coffin of John the Baptist, and consumed his bones by fire."—Eccles. Hist. lib. iii. cap. 7.

[2] Biblical Researches, vol. iii. p. 141.

[3] Relandi Palest. p. 983. See the Oriens Christianus of Le Quien, tom. iii. p. 651, for further notices of the ecclesiastics of this place. Some of the notices of towns and districts given by this author are very valuable.

this time we did not proceed to the summit of the hill of Samaria; and I must refer my reader to the additional notes on the locality, under the date of the 26th of May.

Leaving the village of Sebastíyah, about three hours after we had set out from Nábulus, and beginning the descent of the other side, we passed what has been called the northern colonnade, in which there are a number of upright pillars and frustra, without capitals. They seem to have bounded a sort of quadrangle of about 220 paces by 84.

Crossing the northern valley, we began the ascent of rather a steep hill to the village of Barḳá, which we reached in three quarters of an hour. This is rather a thriving place; and is surrounded by olive groves. There is plenty of good water in its neighbourhood. We did not enter it, but continued our march. Near the top of the hill on which it stands, we got our first glance of the Mediterranean Sea. Here, deflecting to the N.E. and losing sight of Samaria, we pitched our tents in the grass,—which we had to trample down, as it was very luxuriant—a little in advance of Fendekumiah, supposed to correspond with some unknown Πεντακωμία. The crops in the neighbourhood of our encampment were scarcely so far advanced as in the neighbourhood of Samaria. A fine open country, with villages on its intersecting and insular heights, lay before us to the north. We had now, for three days at least, seen many striking remains of the ancient fertility of this remarkable country.

8th April.—We determined to day, if possible, to reach Nazareth, that we might spend the Sabbath, in the locality so long hallowed by the residence of our Lord and Saviour, before he entered upon the work of his public ministry. We were in motion at six o'clock in the morning. In less than half an hour we passed the town of Gebá, which is evidently a place of some consequence, and judging from its name, probably one of great antiquity, though no distinct notice of

it appears on record. We stopped for breakfast, when we were nearly opposite Sanur, a village and ruined fortification, on a rocky hill, the origin of which is unknown, but which has had some celebrity in the modern history of this country.[1] To the east and north-east of this place, there is a very considerable basin of excellent soil, on the borders and body of which several villages are visible. An hour in advance we found ourselves in a sort of defile, from which we did not emerge till we arrived, exactly at noon, at the town of Jenín.

Under the shadow of some fine olive trees to the south of this village, we found several women milking their flocks. Great quantities of piastres and other Turkish coins, strung together like the tie of a helmet, came down from their foreheads along their cheeks. It struck us, that ornaments of this kind are referred to in the passage of the Song of Solomon, in which it is said, "Thy cheeks are comely with rows (of ornaments.")[2] Jenín with others, we conceived to be the EN-GANNIM of Scripture. A beautiful and copious streamlet of the purest water which runs through it, and excellent gardens in its neighbourhood, strikingly accord with its Hebrew etymology.[3] It seems a thriving place. The scene in its neighbourhood I shall afterwards notice.[4]

Jenín lies to the entrance of the great valley of ESDRAELON, certainly the plain most remarkable, both physically and historically, in the Holy Land. Two roads lead from it to Nazareth, which lies nearly due north of it among the hills of Galilee, here in sight, and which bound the plain to the north and north-west, as Mount Carmel and the northern hills of Samaria bound it to the south and south-west. We sent forward our baggage by the western and more direct

[1] For an account of this fortification, see Clarke's Travels, pp. 403, 404.
[2] Song i. 10.
[3] The Fountain of the Gardens.
[4] See under 26th May.

road; and we ourselves took the more eastern one, that we might include in our journey, Zeráín, the JEZREEL of Scripture. In advance of Jenín we passed some very fine plots of dark black soil, on which considerable quantities of cotton are raised. We observed far more culture in the great valley, in general, than the accounts of travellers had led us to expect. We were rather surprised at this, when we adverted to the paucity of agricultural villages in our view. The crops which are raised in it are of barley, wheat, millet, beans, chick-pease, sesamum, lentiles, flax, and cotton. Wild oats, too, are found growing among the fields of grass, or rather herbs, of which very little care is taken. The valley, through the whole of its extent, as far as it appeared to our view, is nearly entirely destitute of trees of every kind.

North of Jenín there is a small but fertile recess of the great valley, running to the east. It is bounded on the north by the mountains of Gilboa, which were in sight from the time that we emerged from the defile, in the mouth of which Jenín stands. The road to Jezreel leads along the western flanks of these mountains. It is tolerably level and straight, though it presents a few elevations and depressions which serve to diversify the view to the stranger. The mountains, or rather hills, of GILBOA, are not particularly interesting in their general contour. They rise to no great height, and present but a small appearance either of natural pasturage or culture. Large bare patches and scarps of the common cretaceous rock of the country, are more conspicuous on them than any clothing of verdure which they wear. We could not but associate with the view which we had of them, the notice which is taken of them in the affecting lamentation of David over the fall and death of Saul and Jonathan, even though we did not feel warranted to view it in the light of a prophetical curse:—

Ye mountains of Gilboa [let there be] no dew,
Neither let there be rain upon you, nor fields of offerings:
For there the shield of the mighty is vilely cast away,
The shield of Saul, [as though he had] not been anointed with oil.[1]

The line of the elevation of these hills seemed to us pretty much like a continuation of Mount Carmel, after the interruption of the great valley, which appears as if at some geological period it had been the basin of a considerable lake, and till the waters forced for themselves an entrance into the Mediterranean, along the base of Carmel at the west. We did not notice, as we passed along, the village of Jelbún, or GILBOA, for it lies to the east of the range. We passed close upon the villages of 'Arânah, and Jelamah, and Sandelâ. The latter is in ruins. Upon Gilboa we noticed 'Arabbúnah, Wezar, and Núras, and on different elevations in the valley to the west, the villages which are marked on Dr. Robinson's map, such as El-Barid, Sílah, El-Muḳeibalah, Umm el-Faḥm, Taânuk, and el-Lejjún. The two last mentioned are important sites, the first being TAANACH of Scripture, and the latter, probably, MEGIDDO.[2]

We were nearly two hours on the road between Jenín and Zerâín. We had no doubt as to the identity of this latter site with the *Jezreel* of Scripture; for as such it has been

[1] 2 Sam. i. 21.

[2] Can قطع *Makatt'a*, the Arabic name of the Kishon, be a corruption (not by the usual permutation of the letters, but by such an accommodation as is noticed in page 45 of this work) of the Hebrew מְגִדּוֹ Megiddo? The Kishon is probably referred to in the song of Deborah and Barak,—"Then fought the kings of Canaan in Taanach by the *waters of Megiddo*."—Judg. v. 19.

The name Megiddo applied to a town was lost sight of even so early as the days of Eusebius and Jerome. Lejjún is obviously a corruption of the Latin Legio, applied probably to some olden site as Νιάπολις to Shechem. Dr. Robinson is strongly inclined to identify Lejjún as Megiddo, both from its proximity to Ta'anuk, and because Eusebius and Jerome speak of a plain deriving its name from Legio.—Bib. Res. vol. iii. p. 179.

long recognised by every traveller who has paid the slightest regard to geographical precision; and the coincidence of name, when due allowance is made for the Arabic pronunciation, is as distinct as could be expected.[1] This coincidence we had observed without reference to Dr. Robinson's work, in which it is particularly noticed. The village is now but a wretched concern. It consists of about thirty or forty rude houses. Connected with one of them, there is a tower which we ascended, paying a few piastres to the owner, for permission to go aloft. The view from this elevation is very extensive and beautiful. To the north of us it was bounded by Jebel ed-Dahí, or the little Hermon, and the hills of Nazareth, and other mountains of Galilee which had been visible from our first entrance on the great plain; to the west, by the range of Carmel, the extremity of which we distinctly saw running into the sea; and to the south, by the hills of Gilboa and the mountains of Samaria. Through a valley, lying to the east between us and little Hermon, in which we observed the Beni-Ṣakar (or Ṣakhr?) Arabs encamped, we saw, beyond the Tell Beisán, BETHSHEAN, or Scythopolis; and beyond the Jordan, on the brink of the valley of which the place stands, the mountains of Bathaníyah or BASHAN, and Ajlún or EGLON. All the villages which I have already mentioned connected with the great plain were visible, with one, Ḳúmíyah, lying, according to the compass, directly to the east, and several others to the north and north-west, which we shall have occasion to notice in our progress to Nazareth. The Walí Nabí Ismáíl, on the hill surmounting this our intended resting-place, which was not

[1] Hebrew יִזְרְעֶאל Arabic زرعين Zer'aín, which accords with the former, dropping the feeble initial letter, and changing the *l* into *n*, which we had often observed done by the Arabs in the course of our journey. Thus at Petra, (vol. i. p. 330,) we had Beni-Israyen for Bene-Israel, and on our way north from Jerusalem, (vol. ii. p. 39,) Beitín for Bethel.

itself visible, stood directly N. of us according to the compass. The Arabs gave the name of Jebel Kalelí to the hills E.S.E. connected with those of Gilboa, which they represented as behind them. We particularly noticed them speak of *Jebel Jelbún*; and of this circumstance I inserted a memorandum on the margin of Dr. Robinson's work, which we used as our guide at this place.[1]

On my second visit to Jezreel, I devoted more time to the examination of its neighbourhood than on this occasion; and we shall therefore continue our journey for the present without further observations. Making a steep descent into the valley north of Jezreel, we unexpectedly came upon a well from which the present village is supplied with water. This, and not the fountain of Ain Jálúd, to the east of the village, and at a greater distance from it, visited by Dr. Robinson,[2] we took to be the well of Jezreel noticed in Scripture. We kept along a dry water-course, cutting through a very fine and fertile soil,—on the banks of which we observed basaltic rocks protruding at several places,—to the north and by west. We then came among some fields with most luxuriant crops of wheat and barley. We had on the flanks of Jebel ed-Dahí, close upon us to the left, the village of Súlam, the modern representative of the SHUNEM of Scripture. We diverged here a little to the left hand, that we might visit El-Fúlah, or the "village of the bean," of nota-

[1] Dr. Robinson says, "The name Gilboa (Jelbôn) is *not* now known among the inhabitants, as applied to these mountains, but only to the village upon them;" and he adds in a note, "I speak here advisedly, for I had been misled by Richardson, to look for the mountains of Gilboa as bordering upon the Jordan valley north of Beisân. He says expressly of the mountain there: 'The natives still call it Gibl Gilbo, or Mount Gilbo;'—Travels, ii. p. 424. This led us to make minute and extensive inquiry, which resulted in showing the language of Richardson to be utterly without foundation."—Bib. Research. vol. iii. p. 171. It will be seen that there is some confliction of evidence; and it must remain for others to point out where the mistake lies.

[2] Bib. Res. vol. iii. p. 167.

bility in connexion with Napoleon's warlike visit to these parts. It is surrounded by a military wall, much broken down in several parts, but bearing evidence of its former strength. This is probably the remains of the castle of Faba, (the bean,) formerly occupied by the Knights Hospitallers and Templars.[1] The village of El-Afúlah is close in its neighbourhood.

About a mile north of this village, we arrived at the ruins called el-Mazràah, which we dismounted to examine. They consist, as far as we observed, merely of a few traces of black walls, nearly level with the ground, and some scattered stones, and a sarcophagus or trough. There are here three wells or fountains, which were much disturbed by cattle drinking at them. The place has been used as a fold for sheep. Mr. Wylie, in his excellent and eloquent work, supposes the place, from the resemblance of its name, and its situation near to the Kishon, to be the Meroz (מרוז) of Judges v. 23.[2] The resemblance in the name, when given in a correct form, is seen to be very slight. In Arabic it is مزرعة, a "field sown or under culture."[3] The village Meroz, however, would appear to have been not far distant from the river Kishon. Procopius Gazæus, according to Reland, says, that he could find no trace of it in any writings, Jewish or foreign.[4] Eusebius and Jerome speak of a village called Merrus, twelve miles from Sebaste, and near Dothaim. But it is not at all probable that this place, lying so far to the south, is the Meroz of the Old Testament. Can either the village Meras-

[1] See Map of Sanutus, and Robinson, iii. p. 177.

[2] The Modern Judea, Ammon, Moab, and Edom, compared with ancient Prophecy.—P. 338.

[3] "Ager consitus, arvum."—Freytag. Lex. tom. ii. p. 233.

[4] "Procopius Gazæus ad hunc locum scribit se nihil de eo loco invenisse in Coloniis aut Hebraicis interpretationibus aut Commentario de locorum nominibus."—Reland. Palest. p. 896.

sas, lying to the south-east of Jebel ed-Daḥí, be Meroz, or Kefr Meṣr on the southern bank of Mount Tabor. I am inclined to think that the latter village may be its representative. The Arabic name agrees with the Hebrew, if we make allowance for such an anagrammatic change as is sometimes observable.

From the Mezràah the Walí on the summit of Jebel ed-Daḥí bore S.E., and the summit of Jebel eṭ-Ṭor, or MOUNT TABOR, E.N.E. This latter mountain, which we had first noticed a little previous to our reaching the Mezràah, had exactly the appearance of a section of a sphere. It is detached from the adjoining mountains; but the extent of plain at its base is not so great as we had been led to expect from the accounts of travellers. It had more verdure upon it than any other mount which we had yet seen in the country; but it is not so well wooded on its southern as on its northern flanks. According to the measurements of Schubert, it is 1748 feet above the level of the sea.[1] There cluster around it several villages mentioned in Scripture, to which we shall have occasion to refer in their proper place. The road from Gaza and the other southern parts of the coast to Damascus, passes between it and ed-Daḥí.

From the Mezràah we rode rapidly to the base of the hills of Nazareth, which we reached in about a quarter of an hour. We noticed, however, the village of Iksál, which, as observed by Dr. Robinson, is probably the "CHESULLOTH" or CHISLOTH-TABOR of the book of Joshua, on the border of Zebulon and Issachar, and the Chasalus of Eusebius and Jerome, in the plain near Tabor, and the Xaloth of Josephus, situated in the great plain;[2] and Debúríyah,—the DABERATH mentioned in connexion with the former village in Joshua xix. 12,—lying at the western base of Mount Tabor.

[1] Reise im Morgenlande, Band iii. p. 175. [2] Bib. Res. vol. iii. p. 182.

At the foot of the hills of Nazareth, we overtook our luggage, which had come through the valley of Esdraelon by the straight road from Jenín. We made the ascent of the hills together, keeping our seats on our horses the whole way. The road which we took is rough and winding. It was the one which lies furthest to the west. The other, which was to our right hand, follows the course of a deeper and more distinct gash in the hills, leading down from Nazareth itself. Which is the more easy of the two we did not learn. We passed close to the village of Yáfá, or JAPHIA, near a cistern, where we found the villagers—with whom we had some conversation—watering their flocks. This village is referred to, along with the two villages mentioned above, in Joshua xix. 12, in which it is said of the border of Zebulon, "that it turned from Sarid eastward toward the sun-rising, unto the border of Chisloth-Tabor, and then goeth out to Daberath, and *goeth up to Japhia*;" a description remarkably corresponding with its present position. We had hitherto had no view of NAZARETH; but in a few minutes, when we had turned the shoulder of the hill, we found it to our left, ensconced in a lovely little dell, or basin, surrounded on all sides by hills, to which we had not very far to descend, as it has itself a very considerable elevation. The view as we went downwards, and approached the village, became very contracted in dimensions, though not certainly so in the interest of its associations. We had before us the very scene which would be most familiar to the Saviour during the greater part of his sojourn in this sinful world. We were deeply affected in the remembrance of his humiliation, and gracious condescension, when he here dwelt, with his ineffable glory, covered with the veil of that humanity which he assumed when he took upon himself the form of a servant, and was sent by God in the likeness of sinful flesh, and died for sin to condemn sin in the flesh.

The village of Náṣirah, or Nazareth, stands on the eastern side of the basin in which it is situated. We entered it from the south-east. Though not so mean as some other villages in the country, there is nothing very striking in its appearance. The conventual buildings of the Franciscan monks, including the Latin Church of the Annunciation, with their different enclosures surrounded by strong walls; the Casa Nuova, or house built by the convent for the accommodation of travellers; and the Muhammadan mosque, are the erections belonging to it which principally attract the attention of the visitor. We observed a khán of considerable size as we entered the village; but as it was far from being inviting as a place of habitation, we threw ourselves on the hospitality of the monks. They at once consented to give us lodgings in the Casa Nuova. When our servants were there making ready our dinner for us, we had a long conversation in Latin with the superior of these recluses. Like his associates, he was a native of Spain; but much superior to them in talents and information. He appeared to us to be a very amiable person; and we deeply regretted his connexion with the system to which he is attached. He told us that he was extremely anxious to learn Hebrew; and we gave him a lesson in reading, which he professed to value. He was attracted by the appearance of Dhanjibhái, and heard some account of his conversion to Christianity, in which he seemed to feel some interest.

9th April.—We left our lodgings in an early part of the day, that without any disturbance or interruption we might engage in social worship and communion on the top of the hill, on the western flank of which the village is principally situated. We were sorry to observe the villagers—three-fourths of whom are professing Christians of different denominations—paying very little regard to the sanctity of the Sabbath. As far as we could see, it was marked only by

the shutting of the shops. A good many people were at work as masons. Several were engaged in cutting grass in the fields. Crowds of women, tittering, and laughing, and jesting, were filling their pitchers at what is called the "Fountain of the Virgin," to which they think it is particularly meritorious to repair for a supply of water. The children were heartily engaged in their every-day amusements.

A Greek monk, as we passed along, called us to step into the Church of the Annunciation, which he declared to be the true sacred spot, in opposition to that of the Romanists; and he gave us a draft of cool water from a fountain within it, which he raised by letting down, by a chain, a small vessel to a spring which communicates with the fountain of the virgin a little below.

When we got to the Wálí Nabí Ismáíl, on the top of the hill over Nazareth, we had on all sides of us a most glorious prospect. The sphere of observation is here as much enlarged as below it is contracted. To the north-west of us, overlooking a part of the country considerably wooded, we had the bay of Akká and Haifá, with the clear blue expanse of the Mediterranean, or Great Sea of the Hebrews, spreading itself in the distance beyond. South of this, and striking to the south-east, we had the whole ridge of Carmel before us, which, though stripped of much of the glory of its olden forests, still presents striking memorials of that "excellency" for which it was so distinguished. To the south and south-west of us, somewhat circular in its form, is seen here, bounded by the picturesque mountains of Samaria, the "great plain," the battle-field of the country both in ancient and modern times, and probably the real or typical site of the battle of Armageddon. To the east and south-east of us, we had the little Hermon, which, though bald on its crown, has considerable vegetation on its shoulders; Mount Tabor, standing apart in its own nobility, and like

Nature's own pyramid, not commemorative of death, but instinct with life, and clothed with luxuriant verdure to its very summits; and the deep valley of the Jordan and the sea of Tiberias, with the equable hills and mountains of Bashan and Golan on its eastern side. To the north, beyond the plain of el-Baṭṭauf, we had the hills and mountains forming the continuation of the Lebanon; and to the north-east, those forming the termination of the Anti-Lebanon, with Jebel esh-Sheikh, the true Hermon, the chief of all the mountains of the land, moistened with the copious dews which descend from his hoary locks. Many villages, including a considerable number mentioned in Scripture, were distinctly visible. Besides Jezreel, Jenín, Taânuk, Megiddo, and others, to which I have already alluded when passing over the great plain, we had before us,—beginning with Safariyah, the Sepphoris of Jewish history, called also Dio-Cæsarea, lying immediately beyond the rather bare hills of Nazareth, and turning to the right,—Kaná el-Jalíl, or Cana of Galilee, which was privileged to witness the beginning of our Lord's miracles; Sáfed, the famous sanctuary of Rabbinism, and supposed to be the "city set upon a hill," immediately before the attention of our Saviour and his disciples during the delivery of the sermon on the mount; Endor, the residence of the witch who is noticed in the history of Saul; Nein, or Nain, where the widow resided whose son was raised to life by our Lord.[1] The associations of the scene were numerous and hallowed, independently of those immediately connected with Nazareth below.

[1] During our second visit to Nazareth, as well as on this occasion, we took a few bearings with the compass, which very nearly agree with those of Dr. Robinson, (vol. iii. p. 195.) The following are the most important of them, Safariyah, N. ¾ W.; summit of Mount Tabor, E.S.E.; Walí on the top of Jebel ed-Dahí, or Little Hermon, S. by E.; Zer'aín, or Jezreel, S.; Jenín, S. ¼ W.; shoulder of Carmel, nearest the sea, N.W. by W.

There is a good deal of soil on this hill of Nazareth; and doubtless it is to a considerable extent capable of culture. It is covered in many of its patches with a species of erica, called bilad, which is found on all the hills of the country. With this are mixed a good many herbaceous and flowering plants, among which we noticed some of great beauty.

We continued some two or three hours on the top of this hill, where we conducted divine service, remembering the condescension and grace of that Saviour, who must have often ascended it to survey the works of his father, and to behold the land over which were scattered the lost sheep of the house of Israel, whom he sought to save. We descended from the hill as straight as we could to the precipice adjoining the Maronite Church, which Dr. Clark thinks was the "brow of the hill on which the city stood," down which its infuriated inhabitants sought to precipitate our Lord.[1] There are certainly two or three bare scarps of rock here, and in the neighbourhood, some twenty or thirty feet in depth, whence a person could be "cast down headlong" to his destruction. The "Mount of the Precipitation" of the monks, which was pointed out to us from the top of the hill, lies south by east of Nazareth, from which it is fully two or three miles distant. It is not on the brow of the hill on which Nazareth *now* stands; and satisfactory objections have been urged against its being supposed to have been the place referred to in the Gospels. The legend "presupposes," says Dr. Robinson, "that in a popular and momentary tumult, they should have had the patience to lead off

[1] "Induced, by the words of the Gospel, to examine the place more attentively than we should have otherwise done, we went, as it is written, '*out of the city, unto the brow of the hill whereon the city is built*,' and came to a precipice corresponding with the words of the Evangelist. It is above the Maronite Church, and probably the precise spot alluded to by the text of St. Luke's Gospel."—Clarke's Travels, vol. ii. p. 487.

their victim to an hour's distance in order to do what there was an equal facility for doing near at hand. . . . . Indeed, such is the intrinsic absurdity of the legend, that the monks themselves now-a-days, in order to avoid it, make the ancient Nazareth to have been near at hand on the same mountain. The good friars forget the dilemma into which they thus bring themselves ; for if the ancient Nazareth lay near the precipice overhanging the plain, what becomes of the holy places now shown in the present town ?"[1]

We had no disposition, when at Nazareth, to desecrate the Lord's day by visiting any of its imaginary *loca sancta* which did not come incidentally in our way ; and consequently we paid no attention to the "work-shop of Joseph," where he exercised the craft of a carpenter, and the synagogue, where Christ read the Scriptures to the Jews,[2] and the "*mensa Christi*," or large stone, on which it is supposed he ate with his disciples both before and after his resurrection. We did walk across the street, however, to take a peep at the Franciscan church, and to notice the services which were there conducted. Like all similar erections in the country, it is highly ornamented in the interior, and is more fitted to distract the attention of the worshipper than to aid in composing his mind for holding communion with his God. We descended into what is called the "grotto of the annunciation," the site of the monkish abode of Joseph and Mary, whose house itself,—in a form which I cannot describe, but by a process which every man of sense understands,—has been miraculously conveyed to Loretto in Italy. The marvellous pillar here was what we were most particularly invited to inspect. "The capital, and a piece of the shaft of a pillar of grey granite has been fastened on to the roof of the cave ; and so clumsily is the rest of the *hocus pocus* con-

[1] Biblical Researches, vol. iii. p. 187. [2] Luke iv. 16.

trived, that what is shown for the lower fragment of the same pillar resting upon the earth, is not of the same substance, but of Cipolino marble."[1] Above the cave there is an ascent by a flight of steps on each of its sides, to an elevation behind the altar. Here is shown the "vera imago Salvatoris Nostri Domini Jesu Christi ad Regem Abgarum missa."[2] It is a striking piece of art, but of course apocryphal. Above it there is another still more presumptuous artistic device—an attempt to represent that first person of the glorious Trinity, whom no man hath seen at any time, neither can see. With this fearful degradation of Deity, there is connected a similar impious exaltation of humanity. The following blasphemous address, in which the Virgin Mary takes the precedence of the Saviour as the grand refuge in the time of peril, is exhibited as a specimen of caligraphy, and set to music and suspended below.

"TIBI UNI PRAESIDIO CONFUGIMUS SANCTA DEI GENETRIX; NOSTRAS DEPRECATIONES NE DESPICIAS IN NECESSITATIB' SED A PERICULIS CUNCTIS LIBERA NOS SEMPER VIRGO GLORIOSA ET BENEDICTA.

Ave Roche sanctissime
Nobili natus sanguine
Crucis signatus schemate
Sinistro tuo latere,

Roche peregre profectus
Pestiferæ mortis ictus
Curavisti mirifice
Tangendo salutifere.

Vale Roche Angelice
Vocis citatus flamine
Obtinuisti Deifice
A cunctis pestem pellere."

The Franciscan monks, we found performing mass for the sake both of the villagers and of some pilgrims from distant

[1] Clarke's Travels, vol. ii. p. 431.

[2] Rome and Genoa also contend for this alleged picture. For a notice of the pretended likenesses of Christ, see Giesler's Eccles. Hist., Davidson's Trans. pp. 65, 66.

places. They were certainly exhibiting more decency of outward devotion than we had witnessed in other places among the confraternities of the Greek Church. We saw them also engaged in superintending the teaching of a school. The Roman Catholics of Nazareth are of three orders, the Latinists, the Maronites, and the Greek Catholics.[1]

10th April.—We went across this morning to repeat our visit to the conventual buildings. Our principal object was to inspect the pictures, at which we had taken only a glance on the preceding day. That representing the Annunciation or Conception, depicts God the Father in the form of an old man, with out-stretched arms; and the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove, surrounded by little winged cherubs. The Virgin is exhibited kneeling, and there is beside her an angel with a lily in his hand. This painting is on a large scale. The "vera imago" is a small painting well executed. The brow of the figure is rather contracted, but the tout-ensemble is remarkably pleasing and dignified, especially when viewed in the sombre light of the morning. Art, however, shows only becoming deference to the great mystery of godliness, "God manifest in the flesh," when it realizes the subject as one far beyond its puny efforts. We found a good many people in the church, several of whom were wearing their side arms,—swords, daggers, and pistols,—no unc-

[1] Dr. Robinson gives the following estimate of the population of the town, furnished by Abu Nasr :—

"Greeks, ...	160 families,	or 260 taxable men.
Greek Catholics, . .	60	130
Latin do. . .	65	120
Maronites, . . .	40	100
Muhammedans, . .	120	170
Total, . . .	445	780

"This implies a population of about three thousand souls."—Bib. Res. vol. iii. p. 185. The Greek Church reckons its adherents at this place at 1000 souls. See Appendix to Williams's Holy City. Mr. Consul Moore estimates its population at two thousand souls.—Bowring's Report on Syria, p. 7.

quivocal symbols of the unsettled state of this country. We had some conversation, as on the preceding Saturday, with the superior of the convent, the most intelligent and liberal minded monk whom we had hitherto met on our travels. Like most of the Terra Santa monks, he was a native of Spain. He was very anxious he told us, as on a former occasion, to acquire a knowledge of the Hebrew language; and we went over a small portion of the Hebrew grammar with him, giving him a few hints about the pronunciation of the language. He had some wish, too, to attend to botany, especially with a reference to the Holy Land; but his helps to the study of this interesting science were but limited, and rather obsolete. We procured a dependant of the convent,—a very intelligent man he proved to be, and one ready to canvass the monastic traditions,—to accompany us as a guide to Tiberias.

We left the basin in which Nazareth is situated, by going from the convent through the village, and leaving the hill on which the Walí of Nabí Ismáíl is situated to the left hand. In the gardens contiguous to the village, we noticed various fruit-bearing trees, such as the fig, pomegranate, olive, carob,[1] apple, apricot, quince, orange, lime, and vine; but these gardens are of no great extent, and they are not kept in the best order. When we got to the north of the village, by the road to Acre, we turned along the side, or rather summit, of a hill in an easterly direction with Mount Tabor, or Jebel Ṭor, as it is called by the Arabs in common with many other remarkable heights, as our Kiblah. Our path was tolerably level for about half an hour, when it began gradually to sink to the east. No village here came directly in our way. On the hills, however, we found

[1] For an account of this tree,—the horn-shaped pods of which formed the *κεράτια* ("husks") on which the prodigal son fed, (Luke xv. 16,)—see Kitto's Biblical Encyclopædia, under CERATIA.

a good deal of culture. We had several ascents and descents in advance, till we came to the base of Tabor. On the hills to the west and north-west of this mountain, as well as on Tabor itself, we observed a sparse forest of oaks, pistacias, and thorn, and other trees and bushes, which added to their picturesque effect. The pasturage was very rank and luxuriant among them; and much in excess of any demands to be made upon it by flocks or herds in this neighbourhood. We noticed the village of Dabaríyah or DABERATH to the left on the flank of Tabor. It is at present small and insignificant. The great Damascus road passes quite contiguous to it. We were two hours, from our leaving Nazareth, in reaching the base of Mount Tabor. Seen from the west, its form certainly answers to the character given of it by Polybius,[1] of ὄρος μαστοειδές, (mons in forma uberis,) or that of a truncated cone,[2] to which it is commonly compared. The estimate, which makes it rise about 1000 feet from its base, is, perhaps, too much by a hundred feet.[2] It does not appear to the eye to be much, if any thing, higher than the hills on the west, or Jebel Dahi, or Hermon on the south. From these and all the adjoining hills, it certainly stands apart; but it is an erroneous criticism, which finds in this circumstance, any suitableness for its being the scene of our Lord's transfiguration.[3]

[1] Polyb. b. v. Reland, who quotes this description of it from Polybius, thinks that the name תבור which it bears in Scripture is the equivalent of טבור "quod editum locum verticem montis, et umbilicum notat."—Relandi Palest. p. 332.

[2] Schubert's measurements make it upwards of 1300 Paris feet above the level of the plain, and 1748 feet above the level of the sea. Reise in das Morgenland, drit. Band, p. 175. A new measurement of this mountain is much to be desired.

[3] The deputation from the Church of Scotland who preceded me to the Holy Land, when speaking of this mount, say, "Tabor is about a thousand feet above the plain, answering well to the description, 'an high mountain apart.'"—Narrative, p. 403. This mode of applying the phrase κατ' ἰδίαν (apart) is very ancient, but it is erroneous. The expression refers to the taking of the disciples apart. It

We ascended Mount Tabor by a winding path on its western side, keeping our seats on our horses during our progress, except at one or two places at which we dismounted, more for convenience than from necessity. Our ascent occupied an hour and ten minutes. We experienced much exhilaration of spirits in our progress; and were wishful to start among the bushes some of the wild hogs which abound on the hill, or of the leopards which are there occasionally seen;[1] but we were disappointed. We had no adventure of any kind by the way. Nor is this necessary for the interest of the traveller in this country of natural beauty, and hallowed reminiscences and associations. The mountain on which we were is still fresh and lovely, as well as conspicuous and graceful, and the Christian traveller can sympathize with the Psalmist as he sings,—

> "The heavens are thine, the earth also is thine:
> The world and the fulness thereof, thou hast founded them.
> The north and the south thou hast created them:
> Tabor and Hermon shall rejoice in thy name."[2]

What first attracted our attention on the summit of Tabor, was a patch of oats, forming a very luxuriant crop. Dr. Samuel Johnson would have been pleased to learn that they were destined, as we were informed by our guide, to be the food of horses, and not to "support the people" as in the Land of Cakes.

The summit of Mount Tabor, as estimated by Burckhardt, is about half an hour in circumference.[3] It is of an elliptical form. We thought that the traveller now men-

has been well remarked by Reland, referring to Mark ix. 2, "Verum illud κατ' ἰδίαν, sive *seorsim*, ad montis situm non spectat, nec credi debet redundare si referatur ad *ducere*; licet sequatur μόνους, nam potuissent plures seorsim duci quam hi soli."—Relandi Palest. p. 835.

[1] Some have said that the ounce is also found on this hill; but their allegation requires corroboration.

[2] Psalm lxxxix. 11, 12.

[3] Travels in Syria, p. 334.

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tioned is correct when he supposes the whole of it to have been surrounded at one time by a thick wall with large stones. The part of it which lies to the south-east is a little higher than the rest of the top of the hill; and the ruins here we found to correspond with the accounts of travellers, and to consist of the remains of strong walls and foundations, towers, trenches, arches, vaults, cisterns, and gateways. It is difficult to form any idea of the original form of the erections and substructions to which they have belonged. The masonic work has evidently, in some parts, been bevelled, and it thus bears marks of high antiquity. Some of it, from the remains of Saracenic arches, we may with some good degree of confidence ascribe to the times of the Crusaders. Dr. Robinson has well supplemented the historical notices of the buildings on this mountain given by Reland. Long before and after the time of Christ, the summit of the mount was occupied by a fortified city. This fact, as adverted to by the Doctor, bears materially on the question, Was the Mount of Tabor that on which the transfiguration of our Lord took place? When that glorious scene occurred, the three favoured apostles who witnessed it were "taken up into an high mountain apart by themselves;" and such solitude as is here implied would not be found on Mount Tabor, crowned as it was by fortifications and houses.[1] The Bourdeaux pilgrim, in 333,

[1] "In the New Testament, Mount Tabor is not mentioned. In Greek and Roman writers, the name takes the form Itabyrion or Atabyrion, which appears also in the Septuagint. The historian Polybius relates, that Antiochus the Great of Syria, after having captured the city Philoteria, near the Lake of Tiberias, 'ascended the mountain and came to Atabyrion, a place lying on a breast-formed height, having an ascent of more than fifteen stadia; and by stratagem and wile, he got possession of the city,' which he afterwards fortified. This was in the year 218 B.C., and shows that the former city upon the mountain still remained. According to Josephus, a battle took place at Mount Itabyrion about 53 B.C., between the Roman forces under the proconsul Gabinius, and the Jews under Alexander, son of Aristobulus; in which ten thousand of the latter were slain. At a later period, Josephus himself caused Mount Tabor to be fortified, along

seems to have laid the scene of the transfiguration on the Mount of Olives.[1] It would appear that at this time Mount Tabor was not thought of as the Mount of Transfiguration. "Eusebius, who died about A.D. 340, makes no allusion whatever to the opinion in question; although nothing would have been more natural, had it then existed; inasmuch as he describes the mountain in reference to the Old Testament. The first notice of Tabor, as the place of the transfiguration, appears a few years later as a passing remark, in the works of Cyrill of Jerusalem; and Jerome twice mentions the same thing, though slightly, and so as to imply that there was not yet a church upon the summit. All these circumstances, in connexion with the fact, that the evangelists nowhere make the slightest allusion to Tabor, go to show that the legend was of recent origin."[2] It is probable that the high mountain on which the transfiguration occurred was not far distant from Cesarea Philippi, the present Bániás, near the sources of the Jordan, at the base of Jebel esh-Sheikh, or Mount Hermon. Christ was in the "coasts" of that place "six days" before his transfiguration; and we do not read in the Gospels of his leaving them before that occurrence.[3]

with various other places. He describes the mountain as having an ascent of thirty stadia; on the north it was inaccessible; and the summit was a plain of twenty-six stadia in circumference. This whole surface Josephus caused to be enclosed with a wall in forty days; the materials and also water being brought from below, since the inhabitants had only rain-water. This account, although exaggerated, corresponds well with the remains still found on the mountain. Still later, and after Josephus himself had fallen into the hands of the Romans, a great multitude of the Jews took refuge in this fortress; against whom Vespasian sent Placidus with six hundred horsemen."—Bib. Res. vol. iii. pp. 220, 221.

[1] Speaking of the Church of the Ascension, which he attributes to the orders of Constantine, he says, "Inde non longe est monticulus, ubi Dominus ascendit orare et apparuit illic Moyses et Helias, quando Petrum et Joannem secum duxit."—Itin. Hierosol. in Wessel. p. 595.

[2] Bib. Res. vol. iii. p. 222.

[3] A very important passage on this subject occurs in Reland's work. After alluding to the opinions of Jerome and Cyrill, referred to above,

Though I have here mentioned the remains on the top of the mount first, it was certainly not with them that we mainly occupied our attention when we stood on this commanding height, either on this or on a subsequent occasion. We enjoyed a clear atmosphere, and our eyes delighted to range over the grand panorama of the country which was presented to our view. It was similar in point of extent to that which we had enjoyed on the hill of Nazareth; but

and the deference to be shown to them, supported as they are, by the consent of many ages, he expresses his accordance with the opinion of Lightfoot, disagreeing with theirs, and adds, (in a passage which it may be proper to translate,) "We read of Christ going with his disciples to the villages of Cesarea Philippi. See Matth. xvi. 13; Mark viii. 27. He there discoursed of various matters with his disciples, and it is immediately subjoined, Matth. xvii. 1, Mark ix. 2, 'And after six days, Jesus took Peter, James, and John,' &c. (no mention having been made of a journey to remote places,) and 'took them into an high mountain apart.' It is not said he took them to Mount Tabor, and leaving Cesarea went thither, but he took them apart, and even alone, (which he could do in places nearer than Mount Tabor,) while the other disciples remained in the neighbourhood; for it is said, that as soon as they descended from the mountain, the disciples and much people besides met him. See Luke ix. 36, and compare it with Mark ix. 14. It is therefore to be supposed, that Jesus took the three disciples to some mountain not far from Cesarea, the name of which is not known. . . . Moreover, I am on this account disposed to place this mountain in the country beyond Jordan:—The journey of Jesus is described, (see Matth. xiv. 34,) as extending from the district Gennesaret to the borders of Tyre and Sidon; (see Matth. xv. 21;) thence it returns to the Sea of Galilee, (Matth. xv. 29,) which having passed in a vessel, he came to the district of Magdala, (Matth. xv. 39,) and from thence into the region of Cesarea Philippi, (Matth. xvi. 13.) Thence he led the three disciples to the mountain [of transfiguration,] Matth. xvii. 1. Then he goes through Galilee, Matth. xvii. 22, (which compare with Mark ix. 30,) and Capernaum, Matth. xvii. 24. Thence he proceeds onward, and having left Galilee passes the Jordan, and goes by way of Perea to Judea, and by way of Jericho and the Mount of Olives, he finished his journey at Jerusalem; see Matth. xix. 1, and xx. 29, and xxi. 1. The method of this journey is fitted to persuade us, that Jesus had not departed from Cesarea Philippi to Mount Tabor, and from thence returned to Capernaum, but that the mountain in which the voice proclaimed that Jesus was the Son of God, is to be sought near the city of Cesarea, more especially since the sacred writers so diligently wrote the names of the places, in which any thing memorable was performed by Christ."—Relandi Palestin. pp. 835, 836.

it was somewhat more diversified. The most distant object which we saw, was Jebel esh-Sheikh or Hermon, forming part of our northern view, rearing his lofty head still hoary with unmelted snows, into the clear atmosphere of heaven, and far above the adjoining mountains, which enhance his majestic grandeur. The southern spurs, and broken eminences of Lebanon, lay in this direction farther to the west, and amongst them we observed the town of Sáfed, supposed to furnish to our Lord the type of the city set upon a hill which cannot be hid.[1] Turning from it to the right hand to include the view to the east, we observed a portion of the Lake of Tiberias, with its placid waters forming, as it were, a sea of glass; and we were then able to observe the general form of the depression of the lake, with the swell of the country of Jaulán, the ancient GOLAN, lying beyond it. This district, as well as that of BASHAN, lying to the south of it, seemed to be clothed with luxuriant pasture, such as of old would support the cattle which in this district were so famous for their strength and ferocity. The slope of this part of the country was towards the plain of the Jordan. It is not so steep as that of Moab, except on the immediate borders of the sea of Galilee. Few distinct eminences can be discerned upon it, though some of our map-makers do not fail to give us a supply of such for the sake of ornament. It is apparently but little cut by furrows and ravines; but a nearer inspection of it might perhaps have shown the state of matters in this respect to be otherwise. We noticed part of the depression formed by the Yarmúk or Hieromax, —the most considerable tributary of the Jordan, which it enters about two hours south of the lake of Tiberias— nearly directly east of our position, the greater part of its course, which is very serpentine, being hid from our view. Another tributary of the Jordan, we noticed rising

[1] Matth. v. 14.

near the village of Endór, a little to the south of us, and running toward the river in the direction of south-east. The valley through which it goes, first called "Mirzah," if we caught its name correctly, and afterwards Wádí el-Bírah, opens up a considerable prospect. This valley is bounded on the south by the heights on which the village of Kaukab el-Hawá stands. A similar valley, which we have already noticed, leads east of Jezreel, bounded to the south by the mountains of Gilboa, and the heights near Scythopolis, which are their continuation. Over the eastern parts of the shoulder of Jebel ed-Daḥí, or the little Hermon, part of the hills of Gilboa are visible. Jebel ed-Daḥí itself to some extent bounds the view directly in the south, which, from the proximity of that mountain, is here most contracted. To the south-east we have a diagonal view of a great part of the plain of Esdraelon, the Merj Ibn Ámir, as it is now called. Our guide from Nazareth told us that the source of the Kishon is near the village of Iksál; but we were not able to discern it. The eastern portions of Carmel were also in sight. In some states of the weather, part of the Mediterranean, to the right of Nazareth, is visible.[1]

This brief survey refers particularly to the more distant parts of the scene. Nearer to us we had a view of certain plots of the country, and of ancient villages, which were to us objects of no small interest. Between us and Tiberias, which we expected to be our resting-place for the night, we had what has been called the northern sweep of the great plain of Esdraelon, which appeared to us much more broken and undulating than we expected to find it, and but imperfectly connected with the western side, with which it communicates by the opening between the hills of Nazareth and Mount Tabor. We observed a number of Arab tents

[1] See above, p. 93.

pitched here and there over its surface, but in no particular order. We were told that they were all under the Sheikh Aḥmad el-Músá, whom we afterwards met at the base of the hill, with a troop of his horsemen arrayed in their warlike habiliments, and bent on an encontre, as they said, with the Tiyáhah, who had extended their wanderings from Gaza to the neighbourhood of Jenín. In the plain east of Mount Tabor, called esh-Sherâh Hadhatí[1] by our guide, we observed a still greater number of the tabernacles of the Ishmaelites. We took the bearing, by the compass, of one or two eminences, and of several of the villages in sight, which are subjoined.[2] Of the villages near us, and which were in sight, two, if not three, which have not been already mentioned in this narrative, are mentioned in the Scriptures. Endór is ENDOR, a town which belonged to Manasseh, and which is noted as the habitation of the witch famous in the days of Saul. Nein is NAIN, where the widow's son was graciously raised to life by our Lord. Kefr Musr, I suppose, as I have already hinted, is MEROZ, on which the curse is denounced in the song of Deborah and Barak.[3]

We should gladly have prolonged our stay on Mount Tabor; but the claims of appetite, perhaps too long overlooked, forced us to leave the commanding and charming eminence which we had there assumed. We descended partly by the same path by which we had gone up; and then, turning to the right along the base of the mountain for about twenty minutes, we sat down among the trees and bushes near a spring, where our servants had prepared our breakfast. This

[1] In Dr. Robinson's map, this part of the plain is called Shara el-Hatli; but the form of letter used in the engraving, marks it as doubtful.

[2] Walí on the hill of Nazareth, W.N.W.
Yáfá, (Japhia,) W. ¼ N.
Endor, S. by W.
Nein, S.W. by S.
Kafr Musr, S.S.E. ¼ E.
Esh-Sherah Hadhatí, E. ¼ S.
Sáfed, N. by E. ¾ E.
This may be compared with the more extended list given by Dr. Robinson, Bib. Res. vol. iii. p. 219.

[3] See above, p. 90.

spring is the source of a streamlet which flows into the Wádí el-Bírah, through which,—united probably to that which I have noticed as rising at Endór,—it flows into the Jordan. The scenery here in some respects resembled that of our native land. The vegetation was luxuriant, and we had much pleasure in renewing our acquaintance with some plants which we had not seen since we had first left the regions of the west. From the place where we were, the body of the Mount appeared to stretch farther to the east than it seemed to do as we approached it from the west; and, as it is sometimes described, it here resembled the segment of a sphere. A sketch was made of it by our artist from a position in which it is not usually represented.[1]

From the place where we breakfasted, we had not far to go to the Khán es-Suḳ,[2] called also the Khán et-Tujjár.[3] The caravanserai here is in a ruinous state; and so is a Saracenic fortlet with round towers in its neighbourhood. There is a well within the khán. The Badawín fair had not broken up when we arrived at the locality, as it regularly does about noon, to allow the pedlars from Nazareth and Tiberias, who attend it, to make a timeous return to their homes; and we had an opportunity of witnessing the strange groups of Ishmaelites which were there collected, and their mode of transacting business. The numbers of women and men who were present appeared to be nearly equal. The live stock exhibited for disposal consisted of camels, horses, and sheep; but the supply was not great. Among the wearables, and eatables, and domestic utensils exposed for sale, we noticed various kinds of cloths, boots, shoes, slippers, pipes and pipe-staffs, tobacco, raisins, sweetmeats, pots, pans, earthenware, and various et ceteras. The affair of sale and purchase seemed to be conducted with

[1] See end of this chapter.
[2] Khán of the market.
[3] Khán of the merchants.

much vociferation and swaggering. The Arabs showed a lightness and cheerfulness of countenance which we had never before witnessed among them; and without the fiery stimulants which, on market days, are too often in use among people less favoured than themselves. They cast any thing but pleasant looks on us, however; and we were not anxious to have much of their company during our march to Tiberias. The number of persons collected together may have been about six or seven hundred.[1]

Various paths lead from the Khán es-Suḳ to the different villages lying to the north of Mount Tabor, from some of which they communicate with Tiberias. We took on this occasion, however, the great Damascus road, which lies intermediate between Kafr Sabṭ and Lubíyah. It forms, speaking generally, the water-shed between the Mediterranean and the Jordan; and the ground over which it leads is a good deal broken and undulating, presenting here and there some bare patches, but having much soil, imperfectly turned to use, but capable of profitable cultivation. Numerous stones and boulders of black basaltic tufa are in some places scattered over its surface. Our attention was particularly directed to the plant of which Burckhardt says, "The plain was covered with the wild artichoke, called khob (خُبّ); it bears a thorny, violet-coloured flower, in the shape of an artichoke, upon a stem five feet in height."[2] It is very common in the Holy Land, particularly in the valley of Esdraelon, and was now in its fullest blow. The predominant colour of the flower is not violet, but blue. Mr. Smith was inclined to consider it the plant alluded to by our Lord,

[1] Buckingham says,—"We found assembled on the outside of these buildings (the khán and fortlet) from four to five thousand persons, as well as numerous herds of cattle."—Buckingham's Travels in Palestine, p. 456.

[2] Burckhardt's Travels in Syria, p. 333.

when he said, "Consider the lilies (κρίνα) of the field, how they grow; they toil not, neither do they spin: and yet I say unto you, That even Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these."[1] The wild flowers of the country, which are remarkable for their exquisite beauty, however, are so numerous, that the species referred to by our Lord will probably never be identified. Had its name been expressed to us in Hebrew, the matter might have been otherwise, and we might have found the corresponding Arabic name still in use.

We passed the village of Lúbíyah, (or Lúbí,) lying to our left. It is of considerable size, and stands upon a rising ground. It was much injured by the earthquake of January 1837. Near the place where it lay, to the west of us—the Khán Lúbíyah, if I mistake not—we observed two wells, with large stones perforated for drawing the water through at their mouths.[2] Lúbíyah occurs on the nearest road between Tiberias and Nazareth; and so does Kafr Kenná, which we had noticed from various positions during the day, at about half the distance between Lúbíyah and Nazareth. Kafr Kenna, according to the monks, is the Cana of Galilee at which our Lord wrought his first miracle; but Ḳáná el-Jalíl (literally, Cana of Galilee) is the village which has more than a nominal claim to that honour.[3]

Striking off from the Damascus road, we approached a rocky ridge of no great height towards the south, called the Ḳarún Ḥaṭṭín, or Horns of Ḥaṭṭín. This was the seat of the disastrous and decisive battle fought between the Christians and the Muhammadans in the year 1187, which has

[1] Matth. vi. 28, 29.

[2] These must not have attracted the notice of Dr. Robinson, for he says,—"There was now no water visible in this whole tract."—Bib. Res. vol. iii. p. 237.

[3] See Adricomii Theatrum Ter. Sanct. p. 138. Robinson's Bib. Res. vol. iii. pp. 204-208.

been so graphically described by the historians of the Crusades, and related in an animated style by Schubert and Dr. Robinson. It is also the Mountain of Beatitudes, according to the monks, and the spot where Christ miraculously fed the five thousand with the five loaves and two fishes.[1] It is a rocky range of no great height, but we did not ascend to its summits. It is steep and precipitous on its northern side, as we had an opportunity of seeing during an excursion which we afterwards made to the Ḳalàt Ibn Màán, at the head of Wádí Ḥamám, a continuation of the plain of Gennesaret, which communicates with the Sahil Ḥaṭṭín, or plain of Ḥaṭṭín, lying to the north of it.

A little in advance of the Khán Lúbíyah, the road to Tiberias, though not very straight, runs pretty much in an easterly direction. A fine view of the lake is obtained from the front of the precipice overlooking the town. It is nearly visible to its whole extent; and though the hills by which it is surrounded on all sides, except at the entrance and at the emergence of the Jordan, present but little of the picturesque, we were more gratified by the scenery, on the whole, than we had been led to expect. The lake itself, which is exposed to occasional violent squalls blowing down upon it from the adjoining heights, was remarkably placid and clear when we first beheld it from this position. A simple solitary skiff, generally employed in bringing wood from the eastern side of the lake, had its little sail spread before us, and was scudding on its waters, over which there now ply no warlike galleys with oars, like those mentioned by Josephus, and no boats bearing the industrious fisherman and the produce of his toil, and no vessel conveying passengers from town to town and village to village, such as those we read of in the New Testament. The whole country in its neighbourhood

[1] Matthew xiv. 17.

is well nigh depopulated by the judgments of God and the depravity and misgovernment of man. The traveller stands astonished at the view of the grievous change which it has witnessed. He is most deeply affected also in the remembrance of the consecration of its narrow borders by the personal ministry of the Saviour himself, and in his reflection on the moral influences which have gone forth from its now almost forsaken shores to the very ends of the earth.

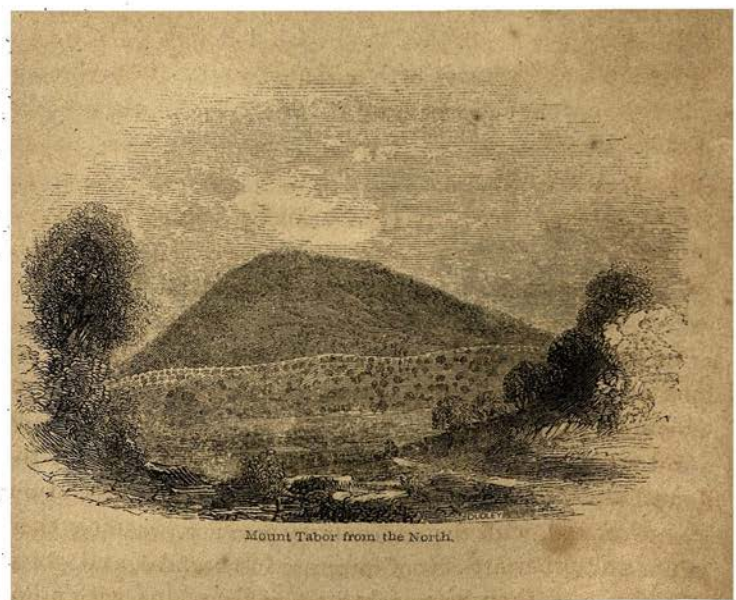
The descent into the basin, on the border of which Tiberias stands, occupied us about twenty minutes. The road, though somewhat winding, is steep and difficult to beasts of burden. Several cultivated plots lie on each side of it, bearing the different grains raised in the country. A good many black stones and boulders of basaltic tufa are found scattered, as on the plain above, over the cretaceous rock, from which we observed, in our little divergencies both to the right and left, dykes of basalt bursting forth. The town of Tiberias has but a mean appearance as you approach it; and it is not improved when you get close to its walls. The effects of the great earthquake of the 1st of January 1837—which consigned some hundreds of its inhabitants to death, and the survivors to poverty and woe—are still too plainly visible. The walls,—which are of the dark basalt stone, and about twenty feet high,—and also their turrets, are in many places rent, and broken, and breached; so much so that the inhabitants do not consider themselves safe from the inroads of the Arabs. Some half dozen of Turkish soldiers, appointed for their protection, were placed in their tents outside. The governor's fortified abode, the most conspicuous building of the place as we enter the western gate, is nearly as much a ruin as a mansion. The Church of St. Peter, said to be built over the place where the miraculous draught of fishes was brought to shore, was never an attractive building, being merely a plain

arched vault of an oblong form, and some length. Many of the houses which were thrown down by the earthquake have not yet been re-erected; and those which have been lately built are, generally speaking, of very unsubstantial materials.

The Jews form the major part of the population of Tiberias; and, as I had particularly to inquire into their circumstances, as well as those of their co-religionists elsewhere, we resolved to take up our abode with them. Here, as in other places of the world, they live in a particular part of the town by themselves. It is that which lies to the south-east corner, towards the sea. We were directed to the house of Mr. Haiim, from the north of Africa, who has been accustomed for some time past to furnish lodgings to European travellers; and we met with a kind reception from him and his active and obliging wife Rachel, the factotum of his whole establishment. He arrayed himself in his best apparel when we were with him; and put on, as an outer robe, a goodly *dressing-gown*, which he highly valued, being, like Joseph's coat, of many colours. We were rather surprised when he produced a considerable quantity of silver plate when our first meal was set before us. Our repast consisted principally of the fish of the lake, which we had ordered in preference to every thing else of which we received the offer. We noted the names of several of these fishes, both on this and other occasions. In the lake there are several species of carp, including the Benní, or Cyprinus Benni, the Mesht of Burckhardt, pronounced Musht by our informants, which I take to be the Sparus Galilæus of Hasselquist,[1] and that species of Mormyrus which Sir Gardiner Wilkinson thinks was the oxyrinchus of the ancients; several species of Silurus, including the Karmut, or Silurus anguillaris; the

[1] Hasselquist's Voyages and Travels, p. 224. Wilkinson's Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians, vol. iii. p. 58.

Háfáfi, a fish with large cirri, which we saw only after it was roasted; and various others, which were described to us only in a general manner by the Jews. The number of edible fishes in the lake, both as far as species and quantity are concerned, is great, though not, as is said, what it was before the earthquake. The indolent people on the borders of the Sea of Galilee catch them now only by the line and hand-net thrown from the shore. Hasselquist notices the identity of some of the species with those found in the Nile. This identity is referred to so early as the time of Josephus, as will appear from a passage of his works, quoted in our next Chapter.



Mount Tabor from the North.

Safed.

CHAPTER XVI.

LAKE OF TIBERIAS AND ITS VICINITY.

In the evening of the day of our arrival at Tiberias, we took a walk through most of the streets or lanes of the town, which we found, as we had observed in entering it, to be in a sad state of filth and dilapidation. We saw many of the Jews busy in cleaning their houses for the observance of the Passover, and, with the same object in view, washing their tables and other articles of furniture in the lake, and going over them, on their being taken out of the water, with a hot iron, a process of dealing with such hard materials to us entirely novel. In the course of our explorations in their quarter, we found, at the south-east corner of the town near the shore, a series of old arched vaults, which we were told

belonged to an old academy, or synagogue, but of which Burckhardt says that they were probably used as warehouses.[1] Our entrance into them was attended with no small annoyance to us, as when rummaging about in them, we found ourselves covered with legions of fleas, which at Tiberias—where their king is said to keep his court—are a sad plague. We caught them in handfuls; but notwithstanding all our care to get rid of them, hundreds of them rioted on us during the whole night; so much so, indeed, that our night-shirts appeared next morning as if they had been subjected to some process of dyeing or stamping in the print-works. Deiri, our Egyptian servant, tried to console us when we spoke of our sufferings from them, by declaring that they were nothing worse than those frequently experienced by Colonel Howard Vyse in the exploration of the Pyramids.

Tuesday, 11th April.—Before I ask the reader to accompany us in our excursions to-day, I beg his attention to a few historical notices connected with this town, sometimes called by the Jews the second Jerusalem.

Josephus gives us precise information about the origin of Tiberias. "Herod [Antipas] the tetrarch," he says, "who was in great favour with Tiberius, built a city called from him Tiberias, situated in the best part of Galilee, at the lake of Gennesareth. There are warm baths at no great distance from it, in a village named Ammaus. A mixed people dwelt in this city, a great number of them being Galileans; and some brought by force out of the country under his jurisdiction to inhabit it, including some persons of distinction. He also admitted poor people, collected from all parts, to dwell in it, respecting whom it is not evident that they were even freemen; and to many of these he gave great privileges and immunities; and that they might not

[1] Burckhardt's Travels in Syria, p. 321.

forsake the city, he erected good houses, (at his own expense,) and gave them land likewise, for he knew that their habitation here was opposed to the Jewish laws and customs, because many sepulchres were to be here taken away, in order to make room for Tiberias, whereas our law declares that the inhabitants of such a place are unclean for seven days."[1] The town and lake of Tiberias are thrice mentioned by that name in the New Testament.[2] Its situation is alluded to by Pliny, who, speaking of the lake, says that it is surrounded on the east by Julius and Hippus; on the south by Tarichæa; and on the west by Tiberias, salubrious on account of its hot waters.[3]

The question has been agitated, Was Tiberias, as built by Herod, an entirely new erection, or was it raised by him on the foundation of some older town? Jerome, in his commentary on Ezekiel,[4] says it was originally called Chenereth.[5] The Talmud identifies it with the RAKKATH associated with Hammath and Chinnereth in Joshua xix. 35.[6] As the site of Hammath is, by the Rabbis and others, supposed, according to the meaning of its name, to have been at the baths, (Ḥammám in Arabic,) twenty-five minutes south of the present Tiberias;[7] and as the plain of Chinnereth, or Gen-

[1] Joseph. Antiq. Jud. lib. xviii. 2. 3.

[2] John vi. 1, 23; xxi. 1.

[3] Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. v. cap. xv.—The whole of Pliny's short chapter on the Jordan may be here inserted.—"Jordanis amnis oritur ex fonte Paneade, qui cognomen dedit Cesareæ, de qua discimus: amnis amœnus, et quatenus locorum situs patitur, ambitiosus ac collisque se præbens velut invitus. Asphaltiten lacum dirum natura petit, a quo postremo ebibitur aquasque laudatas perdit pestilentibus mistas. Ergo ubi prima convallium fuit occasio in lacum se fundit, quem plures Genesaram vocant xvi. M. pas. longitudinis, vi. M. latitudinis amœnis circumseptum oppidis: ab oriente Juliade et Hippo, a meridie Tarichea, quo nomine aliqui et lacum appellant: ab occidente, Tiberiade, aquis calidis salubri."

[4] Ezek. chap. xlviii. 31.

[5] Jerome, in the Onomasticon, (sub voc. Chennereth,) says, "Sed et oppidum quod in honorem postea Tiberii Cæsaris, Herodes rex Judææ instauratum appellavit Tyberiadem, ferunt hoc primum appellatum nomine."

[6] Talmud. Cod. Megill. fol. 5. col. 2.

[7] Oper. Lightfoot. ii. pp. 224, 225.

nesareth,—from the description of Josephus, which we shall afterwards quote—appears to have been at the north-west corner of the lake, I think it not unlikely that Rakkath was either at Tiberias or in its immediate neighbourhood. I see no particular objections, as some do, against this view of the matter, from the towns mentioned being ascribed in Joshua to Naphtali, while the general language of the evangelist gives us to understand that Capernaum—which, it is admitted, stood on the north side of the lake—was in the borders (ὁρίοις) of Zabulun and Naphtali;[1] for the word here rendered borders may be applied to the *districts* of these tribes, and not to the marginal *boundary*.[2] Even supposing the country adjoining to these towns to have belonged to Zebulon, they themselves, as we find in other cases, may have belonged to the adjoining tribe. The graves referred to by Josephus in the passage quoted above, could not be far distant from some town or other.

Tiberias is frequently mentioned in the Life of Josephus. When he went to Galilee as its governor and commander, nominated by the community of the Jews at Jerusalem, he found the city of Tiberias disturbed by factions. On this occasion Justus, son of Pistus, who headed one of these factions, thus reminded the inhabitants of the position in which they had been placed:—"That the city Tiberias had ever belonged to Galilee; and that in the days of Herod the tetrarch, who had built it, it had obtained the principal place; and that he had ordered that the city Sepphoris should be subordinate to the city of Tiberias: that they had not lost this pre-eminence under Agrippa the father, but that it had remained till Felix was the procurator of Judea; but that now, he told them, they had been so unfortunate as to have been made a present of by Nero to Agrippa

[1] Matth. iii. 13.

[2] Compare Matth. ii. 16; viii. 34; xv. 39; Mark v. 17; vii. 31, for the use of χώρα.

junior; and that upon the submission of Sepphoris to the Romans, *that* had become the capital city of Galilee, and that the royal treasury and the archives had been removed from them (of Tiberias.)"[1] Josephus had great difficulty in maintaining his influence over the people of this place; and he notices various expedients to which from time to time he had recourse with this object in view. To one or two matters connected with the erections of the city he alludes. He notices the destruction, with his advice, of a house erected by Herod the tetrarch, which had the figures of living creatures in it, contrary to the Jewish laws.[2] He was instrumental in getting the city fortified.[3] He speaks of a Proseucha, or place of prayer, "a large edifice, capable of receiving a great number of people."[4] He notices particularly the final submission of the city to Vespasian, who wished to restore it and the adjoining city of Tarichæa to Agrippa, under whose authority it had been placed.[5] He also narrates at length the bloody fights on land and sea which preceded and followed the taking of Tarichæa.[6]

[1] Vita Joseph. 9.
[2] Vita Joseph. 12.
[3] Vita Joseph. 37.
[4] Vita Joseph. 54.
[5] Vita Joseph. 65.
[6] It is of some importance to notice the circumstances in which Tiberias, on this occasion, submitted to the Romans. Vespasian sent forward from his camp at Sennabris, a decurion named Valerian, with fifty horsemen, to have a peaceable conference with its inhabitants. The seditious part of the community, under Jesus the son of Shaphat, made a sally against Valerian on his approach, and not wishing to fight, he retreated, leaving his horse, and those of five other soldiers behind him, which were taken into the city in triumph by Jesus. On this, "the elders of the people, and those of principal authority among them, solicitous about the issue of the affair, fled to the camp of the Romans; and taking their king with them, fell down on their knees before Vespasian to supplicate his favour; and besought him not to overlook them, or to impute the madness of a few to the whole city, to spare a people that had been ever civil and obliging to the Romans, and to bring the authors of this revolt to due punishment, who had hitherto so watched them, that though they were zealous to give them the security of their right hands of a long time, yet could they not accomplish the same. With those supplications the General complied,

Tiberias, about the middle of the second century after Christ, became the head-quarters of Judaism in the Holy Land; and this pre-eminence it long maintained. The circumstances in which it rose to this distinction are not very precisely related. It seems to have remained quiet, after its submission to the Romans alluded to above, during the final struggles of the Jews connected with the destruction of Jerusalem, and during the rebellion and massacres which occurred in the reign of Adrian. This emperor seems to have made considerable progress in the erection of a large (heathen) temple at Tiberias, which he called the Adrianium; but we do not read of any compulsory measures being adopted by him for its support. While the Jews were interdicted from settling in Judea, Galilee seems to have been left comparatively free for their occupation. "In a town so convenient as Tiberias," says Basnage, "and less suspected than Jerusalem to the Romans, some Jews gathered together, and some of their priests."[1] The Jewish Sanhedrim, which the Rabbis say was first established in JABNEH, or Jamnia, now Yebná, after leaving Jerusalem, was removed to Tiberias

though he was angry at the whole city about the carrying off of his horses, and this, because he saw that Agrippa was under a great concern for them. So, when Vespasian and Agrippa had accepted of their right hands by way of security, Jesus and his party thinking it not safe for them to continue at Tiberias, ran away to Tarchæa. The next day, Vespasian sent forward Trajan, with some horsemen to the citadel, to make trial of the multitude, whether they were all disposed for peace; and as soon as he knew that the people were of the same mind with the petitioners, he led his army to the city. *On this, the citizens opened to him their gates, and met him with acclamations of joy, and called him their saviour and benefactor.* As the army was a great while in getting in at the gates, they were so narrow, Vespasian commanded the south wall to be broken down, and thus made a broad passage for their entrance. However, in order to please the king, he charged them to abstain from rapine and injustice, and on his account spared the rest of the wall, while the king undertook for them, that they should continue [faithful to the Romans] for the time to come. And thus did he restore this city to a quiet state, after it had been grievously afflicted by the sedition."—Joseph. Bell. Jud. lib. iii. 9, 8.

[1] Basnage's History of the Jews, Taylor's Translation, p. 151.

after Rabbi Judah the Holy (Ha-Kodesh) became its president. This must have been in the latter half of the second century.[1] This renowned rabbi distinguished himself by forming the collection of the Jewish traditions called the Mishnah, (מִשְׁנָה).[2] This work is said to have been confirmed by Gamaliel, his son and successor.[3] From the academy of Tiberias also originated another work of great authority among the Jews, the Gemara, גְּמָרָא, or Book of Instruction, sometimes called the Jerusalem Talmud, in contradistinction to the Babylonian Talmud, the production of the eastern Jews. It forms a sort of exposition of, or comment on, the Mishnah. It is said to have been principally composed by Rabbi Jochanan, the rector of the Academy of Tiberias, who is placed by Buxtorf, A. D. 230, and by the Jewish writer, David Ganz, twenty years later. Parts of it bear marks of having been composed about the latter half of the fourth century, the time fixed upon for its composition by Maimonides, and some other Jewish writers.[4] At Tiberias, too, the authors of the Masorah, (מָסוֹרָה,) or tradition intended to preserve the purity of the text of the Hebrew Scriptures, and the pronunciation of that language, are generally supposed to have

[1] Compare Basnage's History of the Jews, p. 156, with Othonis Hist. Doctor. Mishnicorum, p. 157.

[2] "This work has been misplaced in the chronological tables of the synagogues, since they reckon at present (A.D. 1703) fifteen hundred and sixty-three years since its publication; for that year would fall upon the 140th year of our Lord, when Judah the Saint could be but four years old; on the contrary, they give it too late a date, who affirm that it was published an hundred and fifty years after the destruction of Jerusalem, for that year would fall upon the 220th or 218th year of Jesus Christ; whereas Judah was dead long before. According to the common calculation, Judah must be born in the year 136 of Jesus Christ."—Basnage's History of the Jews, p. 157.

The Mishnah, with a Latin translation and a commentary, was published by Surenhusius, in six volumes folio, in 1698-1701. Eighteen Treatises from the work have been published in English by the Rev. D. A. de Sola, and the Rev. M. J. Raphael, in 1845.

[3] Ibid. p. 157.

[4] See Basnage, p. 167, and Wolfii Biblioth. Heb. part ii. p. 658, et seq.

lived. The Masorah is thought to have been collected there about the commencement of the sixth century.[1] As now edited by the Jews, it contains critical, exegetical, and grammatical comments by the rabbis of various parts of the world.

Tiberias is but little mentioned in connexion with the early ages of Christianity after the times of the New Testament. In the oldest works of the Jews, written or compiled at it, there are various passages referring to heretics which are justly supposed to point to Christians. Along with some other cities of Galilee, it appears to have been inhabited solely by Jews till the days of the Emperor Constantine, when the Jewish patriarch is said to have obtained baptism on his deathbed from a bishop living in its neighbourhood, and bearing his title from it, and when Joseph, another Jew of distinction, made a public confession of Christianity. The latter individual having obtained liberty to build a church within it, converted the Adrianium into a house of Christian worship. These facts are mentioned by Epiphanius, a native of the Holy Land, who relates the circumstances connected with them with some degree of minuteness.[2] He speaks of numbers of the Jews having been converted on this occasion, principally from their inability, by magical arts, to prevent the appropriation of the building above mentioned to the service of the Saviour. Jerome, as is well known, obtained his Hebrew teacher from Tiberias. The first bishop of the place mentioned by name was present at the second synod of Ephesus in the year 449.[3]

[1] See Wolfii Bib. Heb. par. ii. p. 461. De Wette's Introduction, Parker's Trans. p. 346, et seq.

[2] Epiphan. advers. Hæret. p. 128, et seq. See on the conversion of Hillel, the remarks of Basnage in his History of the Jews, Taylor's Trans. pp. 158, 159.

[3] See Le Quien, Oriens Christianus, tom. iii. col. 706-710. The subsequent History of Tiberias is well put together by Dr. Robinson. The following are its most important items: —"On the approach of the Persian army under Chosroes, against Jerusalem, in A.D. 614, the Jews of Tiberias and the neighbouring parts of Galilee are said to have joined the

These brief notices may possibly throw some light on certain objects which attract the attention of the traveller at Tiberias.

At nine o'clock we started on an excursion along the south-west shore of the lake, and extending to the emergence of the Jordan. Outside the walls of the present town, we found considerable ruins of different edifices, including some shafts and frustra of grey granite pillars, and one of the red Theban granite, which must all have been brought from a distance, as we know of no rock corresponding with them in the country. The erection to which they belonged must have been close on the waters of the lake, which now cover part of the ruins. Our Jewish guide told us that the building to which these memorials belong, was the work of the Emperor Antoninus Pius Felix Augustus, whom he represented as the "patron" of Tiberias. This individual

expedition; and to them Eutychius ascribes the chief slaughter of the Christians, on the capture of the Holy City. . . . With the rest of Palestine, both Tiberias and Galilee, in A.D. 637, yielded to the arms of the Khalif Omar, and passed under the Muhammadan dominion. . . . St. Willibald, about A.D. 765, describes it as then containing many churches and a synagogue of the Jews. Very soon after the crusaders obtained possession of the Holy Land, the district of Galilee . . . was given by Godfrey of Bouillon, as a fief to Tancred, who subdued Tiberias, and erected here a church, [probably that of St. Peter,] as well as others in neighbouring places. The city was also made the seat of a Latin bishop, the only suffragan of the archbishopric of Nazareth; and the title continued in the Latin church for nearly two centuries. The city appears to have remained, without interruption, in the possession of the Christians until A.D. 1187, and the assault upon it by Saladin in that year became the immediate occasion of the great battle of Hattîn. . . . . The castle of Tiberias surrendered the day after the conflict. Benjamin of Tudela had visited the place some twenty years before, and found here only fifty Jews, with a rabbi at their head. . . . . At a later period, A. D. 1240, Tiberias reverted for a time into the hands of the Christians, in consequence of a treaty with the Sultan of Damascus; but in A. D. 1247, while in the possession of Odo of Montbeliard, it was again subdued by the troops of the Sultan of Egypt, and remained thenceforth under the Muhammedan dominion."—Bib. Res. vol. iii. pp. 271, 272.

had some acquaintance with the early history of the town; but we learned from him nothing connected with it, with which we were not before acquainted. The remains of the building which he ascribed to Antoninus might possibly be those of the Adrianium which we have already noticed, or perhaps of the great Jewish college of the ancient Rabbis of Tiberias.

We observed, as we were passing along, in the face of the rock bounding the narrow plain, the dark basalt in several places breaking through the cretaceous strata. In these strata there are numerous caves and sepulchres, in which many of the distinguished Rabbis of the school of Tiberias are said to be interred. Of Rabbi Akiba,—one of the Mishnaite doctors, on the day of whose death Rabbi Judah is said to have been born,—it was mentioned to us that the bones rested in them with those of twenty-four thousand of his disciples. Remains of buildings, or of walls of some kind or another, are here and there seen as far as the Ḥammám, yet we learn from Josephus that the hot baths were four stadia distant from Tiberias.[1] In passing them, we requested that clean water should be introduced into the tank for our use, on our return from the Jordan, when it was our purpose particularly to examine them. We observed, as we went along, several streamlets of the hot water running into the sea.

We noticed some slight traces of walls a little to the south of the baths. They may have belonged to buildings formerly connected with their establishment. It is perhaps near them that the village of HAMMATH or Ammaus stood.

When we were an hour from the baths of Tiberias, we came to the ruins of Kerak, the Tarichæa mentioned by Josephus, in connexion with the taking of which by Vespasian, there was so much slaughter. These are about a quar-

[1] Vit. Joseph. 12.

ter of a mile distant from the termination of the lake. A few mean houses inhabited by Fellâḥín, or cultivators, are standing on the mounds at the south-west corner of the lake.

We took about ten minutes to go along the south of the lake from the corner now mentioned to the place where the Jordan emerges—the only one at present where water issues from the lake. The elevation of the bank bounding the lake here varies from ten to forty feet; but it is not precipitous except for a few paces. A path, though not always a very easy one, may be found at the brink of the waters below. A small band of sand and gravel seemed to run along the south of the lake east of the Jordan.

The margin of the Jordan itself at the west side, is level for about twenty yards. Here we found many beautiful oleanders in the richest blow, intermixed with high reeds and rushes. This rank vegetation continues along the river, more or less to the south. The water, as it issues from the lake, we found to be as clear as crystal; but this is not its character, we learned, as it enters it at the north. The river we estimated at about thirty feet in width, and about six feet in depth, in the middle of the stream. After proceeding directly south for a few yards, we found it take a very circuitous course for about four hundred paces in advance.

We observed some remains of a bridge at the place where the Jordan leaves the lake. The ruined bridge of Ḳaneitarah, with ten arches, lies a few hundred yards further south; but this place we did not visit.[1]

The view of the lake and of the surrounding country from the emergence of the river, though not very diversified, is more interesting than that which is obtained immediately over Tiberias. The hills on the east side of the lake appear to the eye to form a more regular wall than those on the

[1] See Irby and Mangles, pp. 296, 301.

west side; but this may be owing to the point of view from which they are seen. Along the eastern margin of the lake there appears a small belt of low sand, in which is found the path followed by Lord Lindsay. It was over the precipitous banks beyond this that the devil-possessed herd of swine "ran violently down a steep place into the sea, and perished in the waters."[1] The panorama embraces the summit of the snow-crowned Hermon, bearing from the place where we were exactly N.N.E. In the plain south of the lake there is a great deal of culture, much more than could be expected from the paucity of the habitations of man here in sight. A considerable village called Semakh, stands on a little eminence about three quarters of a mile from the emergence of the Jordan. This, with the houses already mentioned, is scarcely able to accommodate the cultivators necessary for the fine fields of barley and wheat which we noticed preparing for the sickle of the reaper. Some Felláḥín, however, may pitch their tents to the south, in the Ghor.

We observed a bird about the size of a goose, swimming about in considerable numbers up and down the whole lake, particularly near the shore. We noticed a great many kingfishers of a large species carrying on their vocation at the south of the lake. They generally made a sort of gyration in the air, before they dropped down to seize their prey. We saw here, too, a few rollers of the same kind which we had witnessed at Nábulus. The jay is not with the Arabs of this country, as with the Hindús, an unlucky bird.

On our return to the baths, we found everything ready for our reception; and in the belief of the keepers that we

[1] Matthew viii. 32. "'Running down a steep place into the sea' cannot imply a precipice immediately overhanging the lake, for there is none such on the whole eastern shores, and if one of those steep declivities [behind] be not the scene of that tremendous miracle, I know of no place that answers the description."—Lord Lindsay's Letters, vol. ii. p. 95.

were some great Nawábs from India, the people who had come for their ablutions from the town were kept outside while we remained within the fine erection over the bath, made by Ibráhim Pásha when he occupied Syria. We looked through the different rooms of the building. In its principal apartment there is a round tank for the bathers, about fifteen feet in diameter, and with a depth of water about four feet. The hot stream is conveyed into it in a pipe terminating in a lion's mouth. It is surrounded by eight marble pillars. After inspecting it for a few minutes, we went into one of the side rooms, where private baths can be obtained. We disrobed ourselves in one of these, and then returned to the tank, to bathe. The heat of the water we found to be well nigh intolerable; but this was owing in part to the circumstance that, in obedience to our orders, a new supply of water had been let in from the covered reservoir a few yards distant. Both Mr. Smith and I nearly fainted after we had been a few minutes splashing about in the bath, and we had to be helped into a side chamber, where we had to lie a considerable time covered with sheets, before we had strength to put on our clothes. A cup of coffee which was furnished to us by the keeper of the baths, we found in these circumstances to be very refreshing.

Owing to an accident which had befallen our thermometer in an early part of our journey, we were not able to make a measurement of the heat of the thermal springs at this place. Schubert gives it at 48° of Reaumur, equivalent to 140° of Fahrenheit.[1] There are five or six springs a little distant from one another, the water of which is mostly collected for the baths by a channel running across in front of them, and

[1] Reise in Morgenland. Band. iii. p. 239. This measurement agrees with that of Dr. Robinson, Bib. Res. vol. iii. p. 259. Mr. Hebard of the American mission found the thermometer stand in the water at 144. These measurements do not much differ from others which have been made.

conveyed into a covered reservoir, from which the baths are supplied. The water which does not find its way into this channel runs down the sands into the lake in small smoking streamlets, which deposit a yellowish or greenish sediment. There is an old bath besides the one erected by Ibráhim Páshá, which, though not in good repair, is still in use. The whole establishment is now open to the public without distinction. It is highly useful not only for promoting the cleanliness of the inhabitants of Tiberias, but for giving relief to persons labouring under rheumatic complaints, many of whom come to it from a great distance. The effects of the baths in cases of indisposition are alluded to by Josephus.[1] They are mentioned in the Mishnah, in connexion with the curious but trifling legislation of the Rabbis.[2] The mineral composition of the water has never, I believe, been particularly examined.[3]

The district of Tiberias is decidedly volcanic, and hence probably the existence of the thermal springs at this place. To-day we received fearful accounts of the great earthquake of 1837. Though similar to those which we had read of this awful convulsion of nature, they deeply affected us, as given by those who witnessed it, and who were spared from destruction when many of their kindred and countrymen—estimated at seven hundred—suddenly perished. The earthquake, we were told, continued to be felt more or less at intervals for forty days. The greatest damage was done

[1] Vit. Joseph. 16.

[2] "It once happened that the inhabitants of Tiberias carried a pipe of cold water through a streamlet of their hot well; but the sages explained to them, that this water, like any other heated on the Sabbath, is prohibited." — Treatise Sabbath, chap. iv. 4. "Whoever bathes in the water of a cavern, or in the hot waters of Tiberias, though he wipe himself with ten napkins, he must not bring them away in his hand, but ten persons wiping themselves with one napkin, their faces, their hands, and their feet, may bring it away in their hands."—Ib. xxii. 5.

[3] The taste is salt and bitter, though not excessively so. There is a slight smell of sulphur, but this substance is not recognised by the taste.

during the first shock, which lasted about a minute. The people told us, that one man's leg was caught as in a trap by the collapse of a rent in the earth. A man fishing on the lake was nearly overwhelmed by a sudden flow of the waters on shore.[1]

Wednesday, 12th April.—We have already had considerable intercourse, one way and another, with the Jews, since we arrived at Tiberias; but this morning, according to arrangement, we met them at their synagogues, and the houses of the chief rabbis.

In the Sephardim synagogue, we found a considerable number of Jews—men, but not women—engaged in reading the prayer-book, according to their daily custom in this place. When they had finished their devotions, we were very kindly received by the chief rabbi, Haiim Masur, alias Reuben, who took us to his house, and led us into a large, clean room, neatly fitted up with diwáns, chairs, and carpets. His whole establishment seemed to have completely recovered the effects of the earthquake, and was altogether of a highly respectable character. He offered us the usual tokens of the hospitality of the country, pipes, coffee, and sherbet, the two latter of which we accepted from him.

We endeavoured to get from him, and the elders of the congregation who were present, the information which we

[1] We translated to our informants the following passage in Dr. Robinson's work; but they all said, that they had never heard of any persons belonging to the town having been swallowed up by the earth as therein mentioned:—"A Muhammadan with whom my companion fell into conversation at the threshing-floors, related, that he and four others were returning down the mountain west of the city, in the afternoon, when the earthquake occurred. All at once, the earth opened and closed again, and two of his companions disappeared. He ran home affrighted, and found that his wife, mother, and two others of the family, had perished. On digging next day where his two companions had disappeared, they were found dead in a standing posture."—Bib. Res. vol. iii. 255. The testimony of the Muhammadan here referred to, is probably as good as that of the persons with whom we conversed.

wanted respecting the Jews of Tiberias. The number of houses of the Sephardim, they estimated at 150, and their inmates at about 500 souls. They are mostly natives of Tunis, Morocco, and Fez, in the north of Africa. A few of them have come from Baghdád, Damascus, and Aleppo, and other places belonging to the Asiatic provinces of the Turkish empire. One or two individuals are from Turkey in Europe. They have only one synagogue, but it has two or three apartments. They have three *yishvioth*, or reading rooms, close to one another, which are merely public rooms for the accommodation of books, and for the convenience of such persons as may choose to resort to them for the purpose of study. They have appointed three teachers for the younger members of the community. They have no wish, they said, to have any school conducted under auspices different from their own. They speak among themselves the Spanish, Hebrew, and Arabic languages, particularly the Arabic, which is vernacular to most of them. They converse in Hebrew with their brethren of the Ashkenazim. Only two or three of them know the Arabic letters; and to these we gave copies of a suitable tract in that character. To some others, we privately gave a copy of the Old and New Testaments in Hebrew.

The Sephardim Jews of Tiberias are under the authority of their own Ḥákim. They are seldom interfered with by the authorities of the páshálik of Acre, to which Tiberias belongs, and they are left to settle their own religious affairs among themselves. They pay a tax of 3500 piastres annually to the Turkish government. The Jews, they said, began to return to Tiberias within the last hundred and five years. For seventy years preceding, there had been few or none of their community at the place. They have little direct communication with the Jews of Europe. Sir Moses Montefiore, however, is still mindful of their claims to re-

membrance. He had just sent a draft for £10 to the chief rabbi, which he showed to us, gratefully acknowledging his obligations to the kind donor. It was accompanied by a letter in Hebrew.

A residence at Tiberias is highly valued by the Jews because of the former renown of the place in connexion with Jewish literature; and because they expect that the Messiah will make his first appearance in the parts of Galilee bordering on the lake of Tiberias. They found, I believe, their hope in reference to the Messiah on Isaiah ix. 1, 2. May they speedily understand the application which is made of this passage in the Gospel, in reference to the very neighbourhood in which they now dwell.[1]

For information about the history of the ancient Jews of Tiberias, the chief rabbi referred us to the *Seder Ha-Doroth*, or Succession of Generations, of Rabbi Jechiel. This work had been brought to our notice by the Jews of Hebron; and there we had looked over one or two of its articles. It contains much very valuable information, historical, biographical, and bibliographical.[2] When we asked him if he was acquainted with the writings of Josephus, in which the history of the Jews is so particularly related, he replied in the affirmative, and produced a copy in Hebrew of the works of the pseudo-Josephus, Josephon ben Gorion. Neither he, nor any of his friends present, seemed to be aware that this is a spurious work of the middle ages.[3] They told us that the tomb of Rabbi Jochanan, the great doctor of the Gemara, is at Sepphoris, and not at Tiberias. The ruins with the granite pillars near the lake to the south of the town,[4] they said, belonged not to the Adrianium, but were those of the

[1] Matth. iii. 12-14.

[2] For an account of it, see the Dizionario Storico degli Autori Ebrei e delle loro opere disteso dal Dottore G. B. de-Rossi, vol. i. p. 166.

[3] For an account of this work and its various editions and translations, see Wolfii Bibliotheca Hebræa, Art. 873.

[4] See above, page 121.

Jewish college over which Rabbi Ame and Rabbi Ase presided. For an account of these teachers, they referred us to the "Tsemach David" of Rabbi David Ganz.[1] The reputed tombs of these Rabbis, as well as of some others, were pointed out to me on my second visit to Tiberias. The old building in which we were assaulted by the fleas, the rabbis told us was "first a magazine, then a synagogue, and then a place forsaken."

We were deeply impressed with the intelligence of the rabbis with whom we had the interview. When we were conversing with them on the subject of the Jews embracing Christianity, they said they were much offended by Jewish converts marrying Gentile wives. We vindicated their liberty to do so as Christians. On this they said, "Their posterity must be impure." "How so?" asked we, "Had not David, the beloved king, of whom the Messiah, according to your own belief, is to be, Ruth the Moabitess for his great-grandmother?" This question proved a poser to them; and they began to search through some old dusty volumes for an answer.

With the Ashkenazim we had not such a long interview. They principally belong to the Khasidim, and are natives of Austrian and Russian Poland, especially the province of Gallicia. They reckon themselves at present at 150 houses and 300 souls. Fewer of them have families than their

[1] For an account of the Tsemach David, see Wolfii Bibliotheca Hebræa, Art. 48. Wolfius in his Catalogus Doctorum Gemaricorum, gives the following account of the two rabbis mentioned above:—"ר אמי R. Ame, Sacerdos, discipulus R. Jochanani, cui defuncto in Rectoratu Academiæ Tiberiensis successit, teste Juchasin, p. 82 et 106, atque adeo an. 4039, C. 279, vixit. Obiit autem an. 4060, C. 300."—Vide varia ejus loca apud Bartoloc, tom. iii. p. 468, 481, et 515.

"ר אסי R. Ase, Sacerdos, socius R. Ame, et juxta cum eo Rector Academiæ Tiberiensis. Vide de eo c. 2, *Avoda Sara* et c. 1, Kidduschin. Hic in Talmude Hierosol. vocatur ר יסא R. Jesa, teste Juchasin, p. 82 et 96. In cap. vii. Cholin vocatur מופת הדור prodigium seculi. Varia loca in Gemara de eo memorata v. apud Bartoloc.—Tom. III. p. 389, b. 400, 418, 466, b. et 481."—Bib. Heb. vol. ii. p. 869.

brethren of the Sephardim. The Polish is the language in which they generally converse with one another; but they speak Hebrew with the Sephardim. Most of them have passports, and are under the consular protection of their respective countries. They pay no capitation tax to the Turkish government. They reckon Rabbi Samuel Abarloch their religious head. On my second visit to Tiberias, Mr. Graham and I visited their synagogue, and observed them engaged in worship. It is to them, and not to the Sephardim Jews, that the description of Burckhardt is applicable:—"They observe a singular custom here in praying; while the rabbin recites the Psalms of David, or the prayers extracted from them, the congregation frequently imitate, by their voice or gestures, the meaning of some remarkable passages; for example, when the rabbin pronounces the words, 'praise the Lord with the sound of the trumpet,' they imitate the sound of the trumpet through their closed fists. When a 'horrible tempest' occurs, they puff and blow to represent a storm; or should he mention 'the cries of the righteous in distress,' they all set up a loud screaming; and it not unfrequently happens, that while some are still blowing the storm, others have already began the cries of the righteous, thus forming a concert which it is difficult for any but a zealous Hebrew to hear with gravity."[1] Never did we see a more affecting sight than when we witnessed the worship of the Khasidim at Tiberias. They roared aloud as if they wished to be heard at Jerusalem, twisted their garments with their hands, stamped with their feet, contorted their faces, and wept most piteously, as if labouring under the greatest mental agony. Their delusion seemed great, and their importunity for the advent of the Messiah incontrollable. Yet, on leaving the synagogue, they returned to their

[1] Burckhardt's Travels, pp. 326, 327.

homes in peace—slowly enough, indeed, according to the rabbinical rule, to mark their reluctance to leave the house of God.

The total Jewish population of Tiberias, it will appear from the preceding notices, is about 800 souls. The total population of the village is at present under 2000. Of these only a few families are Christians.

After our interview with the Jews, and taking a hasty breakfast, we found ourselves ready for our journey for the day, which we were resolved should extend, God permitting, along the western and northern shores of the lake to the town of Ṣafed, which, from its lofy site, had now frequently attracted our attention.

We left Tiberias at ten o'clock, A.M., under the conduct of a guide whom we had obtained from the Mutesellim, or governor of the town. As the valley in which Tiberias stands comes to an end at the northern part of the wall, we found our road lead along the side of the hill which bounds the lake, some few yards above the water. The lake we observed as we went along, was much deeper close to the shore, and had a rougher bottom at the edge, than to the south of Tiberias. We noticed in it great numbers of fishes, some of which appeared to be about two feet long, as we proceeded. The bosom of the lake was still, and calm, and undisturbed, except by the aquatic birds which were here and there plunging into its depths, or splashing over its surface. Among them we saw a white pelican, apparently of the same species as that found in the lakes and tanks of Rajputáná and Káṭhiáwád in India.

In about three-quarters of an hour after we left Tiberias, we came to a small valley, running down from the plain of Ḥaṭṭín to the west. It had no name in our maps. Our guide, I think, called it Abu'l Áras.[1] To this place the

[1] I am not very certain about this name, as it is blotted in my note-book.

principal rocks of the hill, over the extremity of which we had passed, are of basalt. At the mouth of this Wádí, there is a small triangular valley, partly under culture, and partly overgrown with rank grasses, reeds, rushes, and flowering and prickly shrubs. One or two small cultivators' huts are to be found here. There are also some half-dozen of springs, one or two of which yield a copious supply of water. These have all been surrounded by circular walls of stone, which in two instances remain tolerably perfect. The place is called the Ain el-Báridah, or the cold fountain; but this must be in contradistinction to the thermal springs of Tiberias; for, except during the hottest period of the day, they are warmer than the surrounding atmosphere. It is of them that Irby and Mangles, most correctly, I think, write as follows:—"About two miles south of Majdil are the ruins of six Roman baths of mineral water, but only of a luke-warm temperature. The baths are circular, (from fifteen to twenty feet in diameter,) inclosed with a wall about twelve feet high within, and six without; at present there is no apparent means of ingress or egress. . . . The water is very clear, and about six or seven feet deep, with pebbles at the bottom; there are also fish sporting about in them; the spring discharges itself into the lake, subterraneously, through the wall."[1] Dr. Robinson says, "The obvious purpose of these structures was, to raise and retain the water a considerable height above the fountain; on the same principle as the reservoirs at the celebrated Rás el-Ain, near Tyre. But whether it was thus raised for bathing, or for other uses, it is difficult to decide."[2] There can be no question, I think, that the water was not raised as at Tyre to come to the level of an aqueduct, to be conveyed to a distance, for the supply of a town, as here, in the vicinity

[1] Travels, pp. 299, 300.

[2] Bib. Res. vol. iii. p. 277.

of the lake, there is no need of such a conveyance. Were I dissatisfied with the theory of their forming baths, I should venture the conjecture that the water was raised for the propulsion of mills.

An hour and a half after we left Tiberias, we arrived at Majdel, alluded to in the preceding extract from Messrs. Irby and Mangles. This place has been recognised, both from its name and position, as that to which reference is made, when it is said, Jesus "sent away the multitude," whom he had healed and miraculously fed, "and took ship and came into the coasts of MAGDALA."[1] and from which Mary, out of whom were expelled the seven devils, received her cognomen. It may, too, as suggested by Dr. Robinson, be the MIGDAL-EL of Joshua.[2] This writer describes the present Majdel as "a miserable little Muslim village, looking much like a ruin, though exhibiting no marks of antiquity."[3] The houses are certainly mean enough; but we observed among them some indications of ancient ruins, both of walls and foundations.[4] In the rocks on the clefts adjoining the place, there are several conspicuous caverns.

The country immediately round this village is called the Ardh el-Majdel, (ager Magdalensis); but referring to this locality more generally, Majdel lies at the southern extremity of the "plain of Gennesareth," properly so called, as is commonly supposed, which plain I cannot do better than introduce to the notice of my readers in the words of Josephus:—"The country named Gennesar extends along the lake, wonderful both for its nature and beauty. On account of its fertility, it refuses no tree, and the cultivators plant in

[1] Matth. xv. 39.
[2] Josh. xix. 38.
[3] Bib. Res. vol. iii. p. 277.
[4] These may be the "considerable remains of a very indifferent castle" of Pococke, (Book I. chap. 18,) and of the "Magdalum castellum Mariæ Magdalæ of Breydenbach," (fol. 29.) See Bernatz's view of these ruins as they now stand. Bilder aus dem Heilegen Lande.

it all kinds of trees; and the temperature of the atmosphere suits the several sorts. For walnuts, which require the greatest colds, flourish there in vast quantities, and also palm-trees, which require heat; while fig-trees and olives, which require a milder atmosphere, grow near them. One may say that it is the ambition of nature which forces together the things that are naturally enemies to one another; and that there is a happy contention of the seasons of the year, as if each of them laid claim to this district as its own; for it not only nourishes different sorts of fruits beyond men's expectation, but long preserves them. It supplies men with the principal fruits, with grapes and figs, during ten months of the year, without intermission, and with the rest of the fruits throughout the whole year as they ripen in course. And besides the good temperature of the atmosphere, it is also watered from a most fertile fountain, called Capharnaum by the natives. Some have thought this fountain to be a vein of the Nile, because it produces the Coracine fish, like the lake near Alexandria. The length of this country extends along the banks of this lake, bearing the same name, for thirty stadia, and in breadth it is twenty. This, indeed, is the nature of that place."[1]

This description is not without foundation, though, owing to the ardour of the temperament of the author, it is like many others given in his works, not altogether destitute of exaggeration. The valley has every appearance of the greatest fertility; and when kept in order and properly laid out, would be truly beautiful and delightful. At present it has some rich pasturage and cultivated fields, bearing luxuriant crops of corn, and rice, and vegetables. Wild figs and quantities of the Nakb tree are still found growing in it in several places. Various lines of oleanders, particularly along

[1] Joseph. Bell. Jud. lib. iii. 10. 8.

the streams which run through it, add to its beauty. The soil is much of a dark alluvial loam, and contains the debris of the basaltic rock in the neighbourhood. Some Arabs and gypsies,—of whom more hereafter,—are encamped in it; and by the former it is tilled. By them it is called the Ghaweir or little Ghor. It is watered to some extent by fountains rising within it; but several streams enter it through the Wádís leading down from the adjacent heights. Of these the most important is that which flows down the Wádí Ḥamám, so denominated from the pigeons which frequent its clefts, and which leads up to the Ḳalát Ibn Máán, a most extraordinary excavated fort, which I visited on my second journey to these parts, and which leads round the northern part of the promontory on which is situated the village of Irbid, the Arbela of Josephus, and probably the BETH-ARBEL of the Bible. Another leads down from the N.W. through Wádí Rabadíyah, and another, at certain periods of the year, through the Wádí el-Amúd. A fourth, called the Ain et-Tín, from a beautiful fig-tree at its source,—which, with several attendant rills rising from less copious sources in the neighbourhood, supports a profuse herbage, especially near the shore,—rises near the Khán Minyah, a ruined caravanserai built of basaltic tufa, on the road to Damascus, and after a very short course, enters into the lake. In the valley there are some artificial water-courses for the purpose of irrigation.

From Majdel to the Khán el-Minyah we proceeded by the common road, which runs in a pretty straight course a few hundred yards from the shore. We took about an hour to go over this distance. It struck us that the account which Josephus gives of the dimensions of the valley is tolerably correct.

Near the Khán Minyah, on its south side, there is, as noticed by Dr. Robinson, "a low mound with ruins, occupy-

ing a considerable circumference," and respecting which he adds, "The few remains seemed to be mostly dwellings of no very remote date; but there was not enough to make out any thing with certainty."[1] These ruins, he thinks, cover the site of the Capernaum of the New Testament.[2] There is no presumption, he admits, in favour of this opinion in any name which they now bear. Quaresmius, in the first quarter of the seventh century, is the first person definitely to connect Capernaum with the Khán Minyah.[3] Brocardus, towards the end of the thirteenth century, speaks of Capernaum being a league distant from the foot of the so called mountain of Beatitudes, which agrees with Khán Minyah.[4]

It will have been observed that Josephus, as we read the passage in his work which we have just quoted, speaks of the plain of Gennesar being watered by a fountain called Capharnaum. Some writers have supposed that the fountain thus referred to received its name from its contiguity to the town of Capernaum; and that this town must have stood either in the plain itself, or in its immediate vicinity. The supposition, it must be admitted, is not an unnatural one; but it is one with which I do not see that any other circumstantial evidence whatever is associated. Dr. Robinson thinks that the Ain et-Tín, near the Khán Minyah, may be the very fountain referred to by Josephus; but though this fountain is an important one, it is only on the *borders* of the plain, and cannot with propriety be said to be that which

[1] Bib. Res. vol. iii. pp. 287, 288.

[2] Ibid. p. 292.

[3] "In præsentia in illius situ multæ ruinæ cernuntur; et miserabile diversorium, in quod se viatores recipiunt: sunt ibi palmæ, ut dixit Bonifacius, a loco unde Jordanis influit in mare Galileæ: distat at sex milliaria, Arabicè *Menich* nuncupatur."—Elucidat. Ter. Sanct. ii. p. 868.

[4] Brocardi Locor. Ter. Sanct. Descrip. cap. iv.

distinctively waters the plain,[1] properly so called.[2] From the fountain of the Ain et-Tîn, no help is afforded us in the identification of the ruins on the adjoining mound. As far

[1] Dr. Robinson himself notices, in his passage through the plain of Gennesareth, a fountain, which, as far as its *situation* and *issues* are concerned, appears more naturally to accord with that referred to by Josephus. Of this fountain Dr. Robinson says, "At 10h 10′ we reached a large and beautiful fountain, rising immediately at the foot of the western line of hills. . . . The fountain bears the name of 'Ain el-Mudauwarah, 'Round Fountain;' it interested us exceedingly, for we then held it, (though as I now think incorrectly,) to be the same which Josephus describes as watering and fertilizing the plain of Gennesareth, and which he says was called by the inhabitants Capharnaum. It is inclosed by a low circular wall of mason-work, forming a reservoir nearly a hundred feet in diameter; the water is, perhaps, two feet deep, beautifully limpid and sweet, bubbling up, and flowing out rapidly in a large stream to water the plain below. Numerous small fish were sporting in the basin; which is so thickly surrounded by trees and brushwood, that a stranger would be apt to pass by without noticing it. The oleander (Difleh) was growing here in great abundance, now in full bloom; and Nubk trees were also very frequent. The waters of this fountain irrigate the ground between it and the lake; but those from Wady er-Rubudîyeh, being higher up and still more copious, are carried over the more northern and southern portions of the plain. . . . The western hill above the fountain, as we could perceive here, and had also noticed from Hattîn, is strewed with large stones, having at a distance much the appearance of ruins. I ascended it, therefore, excited with the eager hope of finding some trace of a former site, which, then, I should hardly have hesitated to consider as the remains of Capernaum. But my hope ended in disappointment; a few stones had, indeed, been thrown together; but there was nothing which could indicate, that any town or village had ever occupied the spot."—Bib. Res. vol. iii. pp. 283, 284. The fountain here referred to, I visited on my second journey to these parts.

[2] Dr. Robinson thus attempts to limit the language of Josephus, in reference to the fountain Capernaum watering the plain. "The expression, indeed, can amount to nothing more, than that there was *in the plain a fountain called Capharnaum, which* aided *in watering and fertilizing it.* Thus understood, the language applies as well to 'Ain et-Tîn, near the Khân, as to the Round Fountain; inasmuch *as the former creates a most luxuriant herbage and rich pastures in this quarter of the plain.* The supposition, too, that the fountain in question was a vein of the Nile, may be far more aptly referred to 'Ain et-Tîn, near the shore, than to the Round Fountain further inland. In the latter there could be no fish fit for use, nor could fish of any size pass between it and the lake; while the former, being so near, might easily come to be regarded as the avenue, by which the fish of the Nile (and the

as any indication given by them is concerned, they may have been those of Bethsaida of Galilee, of Chorazin, or any other town which may have stood on the north-western or northern side of the lake, as well as of Capernaum.[1] I think that the incidental notices which we have of Capernaum, as I shall immediately endeavour to show, lead us to infer, that it was *not* on this mound that Capernaum stood.

At Khán Minyah, the hills by which the Lake of Tiberias is bounded on the north, approach very near the shore, along which they continue, with more or less abruptness, till the entrance of the Jordan. About twenty minutes from the time that we left the Khán Minyah, we arrived at

like species certainly exist here) were supposed to have found their way into these waters."—Bib. Res. vol. iii. pp. 291, 292. This reasoning takes more for granted about the reservoirs and courses of this Round Fountain, and other fountains about the middle of the valley of Gennesareth, than the state of our information warrants. Some inland fountain of the valley, surely, was more likely to be in the eye of the historian than that of Tin, of which Dr. R. himself, (vol. iii. p. 287,) tells us, "forms a brook flowing into the lake *a few rods distant*," and which comes from a direction diametrically opposite to that of the Nile. Marinus Sanutus, in the fourteenth century, when speaking of the Mons Mensæ of the Monks, places the fountain, called the *Vena Nili*, at its foot, (ad pedem ejus) probably where the Round Fountain is situated.—Sanut. Secret. Fidel. Cruc. p. 247. Pococke, too, who takes peculiar notice of the Round Fountain, considers it to be that alluded to by Josephus. "About the middle of the plain, [of Gennesareth]," he says, "or rather towards the north side, there is a very fine fountain, about one hundred feet in diameter, inclosed with a circular wall six feet high, on which account it is called the Round Fountain; it runs off in a stream through the plain into the lake, and is probably the fountain mentioned by Josephus, by the name of Cesaina, (Coracin,) as watering this plain. The water seems to be that which was called the spring of Capernaum, from which one may suppose that Capernaum was at the lake where this rivulet falls into it."—Pococke's Travels in the East, Book I. chap. xviii.

[1] Breydenbach, if I interpret him aright, refers this site to Bethsaida. He says, "In angulo maris Galileæ ubi idem ab aquilone curvari incipit contra austrum sita est Bethsaida civitas Andreæ, et Petri, et Philippi, nunc habet vix sex domos juxta viam quæ de Syria ducit in Ægyptum. Habuit antiquitus aqueductus de fluvio quem Josephus vocat parvum Jordanem, qui medio loco inter ipsam et Capernaum ingreditur mare Galileæ. Hujus vestigia adhuc apparent." Breydenbach, fol. 29. He does not localize his Capernaum.

the fountains, mills, and village of the Ain Ṭábighah. The gush of water from the fountains is very copious, and lukewarm, and brackish. We noticed that the wheels by which the mills are propelled move horizontally, and not vertically, as in Europe. The miller seemed to be much amused with the curiosity which we showed in inspecting the simple machinery which he superintends. Close to the mills is a brackish fountain enclosed by a circular wall, which may have been a Roman bath. It is called the Tannúr 'Eyúb, the oven of Job.

Proceeding south-east, in the general direction of the lake, we came, an hour after leaving Ṭábighah, to the place called Tell Ḥúm, which, according to our guide, forms the site of CAPERNAUM. The ruins here are very extensive and worthy of notice. On account of the rankness of the vegetation among them, we could not trace them with any degree of precision. Most of the erections, all of which, with one exception, are now prostrate, seem to have been of undressed stone.

The ruinous building which is standing is of no great extent, and is composed of olden material, of hewn stones, columns, lintels, and so forth. Another ruin about which we rummaged for a considerable time, seems to be that of some erection of no ordinary grandeur and extent. Its materials consist of sculptured stone, mostly of the usual rock of the country, but in some articles, as we particularly noticed, of a species of marble which must have been brought from a distance. Among the *disjecta membra* of this erection are the frustra, capitals, and pedestals of numerous Corinthian pillars, with friezes and cornices. Some of the shafts and their appendages, as has been noticed by various travellers, are double.[1]

[1] Buckingham, who has given a particular account of these ruins, says, "Among the singularities we noticed here, were double pedestals, double shafts, and double capitals, attached to each other in one solid

The ruins of the Tell el-Ḥûm cover a large tract of ground, estimated by Dr. Robinson as "at least half a mile in length along the shore, and about half that breadth inland."[1] Of the extent of the foundations of the structure which I have noticed above, the doctor correctly says, that it is "no longer definitely to be made out." He adds, "We measured one hundred and fifty feet along the northern wall, and eighty feet along the western; perhaps this was their whole length."[2] Buckingham assigns to the ruin much larger dimensions.[3] It is difficult to say what the original building may have been. We were inclined to think that it must have been a church, a heathen temple, or a court-house.

The word Capernaum is a compound word (כפר-נחום) Kapharnahum, meaning the village of consolation, according to Origen, or of Nahum. On the supposition that the word "Kaphar," the original form of Caper, has been exchanged for "Tell," a mound, on the place becoming a ruin, we were

mass, having been, *perhaps, thus used at the angles of colonnades.*"—Buckingham's Travels in Palestine, pp. 472, 473. "Here we found for the first time," says Dr. Robinson, "the singularity of double columns; that is, the attached shafts, with capitals and base, cut from the same solid block. The shafts are parallel, *showing that they are not intended to form the corner of a colonnade.*"—Bib. Res. vol. iii. p. 299. There is an agreement here as to facts, though not as to theory.

In regard to some other objects, there is a nearer accordance between these two travellers. "Among them, [the blocks] are two masses which looked like pannels of some sculptured wall. I conceived them at first to have been stone doors; but they were too thick for that purpose, and had no appearance of pivots for hinges; nor could they have been sarcophagi, as they were perfectly solid. The sculpture seems to have been, originally, fine, but is now much defaced by time. The block was nine spans long, four and a half spans wide, and two spans thick in its present state, and lay on its edge against other hewn stones."—Buckingham.

"Another peculiarity here, consists in several blocks of stone, nine feet long by half that width, and of considerable thickness, on one side of which are sculptured panels with ornamental work now defaced. They have much the appearance of a stone door, but have no mark of having been suspended, and were, more probably, employed as pilastres, or perhaps as panels in the ornamented wall."—Robinson.

[1] Bib. Res. vol. iii. p. 298.

[2] Bib. Res. vol. iii. p. 298.

[3] Buckingham's Travels in Palestine, p. 472.

disposed to agree with those who think that Ḥûm is a contraction for Naḥum. It is not a fatal objection to this, that Ḥûm has a distinctive meaning in Arabic, that of "a herd of camels," for coincidences of this kind sometimes occur.

The references to Capernaum in the New Testament are such as to show that in connexion with our Lord's ministry it enjoyed the highest advantages; so much so, indeed, that Christ himself said of it that it was "exalted to heaven;"[1] but they do not mark definitely its exact position. They give merely a general notice of its locality; and lead us in one case to form a general inference. "When Jesus," at the commencement of his public preaching, "heard that John was cast into prison, he departed into Galilee, and leaving Nazareth, he came and dwelt in Capernaum, which is upon the *sea-coast, in the borders of Zabulun and Naphtali.*"[2]

"Some other incidental notices in the Gospels," says Dr. Robinson,[3] "serve to point out more nearly the part of this western coast, where Capernaum was situated. After the miraculous feeding of the five thousand on the eastern side of the lake, three of the evangelists relate, that the disciples took ship to return to the other side; and it was on this passage that Jesus came to them during the storm, walking on the water. According to Matthew and Mark, 'when they were thus gone over, they came into the land of Gennesareth.' But John relates more definitely, that the disciples, in setting off from the eastern shore, 'went over the sea toward Capernaum;' and after Jesus had stilled the tempest, 'immediately the ship was at the land whither they went;' he further relates, that the multitude also 'took shipping and came unto Capernaum, seeking for Jesus,' and found him there, or at least not far distant. From all these notices it follows conclusively, that Capernaum lay on that part of the

[1] Matth. xi. 23; Luke x. 15.
[2] Matth. iv. 12, 13.
[3] Bib. Res. vol. iii. p. 289.

western shore, known as the region of Gennesareth." With this inference I agree, though I beg to remark that it throws no light on the extent of the region of Gennesareth, or the exact situation within it of the town of Capernaum. Related to the passages referred to by Dr.. Robinson, however, there is a circumstance overlooked by him, which, in my opinion, rather indicates the position for it of the Tell el-Ḥúm than of the Khán Minyah. It is connected with the departure of Christ and his apostles to the eastern or north-eastern side of the lake. Mark says, that when the people saw that Jesus and his apostles had taken a boat to go to a desert place, immediately before the feeding of the five thousand, they "*ran afoot* thither out of all cities, *and outwent them*, and came together unto him."[1] It is much more difficult to see how they could get on foot to the east of the lake before the arrival, by ship, of Christ and his apostles, after a passage of which no adverse circumstance is related, if we suppose them to start from the Khán Minyah, than it is if we suppose them to start from the Tell el-Ḥúm. With reference to this matter, let the reader for a moment examine the map.

Dr. Pococke, who was of opinion that Capernaum must have stood near the "Round Fountain,"[2] mentions of his time, that "they now commonly shew another place for Capernaum, called Tel-houe, [Tell-Ḥúm,] at the eastern foot of the hills which are north of the plain of Gennesareth."[3] This identification of the Tell el-Ḥúm with Capernaum, to say the least, is not inconsistent with some of the allu-

[1] Mark vi. 33.

[2] See above, pp. 140, 141.

[3] Pococke's Travels in the East, book. i. chap. 18. Dr. P. adds, "Where I saw ruins of a small church of white marble, with some remains of pilasters about it; the ruins extend considerably to the north along the lake; and I could plainly observe a round port for small boats, so that this, without doubt, was the *antient Tarichea* (!) . . . The ruins extend along the shore for two or three miles."

sions to it which we possess, both in history and in works of travel.

Josephus mentions in his Life, that when he received an injury in his wrist by the fall of his horse in a marsh, when he was engaged in a skirmish near the entrance of the Jordan into the lake, he was carried into a village named Caphernome (Κεφαρνώμη). This village, it is generally allowed, must have been Capernaum; and it seems a legitimate conclusion from the notice taken of it, that it was contiguous to the entrance of the Jordan, from which the Tell el-Ḥúm is less than an hour distant. In referring to the occurrence mentioned by Josephus, Dr. Robinson says:—"This village, without much doubt, was Capernaum; and Josephus was naturally carried on the great road along the shore, first to this place, and then to Tarichæa; the distance of the former [which he supposes to have been at Khán Minyah] from the entrance of the Jordan being about two hours."[1] I cannot but think that the Doctor here evades the legitimate inference in favour of the Tell el-Ḥúm,—if any town stood there in the time of Josephus, which, from the ancient remains which we find in it, is more than probable,—for it is at least one half nearer the Jordan than the Khán Minyah. The object of carrying Josephus to Capernaum was not, as the Doctor seems to insinuate, to carry him a stage on his way to Tarichæa, but to convey him, after his injury, to a place of covert. After alluding to his injury, Josephus says:—"I was carried to Caphernome. But when my (soldiers) heard of these things, and had become anxious that nothing worse had befallen me, they desisted from pursuing the enemy, and returned in great distress about me. Sending them for the physicians, and applying a remedy, I remained there that day in a feverish state, and in deference to the opinions

[1] Bib. Res. vol. iii. p. 292.

of the physicians, was carried by night to Tarichæa."[1] The town most convenient by proximity for the reception of Josephus, was evidently that selected in the first instance by those who bore him. This is the conclusion of Reland,—"Apparet autem ex iis quæ addit [Josephus] vicum illum non longum abfuisse a Jordane et Juliade."[2] It strikes me that the circumstantial mention by Josephus in this instance of the "*village* named Caphernome" should go farther in enabling us to fix the situation of the town of Capernaum, than his mention of the "fountain" of "Capharnaum" in the valley of Gennesar.[3]

In referring to the notice of Capernaum taken by Arculfus at the close of the seventh century, Dr. Robinson says:—"He appears to have proceeded from Tiberias northwards along the lake, and then ascended the mountain to the reputed place of feeding the five thousand, whence he saw Capernaum without visiting it. He describes the town as without walls, stretching along the shore from west to east, in a narrow tract between the mountain and lake, having the mountain on the north, and the lake on the south. This description applies well to Khân Minyah, and to no other place along the lake; for no other spot is thus shut in by a mountain on the north."[4] With all deference, I am inclined to claim the testimony of Arculfus in favour of the position of the Tell el-Hûm. Arculfus saw it, (probably from the mountain of Beatitudes), says Adamnanus, his narrator, "murum non habens, angusto inter montem et stagnum

[1] Joseph. Vit. 72.

[2] Reland. Palest. p. 683.

[3] See above, p. 137. In Hudson's edition of Josephus, the reading is Καφαρναὺμ. Hudson adds in a note, "Ita in plerisque MSS. Καπαρναὺμ in editis aliisque. Suspicatur Baronius ab hoc fonte dictum oppidum Capernaum. Ergo vero (inquit Casaub. in Exercit. p. 299. edit. Lond.) hac de re valde dubito. Observo enim Capharnaum oppidum Galilææ et Capharnaum fontem in agro Gennesaritico, longiore intervallo fuisse invicem dissita, quam ut fiat verisimile quod sine teste affirmat Baronius."—Hudsoni Joseph. p. 1155. A re-examination of the MSS. is, perhaps, not undesirable.

[4] Bib. Res. vol. iii. pp. 292, 293.

coartata spatio per illam maritimam oram longo tramite protenditur, montem ab aquilonali plaga, lacum vero ab australi, habens, ab occasu in ortum extensa dirigitur."[1] According to this passage, a site must be found for Capernaum having the lake to its south. Now, the lake lies to the *east* of Khán Minyah; but to the *south* of the Tell el-Ḥúm. I can testify that, as seen from the western coasts of the lake of Tiberias, and I presume it has the same appearance from the Mount of the Beatitudes, Tell el-Ḥúm seems shut in by a mountain on the north, though, as we approach it, we find that there is some little interval between it and the higher ground rising gradually behind. The objection of Dr. Robinson to the Tell el-Ḥúm is, in my opinion, thus removed.

Marinus Sanutus, in the fourteenth century, though he does not mention the name Tell el-Ḥúm, probably places Capernaum about this place.[2]

I do not know anything else of consequence to be urged either in favour of, or against, the claims of the site of Tell-Ḥúm to be considered that of Capernaum. I am inclined, for the reasons to which I have referred, to think that these claims are not to be lightly set aside, and that, at any rate, they are preferable to those of the Khán Minyah. *Certainty*

[1] See the passage in full in Relandi Palest. p. 684. See also Beda de Locis Sanctis, cap. xvi.

[2] Dr. Robinson, speaking of the Tell el-Ḥúm, says, "The same position, however, is, perhaps, assigned to Capernaum, by Marinus Sanutus," Bib. Res. vol. iii. p. 300. He had already said (p. 293,) of the Khán Minyah, "with this position Marinus Sanutus likewise *apparently* coincides." I have no doubt, both from the map and description of Sanutus, that he did place Capernaum here. "In xxi," he says, "est Cafarnaum prope latus Aquilonare maris Galileæ, ad duas leucas; ibi ostendebatur domus et locus sessionis in strata Regia, unde a Christo Mattheus vocatus est."—Sanutus, p. 247. The distance of the Tell el-Ḥúm is just about two leagues from the base of the mountain of the *mensa Christi*, mentioned in the context. Dr. Robinson says, "If, however, the two leagues of M. Sanutus, are to be reckoned from the north end of the lake, as is most probable, they reach to Khán Minyah." More probable it is, that like Brocardus, he reckons from the foot of the mountain of Beatitudes.

in this case, I am persuaded, cannot be obtained; and this circumstance, combined with our ignorance of the site of Bethsaida of Galilee, and Chorazin,—of which, like other travellers, we could hear nothing after most minute inquiry,—may be viewed as adding emphasis to the solemn commination of our Lord, "WOE UNTO THEE, CHORAZIN! WOE UNTO THEE, BETHSAIDA! for if the mighty works which were done in you had been done in Tyre and Sidon, they would have repented long ago in sackcloth and ashes. But I say unto you, It shall be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon at the day of judgment, than for you. AND THOU, CAPERNAUM, WHICH ART EXALTED UNTO HEAVEN, SHALT BE BROUGHT DOWN TO HELL: for if the mighty works which have been done in thee had been done in Sodom, it would have remained until this day."[1]

It would have been gratifying to us had we been able, at this time, to proceed to the entrance of the Jordan, which is only an hour distant from the Tell el-Ḥûm; but as we had the town of Ṣafed before us as our resting-place for the night, we were obliged to rest satisfied with the progress which we had made in this direction.[2] The whole lake,

[1] Matth. xi. 21-23.

[2] Dr. Robinson says, "After an hour and five minutes from Tell-Hûm, we reached the banks of the Jordan, just at its entrance into the lake. The river here runs near the foot of the western hills, which next its valley are steep, but not high; while on the other side of the stream, a fine fertile plain stretches off along the end of the lake, for an hour or more, quite to the mountains which skirt the eastern shore. . . . This plain . . . is shut in also on the north by similar mountains of considerable altitude, which approach close to the Jordan higher up, and confine it to a valley of no great width. The plain has much the appearance of an alluvial deposit brought down by the Jordan, or more probably driven up by the prevailing southerly winds from the bottom of the lake. (?) At the N.W. corner of the plain, a lower spur or promontory from the northern mountains, runs out for some distance southwards along the river, and forms for a time the eastern wall of its valley. On its southern extremity we could distinguish ruins; the people on the spot call it simply et-Tell, and knew for it no other name. The plain itself bears the name of Batîhah, signifying a low tract liable to be overflowed by streams. . . .

"The party reached et-Tell at 6h 40′. [Dr. R. remaining on the west of

however, was here distinctly in view; and while we were taking our tiffin, we compared together our ideas respecting its size, form, and other peculiarities. It lies in the general direction of north and south. Its greatest length is twelve geographical miles, and its breadth six. The map given in Dr. Robinson's work, is on the whole correct, except at the southern termination, which we had particularly examined, and which is not continued south, as there represented, after the exit of the Jordan; and on the line of coast between Majdel and the Khán Minyah, which ought to be represented as a little more regular than it has hitherto been done. There is a great resemblance in point of shape, extent, soil,

the river on account of indisposition.] It is the largest of all the ruins around the plain, and is considered as a sort of capital by the Ghawârineh; though they have lost the ancient name, and now occupy in it only a few houses as magazines. The Tell, as we have seen, extends from the foot of the northern mountains southwards, near the point where the Jordan issues from them. The ruins cover a large portion of it, and are quite extensive; but so far as could be observed, consist entirely of unhewn, volcanic stones, without any distinct trace of ancient architecture .... This Tell and the ruins upon it above described, are, probably, no other than the site of the ancient Bethsaida of Gaulonitis, afterwards called Julias, which Pliny places on the east of the lake and the Jordan, and Josephus describes as situated in lower Gaulonitis, just above the entrance of the Jordan into the lake. It was originally but a village, called Bethsaida, but was built up and enlarged by Philip the Tetrarch, not long after the birth of Christ, and received the name of Julias, in honour of Julia, the daughter of Augustus. Philip would seem to have made it, in part, his residence; here he died, and was buried in a costly tomb. This is, doubtless, the Bethsaida near to which Jesus fed the five thousand on the east of the lake; and probably also the same, where the blind man was healed. There seems to be no later historical notice of the place whatever.

"The Jordan, as we saw it here, is less broad, less deep, and less rapid than where we had come upon it near the Dead Sea. I estimated the breadth at about two-thirds of what it was at Jericho; that is, from sixty to seventy-five feet. It is a sluggish stream, turbid, but not clayey; winding between low alluvial banks, from which it washes off portions in one place to deposit them in another; so that the channel would seem to be continually changing. There are many bars and shallows, where the river may occasionally be forded; in other parts the water has considerable depth, but no strength of current."—Bib. Res. vol. iii. pp. 301-303, 307-309.

and productions, between the valley of Gennesareth, in the west; of the lake Baṭíḥah, at the entrance of the Jordan; and of the valley between the Jordan and the Yarmuk, at the south of the lake. Those who have spoken of the course of the Jordan through the lake being distinctly visible, must have had strange organs of vision, and curious principles of hydrostatics, to guide their judgment. The measurements of Lieutenant Symonds have settled the extent of the depression of the lake below the level of the Mediterranean, finding that it amounts to 328.98 feet. The climate of Tiberias and the other villages on its borders, is consequently much milder than that of the surrounding country, and, at certain seasons of the year, oppressive. We were not able to acquiesce in the conclusion of some travellers, that the lake at some geological era must have been the crater of a volcano. The basaltic rock along the sides of the lake, and which appears, too, at its northern borders, is connected, however, with some volcanic influence not yet extinct,—as is intimated by the fearful earthquakes to which this part of the country is subject—and by which the great crevasse of the Jordan and of the Wádí 'Arabah, the continuation of its valley, has perhaps been formed. With this volcanic influence, the thermal springs near Ḥáṣbeiyá, at Tiberias, those on the banks of the Yarmuk,[1]

[1] As these springs have not fallen in our course, I subjoin the account given of them by Burckhardt:—"We departed early in the morning [from Samakh, a village on the south of the Lake of Tiberias, east of the Jordan] in order to visit the hot wells at the foot of the mountain of Om Keis, the situation of which had been pointed out to me on the preceding day. Returning towards the place where the Sheriat [el-Mandhur, or Yarmuk] issues from the Wady, we followed up the river from thence, and in one hour and three quarters from Szammagh, we reached the first hot well. The river flows in a deep bed, being confined in some places on both sides by precipices of upwards of one hundred feet in height, whose black rocks present a most striking contrast with the verdure on their summits. For several hundred yards before we arrived at the hot-well, I perceived a strong sulphureous smell in the air. The spring is situated in a very narrow plain, in the valley between the river and the northern cliffs, which we descended. . . . The spring bubbles up from a basin about

and those on the Wádí Zerka Máín,[1] are probably connected. These hot wells bear a strong analogy to the series which we find among the trap hills in the northern and southern

forty feet in circumference, and five feet in depth, which is enclosed by ruins of walls and buildings, and forms below a small rivulet, which falls at a short distance into the river. The water is so hot, that I found it difficult to keep my hand in it. It deposits upon the stones over which it flows a thick yellow sulphureous crust, which the neighbouring Arabs collect to rub their camels with when diseased. Just above the basin, which has originally been paved, is an open arched building, with the broken shaft of a column still standing; and behind it are several others, also arched, which may have been apartments for the accommodation of strangers; the large stones forming these structures are much decayed, from the influence of the exhalations. This spring is called Hammet el Sheikh, (حمة الشيخ pro حمام) and is the hottest of them all. At five minutes' distance, ascending the Wady, is a second of the same kind, but considerably cooler; it issues out of a basin covered with weeds, and surrounded with reeds, and has some remains of ancient buildings about it; it is called Hammet Errih, (حمة الريح) and joins the waters from the first source. Following the course of the river, up the Wady, eight more hot springs are met with. . . . . In the month of April, the Hammet el Sheikh is visited by great numbers, both of sick and healthy people, from the neighbourhood of Nablous and Nazaret, who prefer it to the bath of Taberia; they usually remain about a fortnight."—Burckhardt's Travels in Syria, pp. 276-278.

[1] The springs at the Wádí Zerka M'aín were visited by Irby and Mangles, who give this account of them:—"In about two hours from Mayn we reached the bed of the torrent Zerka Mayn, which we crossed, and kept along it in a western direction. . . . . In four hours from Mayn we had reached the place where it was necessary to dismount, the appearance beyond being that of a precipice. Through this, a narrow path has been contrived in a zig-zag direction, which makes the descent tolerably safe. In the last stage of the path there is a fine burst of the Dead Sea at the end of the ravine, with a view of the Frank Mount, and Bethlehem open beyond it; the former bearing N.N.W. Looking down into the valley of Calirrhoe, it presents some grand and romantic features. . . . . In one place a considerable stream of hot water is seen precipitating itself from a high and perpendicular shelf of rock, which is strongly tinted with the brilliant yellow of sulphur deposited upon it. On reaching the bottom we found ourselves, at what may be termed a hot river, so copious and rapid is it, and its heat so little abated; this continues as it passes downwards by its receiving constant supplies of water of the same temperature. In order to visit these sources in succession, we crossed over to the right bank, and ascending by the mountain side, we passed four abundant springs, all within the distance of half a mile, discharging themselves into the stream at right angles with its

Konkan, in India, which extend some two hundred miles in somewhat of a regular line, about twenty or thirty miles distant from the sea.

We left the Tell el-Ḥúm about three o'clock, A.M., and, as in going to it, we occupied about an hour in returning to the mills of Tábighah. From this place we struck over the hills under the direction of our guide, to Ṣafed, which, after a rapid march, we reached at the dusk. We followed, for about three-quarters of an hour after we set out, the Damascus road, running pretty much to the north; and before getting as far in that direction as the Khán Jubb Yusuf, where it is erroneously imagined Joseph was put into the pit by his brethren, we struck away to the north-west by a devious path leading, in the first instance, through a very rough part of the country, over which many basaltic stones were thrown, and where the grass and thistles were very luxuriant. Here our guide pointed out a place to us where some leopards had been lately seen The ascent, as we approached Ṣafed, became very considerable, and was principally over the cretaceous hills, the basalt having ceased in this direction. About an hour before reaching Ṣafed, we crossed a very romantic ravine running down to the east of the town, from the north, which we had afterwards a better opportunity of tracing. We then came upon another Wádí, with some very nicely cultivated fields, along which we went till

course. We judged the distance from the Dead Sea, by the ravine, to be about one hour and a-half. . . . That Herod must have had some lodging when he visited these springs, is true, and there are sufficient remains to prove, that some sort of buildings have been erected. The whole surface of the shelf, where the springs are, is strewed over with tiles and broken pottery; and what is most surprising, within very few minutes, without any particular search, four ancient copper medals were found; all were too much defaced to be distinguishable, but they appeared to be Roman. . . . . We had no thermometer, but the degree of heat in the water seemed very great; near the source it scalds the hand, which cannot be kept in for the space of half a minute. The deposit of sulphur is very great, but the water is tasteless to the palate."—Travels, pp. 466-469.

we ascended the hill on which Ṣafed stands. We received a very cordial welcome from the Jews on our arrival, and we found dinner ready for us at the house of Rabbi Samuel. For the preparations made in our behalf, we were indebted to an intimation given by Mordecai, who had gone before us to announce our progress.

After dinner the body of the Sephardim Jews waited upon us; and after they had perused our letter of introduction from Bombay, they held with us a long and interesting conversation. They spoke in very affecting terms of the great earthquake of 1837, by which awful occurrence, they said, two thousand of the Jewish and three hundred of the Muhammadan inhabitants of this town, besides several Christians, were summoned into eternity. The most soul-distressing details of this calamity, as experienced both in Ṣafed and other contiguous places, have been published by the Rev. Mr. Thomson, of the American mission at Beirút, and Mr. Calman, a convert from Judaism, a very respectable person, whom we had the pleasure of meeting at Jerusalem.[1] Mr. Thomson, judging of course from the accounts which he received at the time, computes the number of those who perished in Ṣafed at five thousand; but the Jews assured us that the estimate which they gave us is correct.

Thursday, 13th April.—The Ashkenazim Jews waited upon us this morning, as the Sephardim had done last night. The information which I received from both parties, I combine together.

The Sephardim Jews at Ṣafed amount at present to 650 souls. Most of them are subjects of the Sulṭán. Forty-two of them pay the capitation tax. Those of them who are not subjects of the Porte, and have European passports, do not pay this impost. Thirty of their number, on account of their

[1] American Missionary Herald, Nov. 1837. Robinson's Biblical Researches, vol. iii. pp. 471-475. Kitto's Physical History of Palestine, p. 92.

learning, influence, and devotion, are esteemed Rabbis. The others are disciples.

The Ashkenazim of Ṣafed amount to 370 souls, of whom twenty-five are Rabbis. They are principally natives of Poland and the countries north of the mouths of the Danube. They are all Khasidim; and they reckon themselves more nearly allied to the Sephardim than the Peroshim, of whom the great body of the Ashkenazim is composed. The Peroshim in the Holy Cities are confined to Jerusalem and Hebron; and most of the Khasidim are in Ṣafed and Tiberias. The Khasidim of Ṣafed have three synagogues.

The Jews of Ṣafed unite in thinking that the town has existed since the destruction of Jerusalem. It is the town, they say, mentioned by Josephus (ben Gorion?) under the name of יורפת Yorphat. It is now called in Hebrew צפת. Many Jews, they said, fled to it after the destruction of Jerusalem, and were permitted to dwell in it in safety. It is esteemed holy, they added, on this account, and because it adjoins the Lake of Tiberias, in the vicinity of which the Messiah will appear and reign forty years before he goes up to Jerusalem. In the Esthori-ha-Parchi, as analyzed by Dr. Zunz, it is thus noticed: "A day's journey south of Kadesh [Naphtali] stands a city on the summit of a mount, Tsefath, which is not Chermah, which was situated in the country of Jehuda, in the territory of Sime'on, but a new town with an altered name. In the vicinity stands another town of the name of Tsefath, sirnamed עיר. . . . It further appears to me that Tsefath is the Tsofia (צופיה) of the Thalmud, the name being derived from צפה (watch,) because of its elevated situation on a high mountain. These mountains afford good pasturage, and much honey. This is also in conformity with the Thalmud."[1] Ṣafed is intimately

[1] Zunz on the Geography of Palestine in Asher's Benjamin of Tudela, vol. ii. pp. 420, 422. To this passage the following notes are appended:—

connected with Meirún, about two hours distant to the west. Of this place, which I visited on my second journey to these parts, I give some account in another part of this work. In order to find, if possible, some key to the history both of Meirún and Ṣafed, I asked the Jews to furnish me with a list of their distinguished Rabbis and of the tombs, which they profess to show at both places. They mentioned, on this occasion, the tombs of Hillel the Elder, and of Shamai and his wife, and of Rabbi Ebu Saba, of the times of the Mishnaites; of Rabbi Simeon ben Jochai, the reputed author of the Zohar, the Cabalistic commentary on the Pentateuch, and Rabbi Eleazar, his son; and of Rabbi Jochanan Sandeliar, as existing at Meirún;—and of the prophet Hoshea, of Beniahu, the son of Jehoiada, one of King David's champions, and of the Rabbis Samuel Ozeida and Moshe Al-Sheikh, as existing in Ṣafed or its neighbourhood. A more complete list of the tombs at those places, which I obtained at Jerusalem, and which is given in full in the article on the Jews in their own Land, I examined in their presence. Most of the Rabbis of note at Ṣafed seem, from this list, compared with the notices in the Bibliotheca of Wolfius and the Dictionary of De Rossi, to have flourished in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

"*Tsefath*, or *Safet*, in Galilee, mentioned already in Kalir's Elegy, but perhaps even in the Thalmud, occurs again in the historians of the crusades (William of Tyre.) In the twelfth century it probably contained no Jews, but in the thirteenth century it is mentioned by Charisi (c. 46,) in the Cod. Sussex. No. 4 of 1266, in which year the Christians lost the castle, and in the transactions respecting the dispute, on Maimonides of A. 1286. R. Solomo of Barcellona corresponded with Safet. In the fourteenth century, the town is mentioned by Sanutus (Secr. fid. crucis, in Bongarsius, Gesta Dei, ii. p. 166,) Parchi Shemtob Gaon (1325,) Abulfeda (p. 82, צפר), Maundevile, in a Bodleyan MS., dated 1337, (Uri catal. cod. 231,) and in the dec. of R. Nissim, (No. 5.) The town is about four hours from Tiberias; neither Rossenmüller nor Reland mention it. It contained thirteen synagogues in the seventeenth century. . . . . See Rapaport, Introduction to Kore haddoroth, s. v. צפת and the next note. Some believe that אילין דחמין צפת (Jerus. Rosh hashana, 2, 1, end) alludes to Safet."

Neither Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela, nor Rabbi Petachia, who both travelled in the Holy Land in the twelfth century, speaks of any Jews being resident at Ṣafed.[1] Ludolphus de Suchem, in the first half of the fourteenth century, mentions a Jew and his wife from Westphalia as being in his day at the place; but whether he notices them on account of the district from which they came, or because they formed the only Jewish inhabitants of the place, we cannot say.[2] No light, so far as I am aware, has yet been thrown on the origin of the Jewish school at Ṣafed. I am inclined to think, that the principal settlement of the Jews here took place in consequence of the flow of the Spanish Jews to the East, after their expulsion from the Peninsula, in the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella. Wolfius and de Rossi mention works as printed at its Jewish press in 1578, and the subsequent years.[3] The press, under the care of Rabbi Israel, now at Jerusalem, was lately at this place. I received from the Bene-Israel a copy of the Sephardim Siddur, printed here, "under the government of the great Muḥammad 'Ali," in 1832.

After breakfast we went, agreeably to an appointment we had made, to visit the synagogues, and the residence, contiguous to them, of the chief Rabbi of the Sephardim. We met with a very kind reception from the Jews at these places. The chief Rabbi, rather an aged and infirm person, appeared to be a devoted Jew, and far removed in his views and feelings from European influences. His establishment was remarkably neat and clean. After entertaining us in the usual eastern fashion as his guests, he took us to the roof of

[1] See Asher's Benjamin of Tudela, vol. i. p. 82, and Rabbi Petachias, Tour du Monde, in Nouveau Journal Asiatique, Nov. 1831.

[2] His words are, "In capite hujus montis versus aquilonem et altum et fortissimum castrum cum villa simul Japhet (Saphet) vocatum, in quo temporibus meis Judæus Westualensis cum uxore habitavit."—Ludolp. de Suchem, fol. 32.

[3] Wolf. Bib. Heb., vol. i. p. 815; vol. iii. p. 747; vol. iv. p. 906.—De Rossi, Dizionario Storico, vol. i. p. 122.

his house, from which we had a good view of the surrounding country. Two remarkable conical mountains, to the N.W., seen from a great distance in various parts of the country, he pointed out to us as Tabor and Hermon! On our objecting to the opinion which he had formed of these mountains, on account of the want of a valley corresponding with Megiddo, in which chariots might be used, at their base, he said, "You need feel no difficulty on that score; the face of the country has been *entirely* changed by earthquakes and floods since the days of the kings of Israel." Jebel Sheikh, however, he admitted to be the great Hermon of the Bible. On my second visit he talked of London as a *country*. The name of Scotland he had not previously heard. He told us that one of the synagogues which we had seen, had been rebuilt at the expense of a Jew in India, and he asked us to recommend the Jews elsewhere to imitate this liberality. He gave us a letter of introduction to the Jews of Ḥaṣbeiyá, near the furthest source of the Jordan, whose locality we intended to visit, and whose circumstances we proposed to inquire into, in continuation of our researches in the land of Israel. For an account of further intercourse with this Rabbi, and our attendance at a synagogue of the Khasidim, I must refer my reader to another part of this journal.[1]

After our visit to the Sephardim, we proceeded to take a walk through the town, and to ascend to its celebrated castle, which stands on the highest part of the hill on which the town is built. The houses of Ṣafed are erected on the different terraces of the hill; and the streets, such as they are, generally rise in regular succession one above another. We could easily understand the peculiar disadvantages in which, on this account, the inhabitants of the place found themselves to be during the awful earthquake of 1837, when the ruins of one building, with awful crashing and thunder-

[1] See under the 31st of May.

ing, came down upon another. The houses are now partly rebuilt; but it will be long before the place assume its former appearance. The houses of the town form three or four distinct groups, in one of which a weekly bázár is held.

The most eastern division of the town is inhabited by the Musalmáns, who suffered less than the Jews in proportion to their numbers, many of them having been at their mosks at dusk of the day on which the most destructive shock occurred. The castle is now in ruins; but we can easily see, that in the days of the Muhammadan and Christian conflicts it must have been a place of great strength.[1] Three pieces of cannon still remain upon it, imperfectly mounted. The view from the castle, which, according to Schubert, is 2500 Paris feet above the level of the sea, is most extensive and splendid. The country beyond the Jordan is seen stretching to a great distance, comprehending a considerable part of the Haurán. It appears here more level even than it does from Mount Tabor; but this must be from our not having a front view of the Wádís which lead down from it to the Jordan and the sea of Galilee. Jebel Kuleib, in the Haurán, and one or two eminences farther north, are discernible. The Lake of Tiberias was all in sight, except the part nearest to us. From the clearness of the atmosphere, it seemed to be close upon us. The hills to the north and west of Ṣafed are part of one great broken ridge, the continuation of Lebanon. The valleys of Ṣafed itself are extremely fertile.

[1] Sir John Maundevile who set out on his travels in 1332, gives the following quaint account of this fort. "Also in the Hed of that See of Galilee, toward the Septemtryon, is a strong Castelle and an highe, that highte Saphor: and fast besyde it is Capharnaum; with in the Lond of Promyssioun, is not so strong a Castelle: and there is a gode toun benethe, that is clept also Saphor. In that Castel, Seynt Anne oure Ladyes modre was born. And there benethe was Centurioes Hous. That country is clept the Galilee of folk that were taken to tribute of Sabulon, and of Neptalym."—The Voiage and Travaile of Sir John Maundevile, p. 117.

Jebel esh-sheikh, or Mount Hermon.

CHAPTER XVII.

FROM SAFED TO THE LAKE HULEH, AND THE SOURCES OF THE JORDAN AT DAN, BANIAS, AND HASBEIYA.

DURING no part of our lengthened travels did we enter upon a journey with more interest than on that which we designed should extend from Ṣafed to the northern lake of the Jordan, the different sources of that celebrated river, and the base of the mountainous masses from which it originates. We had the full expectation of seeing most beautiful and sublime scenery, and, perchance, of enlarging our geographical knowledge of the parts which we proposed to visit, and which have hitherto been much neglected by travellers in the Holy Land. In neither of these respects were we disappointed.

We left Ṣafed at half-past one o'clock in the afternoon of

the 13th April, striking away to the north-east. At two we passed the village of Bíriá, seated on a hill; and a short time afterwards we commenced our descent into the valley of the Jordan, by a narrow and deep Wádí, called Farâm. When we got to the place where the Wádí or ravine opens upon the plain below, we had the basin of the Húleh lying straight before us, bounded by a high ridge of hills on the west, and a much lower ridge to the east, near the latter of which we observed the course of the Jordan. The gigantic Jebel esh-Sheikh, or Hermon, lay before us to the N.E. by N. Here we had a view, not so distinct, however, as farther to the north, of two of its conspicuous summits, on account of which it is probably spoken of in Scripture as the hill of the HERMONITES.[1] From the position in which we were, was made the original drawing from which the cut prefixed to this Chapter is made. In the plain, south of the lake, we observed but few patches of cultivated land, although the soil, as testified by its luxuriant pasturage, is very excellent. Many Badawín, both in tents and huts, were squatted here and there over its surface.

When we had gone about three quarters of an hour to the north, we were opposite the southern extremity of the lake, —the WATERS OF MEROM of the Bible, the Semechonites of Josephus, and the Bahr Húleh and Bahr Klait of the present times. We left our road and went to the margin of the lake; and we were glad that we did so, for we found it laid down in the map with a considerable want of accuracy. The greatest body of the lake is to the west of the emergence of the Jordan, and the Jordan is rather wide at its exit. Indeed, the lake itself, at this place, tapers somewhat to the south, after it has run in a tolerably straight line from the west. There are no considerable banks on the south and west of

[1] Psalm xlii. 6.

the lake, and but a small rise in the water would make it overflow. On the margin of the lake itself, and over a good part of its surface throughout, there are a great many sedges, rushes, and lotuses. Thousands of aquatic birds are seen gamboling on its bosom, and many swallows skimming its surface. Its waters have not quite the purity of the lake of Tiberias, as it is fed by several muddy streams, running through a morass. It would be no difficult matter to effect its drainage. It is on its western side that the huts of the Badawín are most numerous. Some of these Arabs we found engaged in fishing with the line when we approached them. They professed to be much delighted to have a visit from English travellers; but as we were separated from our attendants when with them, we did not relish being long in their company.

At the north-west corner of the lake, we found a stream running into it from the north-west; but we could not cross it at this place, on account of the marsh lying to the north of the lake. This meadow is quite impassable at present, throughout, though it is raised above the lake about a couple of feet. We read in the "Modern Traveller," which we had in our hands, that Seetzen says, that the shores of the lake are "frequented by a great number of wild boars, which conceal themselves in the rushes and reeds which surround it."[1] We heard of wolves and jackals, also, as being found on the "shores" of the lake, but none of these animals can make the marsh itself their habitation.

A short way after regaining the road, we crossed the stream now mentioned, and pitched our tents close to its source, which is called the Ain el-Mellâḥah, and near a mill driven by the stream, a few yards after it rises at the western hill. This was in the dusk, about half an hour after sunset.

[1] Mod. Trav. Palestine, p. 347.

14th April.—When we got astir this morning, we found a thick mist rising from the lake, and the line of the Jordan. Mount Hermon appeared a grand object as it peered above this cloud. We observed less snow on its summits towards the south-west than we had seen yesterday on its south-east side; and what we did observe was in the crevices and hollows, running down like bars from the crown of the mountain. The top of the mountain, which rises between nine and ten thousand Paris feet above the level of the sea, is never entirely free from snow.[1]

Before breakfast we examined the Ain el-Mellâhah, which literally means the "Fountain of Salt." It is not owing, however, to any brackishness of the water, or any incrustation in its neighbourhood, that it receives this name. It is also called the Rás en-Nabí. It is a large pool, an irregular polygon, from about 150 to 200 yards in length, and about 100 in breadth. Many copious and clear springs seem to rise in its bottom, at the base of an almost perpendicular rock; and the depth of water in the reservoir is three or four feet. It is certainly entitled to be spoken of as one of the sources of the Jordan. It is surrounded by wild figs, brambles, briers, thistles, and very rank stalks of peppermint; and contains many fishes, principally gudgeons of a small size.

At a quarter past eight o'clock, A.M., we left the Ain, our road leading almost straight north according to the compass. At a quarter to nine, we passed the tomb of Nabí Washá, on the summit of the range to the right, which, right or wrong, received from our guide the name of Besamún. Nabí Washá is about a couple of miles distant from Kedes, the KEDESH-

[1] In the print attached to Raumer's Beitrage zur Biblischen Geographie, the height of Jebel esh-Sheikh is stated at 10,000 Paris feet above the level of the sea. In Russeger's section of the country between Damascus and B'aalbek, it is given at 9000.

NAPHTALI, one of the most northern cities of refuge of which we read in the Bible. This latter site we had already noticed, and did afterwards notice, at a distance. At twenty minutes past nine, we came to another considerable stream, called the 'Ain el-Balâṭah, or "Fountain of the Flat Stone," the waters of which run sluggishly to the eastward, into the marshy ground north of the lake. A pool is formed near the springs, somewhat artificially, by an enclosure. Here we also noticed abundance of frogs and fishes. We found a plant running over the surface of the water, resembling the lotus, with smooth heart-like leaves and yellow flowers. Some ruins of a village are contiguous to this place.

Going north, we observed to the right one or two other small streamlets finding their way to the lake. At twenty minutes past eleven, we arrived at a ruin called el-Khalsá; and a minute or two further on, we observed another spring and streamlet called Wazíyah. To the east, we noticed the commencement of a small hilly ridge running north and south. The country here was called Ardh el-Hawaibí.

At twenty minutes to twelve, we came to another copious spring, called the 'Ain edh-Dhahab, or "Golden Fount," with a dam running across it, making an imperfect reservoir, in which we found a great many cattle cooling themselves. The water of it is very sweet and clear, and runs toward the base of the ridge now mentioned, which we found here receives the name of the Tell el-Ḥaîh. Wood ceases about this place, on the range to the west. We noticed it as abundant there, when we were starting in the morning, and it continues to this distance north. From the 'Ain, Jebel Sheikh bore N.E. by E. ½ E.

At this spring, we parted from our cavalcade, ordering our servants, with one exception, to proceed with our luggage by the straight road to Ḥâṣbeiyá, while Mr. Smith, Dhanjí-bhái, and I should attempt to examine the sources of the

Jordan, further to the east, proceeding as far as Bánías, the CESAREA PHILIPPI of the New Testament. We gave them reason to expect that we would join them at Hásbeiyá in the evening. We had no right conception of the length of the journey for the day which we had allotted for ourselves, and of its utter impracticability. The distance across the plain to Bánías we afterwards found to be ten miles; but even this distance we were not permitted to go this day, as my reader will immediately learn.

From the Ain edh-Dhahab, we crossed over to the Tell el-Haih, on the summit of which we found ourselves in a few minutes, after advancing half a mile. This ridge is of basalt, and is about two or three hundred yards broad, and about two hundred feet high. We took several bearings from the position which we had assumed upon it, with a view to the improvement of our map, which we found very obscure in this locality. The Ain edh-Dhahab which we had just left, lay to the S.W. by W. The Kalát el-Húnín,[1] a regular fort on the top

[1] In a very valuable article on the parts of the country treated of in this Chapter, by the Rev. W. M. Thomson, of the American Missions at Beirút, published in the Bibliotheca Sacra for Feb. 1846, we have the following interesting account of this place. "Castle of Húnín, Sept. 22d. This fortress is the most conspicuous object on the western mountains. It stands out in bold relief, from Bâniâs almost due west, and has been in full view during all our rides for the last two days. The castle is an oblong quadrangle, rounded at the south end, and is about 900 feet long by 300 wide. It overhangs the very brow of the precipice, which, on the east side, falls sheer down to a great depth, towards the plain. On the north and west sides, it is protected by a trench, hewn in the solid rock forty feet wide, and fifteen or twenty deep. The southern and south-western parts are defended by six round towers, and a double wall. There are also three round towers on the eastern wall. The large area within was formerly covered with houses and magazines, and undermined by numerous cisterns. The village has no fountain, but depends entirely upon these cisterns; and the water at this dry season is very scarce, and alive with animalcules. There is a fountain about a mile below the castle, near which I noticed foundations of ancient buildings. Probably the village was located there in former times. Insecurity has, however, obliged the people to settle around this feudal castle. The village is small, and inhabited by Metâwileh. Most of the works existing at pre-

of the high hills, along the base of which we had come in our descent from Ṣafed into the valley of the Ḥuleh, W. ½ S.; Bánías E. by N. ¼ N.; and Jebel Sheikh N.E. by E.

Proceeding in the direction of the Tell el-Kádhí, we came upon a somewhat muddy stream, running down from the north in the direction of the meadow. A boy whom we here found tending cattle, gave it the name of Nahr el-Bagharit, or the "Rivulet of Fleas." To the little Wádí through which it was passing, he gave the name of Wádí Diflah, which seemed appropriate enough from the number of oleanders growing on the banks of the Nahr.[1] When we

sent are quite modern; probably Saracenic or even Turkish. But the northern part bears undoubted marks of extreme antiquity. It is about 300 feet square, and surrounded on all sides by a ditch hewn in the solid rock, as described above. A few specimens of the original wall are still to be seen, and show that the whole was constructed by large *bevelled* stones, bound together by iron clamps, bearing a strong resemblance to works of Jewish or Phenician origin, which I have seen at Jerusalem, and on the island of Ruad, the ancient Aradus. May not this old castle mark the site of Hazor? We know that Hazor was a city of Naphtali, somewhere in the neighbourhood of Kedesh, Abel, and Ijon. And if, as Josephus says, Hazor was on a high mountain above the Hûleh, this site accords well with his account; for it occupies precisely such a position, commanding a noble view of the plain, marsh, and lake. It was, moreover, evidently built to command the passage round the north-western border of the marsh. There are there indications which seem to point out this place, as being at least in the neighbourhood of Hazor. When Tiglath-Pileser attacked Pekah, king of Israel, he took Ijon, Abel, Kedesh, and Hazor. Now Ijon is Merj 'Ayûn; and Abel is the modern Abil, directly north of Hûnîn; and Kedesh lies not far south of it. Hazor, therefore, must be either Hûnîn itself, or some place near it. In Joshua, also, Kedesh and Hazor are coupled together as two feudal or walled cities given to Naphtali."—Bib. Sacra, Feb. 1846, pp. 201, 202.

Dr. Robinson, in commenting on the communication of Mr. Thomson, notices the fact that Josephus simply says of Hazor that it lies on the lake Semechonites, seemingly implying that Hazor was situated over against the lake itself, and not ten miles north of any part of it like *Húnín*; and that from the order in which Hazor is mentioned in connexion with other towns in Scripture, it probably lay to the south of Kadesh.—Ibid. pp. 212, 213.

[1] Major Robe, in his sketch map of the "country around the sources of the Jordan," (see Bibliotheca Sacra, vol. i.) places the Wádí Diflah east of the *Hásbání*, immediately to be mentioned. Of the stream mentioned in the text, west of the *Hásbání*,—of the existence

asked him about the source of the stream, he said, "God only knows whence it flows." I am much inclined to think, that it must come from the Merj Áyún, the "Meadow of Fountains," where IJON,—mentioned among the northern towns of Israel, in 1 Kings xv. 20, &c.—was situated, about six miles to the north, and formed by a division made in the Jordan valley by the line of hill already noticed. At this place we observed several buffaloes. They were, with some others which we had seen in the course of the day, the first with which we had met in the Holy Land. The buffalo is called Jámús in Arabic. It differs here from the buffalo in India, only in being of a smaller breed, with more shaggy hair, and, I think, with somewhat less lateral horns. It is a very uncomely and uncouth animal; but it is well suited for marshy grounds. It stands exposure to heavy rains, as among the western Ghâts of India, better than the cow. The first specimens which we saw to-day were engaged in ploughing a field. Their appearance and occupation, even giving the animal every credit for degeneracy in agility and ferocity since its domestication, appeared ill to accord with the idea of Schultens, Robinson, and others, who think that the buffalo is, probably, the Reem, absurdly rendered unicorn in many versions of the Scripture, from the Septuagint downwards. It was a more powerful ruminant than this, we all thought, when we saw it yoked to the plough, to

of which I am certain,—he takes no notice. Dr. Robinson inserts a stream from the Merj 'Ayún in his map. He did not visit these parts; but he informs us that he gave that stream a place on the authority of Seetzen's map, and information which he received from the Rev. Eli Smith, his fellow-traveller.—Bib. Sacra, vol. i. p. 13. He is perfectly correct in doing so, as far at least as the season of the year when we travelled is concerned; and judging from appearances, I should say, as far as the whole season of the year is concerned. Dr. Robinson makes his stream from the Merj 'Ayún flow to the lake without joining any other. As far as we could form a judgment from the nature of the meadow, I should say that it joins the *Hásbání* a little south of the 'Ain edh-Dhahab.

which God himself referred in his challenge of Job when he said,

"Will the Reem [רְאֵם or רֵים] be willing to serve thee or abide by thy crib?
Canst thou bind the Reem with his band in the furrow?
Or will he harrow the valleys after thee?
Wilt thou trust him because his strength is great?
Or wilt thou leave thy labour to him?
Wilt thou believe him that he will bring home thy seed,
And gather it into thy barn?"[1]

Continuing our journey across the valley, our attention was directed to a small village upon the rising ground, to the N. by W. called Abil el-Ḳamḥ, probably the ABEL BETH MAACHAH of 1 Kings xv. 20.[2] Another named Maṭalah, lay at a little distance to the north. It was said to belong to the ed-Derúz or Druzes. Another small village called Ghajar, lay in the same direction a little farther to the east.

In about twenty minutes in advance of the stream last mentioned, we came upon the Nahr Ḥáṣbání, which, rising near Ḥáṣbeiyá, and flowing through the Wádí et-Teim, forms the longest line of the Jordan. At the place we crossed it,

[1] Job xxxix. 9-12. Dr. Robinson, who noticed some specimens of the buffalo in the Baṭîḥah, north of the lake of Tiberias, says, "They doubtless existed anciently in Palestine, though probably in a wild state, or unsubdued to labour, as to the present day in Abyssinia. . . . . The actual existence of this animal in Palestine leaves little doubt that it is the Reem of the Hebrew inscriptions."—Bib. Res. vol. iii. p. 306. The buffalo at present in the Holy Land is the *Bos Bubalus* of Linnæus, which is commonly supposed to have been introduced into the west of Asia and Egypt from India. The wild buffalo of Abyssinia is *another species*. Of it, Dr. Roth, who lately visited Abyssinia as the naturalist under Major Harris, says, "The wild buffalo, *Bubalus Pegasus*,—fierce, and as yet untamed,—inhabits the forests and jungles of Bulga and Mentshai, all along the river Háwash; its chase is considered one of the most dangerous pursuits of the hunter, seven human lives being frequently expended in the conquest of one beast."—App. to Harris' Highlands of Æthiopia. Such an animal as this seems to correspond with the *Reem* of Job. The Arabic word رِيم applied to the Oryx, corresponds nearly in sound with the Hebrew רְאֵם; but the Oryx is not analogous to the ox as the Reem seems to be, from the poetical parallelisms of the Scriptures.

[2] See note, p. 166, above.

it was seven yards broad, and about two feet deep. Its borders were thickly set with oleanders and briers. We found near it an encampment of Ghawárinah Arabs, of some twenty or twenty-five tents. As we approached these Badawín, the sheikh Mustafá and some of his men, who had observed us at a little distance, came out to meet us, and invited us to stop to dine with them. We told them that we had a long journey before us, and that we could not, with any degree of prudence, comply with their kind request. While we were thus declining their hospitality, the sheikh asked us if we were Franks. "We are Englishmen," we said in reply. "O, then," quoth he, seizing my horse by the head, and ordering some of his men to take hold of those of my companions, and leading us to his tents, "it is impossible for us to allow you to pass without eating with us." We were thus *obliged* to take shelter for some time under their tabernacles. A sheep was immediately caught and doomed to death; but, on our continuing to protest that we should infallibly be benighted, if we waited till it was made ready, he told us that he would let us go after we had taken coffee with him. It was a long time before the beverage was forthcoming, as the bean had to be burned, grated, infused, and boiled; but we were obliged patiently to wait. The sheikh told us that his clan were well acquainted with the greatness of the English. The Injlíz are the friends of the Badawín, he said, and would always experience the best of treatment at their hands. He seemed to think that it was for the sake of the Ismaelites that the Egyptian troops had been expelled from Syria!

We were now getting very anxious about our destination for the night, as the day was considerably advanced, and we were far distant from our luggage, and had but faint hopes of overtaking our servants. We thought that if we could get as far as Bániás we should be satisfied; but we were

afraid that the darkness would settle down upon us before we could get even to that place.

On our setting out to the east, the sheikh furnished us with a guide. He was very talkative, and begged our interference in behalf of a relative, Sharíf 'Aid Ibn Aḥmad Dháher ben Nizám, who had been pressed into the army of Ibráhím Páshá, and who was now in that of the Sulṭán at Candia. He entreated us to ask the Sublime Porte to grant his discharge, which I now do with all deference and humility, begging his Imperial Highness to remember that the Badawín can only act the soldier comfortably and efficiently under their own sheikhs. When this patriotic man had conducted us across another stream running south, which he said had its rise near the "Nabí el-Kádhí," he suddenly gave us his valedictum, and left us both in the lurch and in the marsh, with the bare advice, that we should steer our way as well as we could to the eminence before us called the Tell el-Kádhí.

Crossing two other small streams, we found ourselves, at four o'clock, at a streamlet at the western base of the aforesaid Tell. Tracing down this rill a few paces, we suddenly came upon a circular basin about 100 yards wide, in the bottom of which great quantities of water were rising and boiling up, and a considerable number of fresh-water tortoises (testudo græca) were disporting themselves. It formed by far the most copious spring which we had yet seen in the country. Two large streams of the purest water emerge from it, which, after forming a little island, immediately unite into a rapid river, ten yards wide and two feet deep, having a very quick descent through a luxuriant grove of oleanders, briers, and wild figs, and poplar, pistacia, and mulberry trees. The bank of this river was highest on the eastern side.

Mr. Smith and Dhanjíbhái felt so much interest in their

discovery of this large fountain, that they continued to loiter at it, while I ascended on foot the higher ground to the east, to make some general observations connected with our position. When going along a small pathway among the bushes, I came suddenly upon an oldish man, who seemed to be much frightened at my strange and unexpected appearance. He declared that I was a Turk; and when I assured him that I was an Englishman from India, he said, "Why then do you wear a beard like a Turk?" "That is a matter of indifference," I answered; "I have been months in the desert, and have been studying only my own convenience and the fashion of the country." With a view to gain my confidence, he added the welcome announcement, "I am a Christian." I called upon my companions to follow my line; and on getting their response, I put myself under the direction of this worthy man, as he proved to be. Rounding a knoll, he conducted me into a mill, where he introduced me to his wife, and asked us to rest for a little. I at once determined that this should be our resting-place for the night; and Mr. Smith, on his arrival, acquiesced in my decision. The miller and his mate made us most welcome to the shelter which they could afford. The wife took charge of the grinding-stones, and left the husband to act as our guide and informant. They promised us bread and eggs for our dinner, apologizing for the poverty of their fare; and in the absence of our servants and all cooking apparatus, we were glad to be furnished with such comfortable cheer.

Before darkness settled down upon us, we set upon exploring our locality, with the assistance of the miller. The mills are two in number, and there are one or two huts contiguous to them, belonging to their curators. The water by which they are driven, rises in the Tell at a source considerably higher, and more remote than that already mentioned. We climbed up to the highest point of the Tell, a few yards dis-

tant from the mill, and made a few annotations, and took the bearings of two or three places by the compass. The hill here, said the miller, is known both by the names of the Tell el-Kádhí, and Rás esh-Sheríàh. The word Kádhí in Arabic signifies Judge, an exact accordance in etymological meaning—which I have never seen noticed in this connexion —with the Hebrew DAN (judicans.) Rás esh-Sheríàh, means the head of the watering-place, applied to the Jordan by way of distinction, as the chief river of irrigation and sacred ablution in the Holy Land. The river which originates here is called the Nahr ed-Dhán, or river of DAN, for the Hebrew ד is often represented by the Arabic ذ.[1] The Tell itself is principally of basaltic tufa; but there are ruins both of huts and houses upon it, heaps of stones and old foundations, as we particularly noticed. We did not hesitate on these accounts to come to the conclusion that it is really the site of the ancient Dan, which is placed by Eusebius and Jerome at four miles from Paneas, on the way to Tyre.[2] A small grove of large trees lying about two miles to the south, which we noticed first when we were on the western side of the valley, the miller told us is called the Shajar ed-Difnah. We were startled at this information which he

[1] Take, for example, the Hebrew זָהָב and the Arabic ذهب both signifying gold; and, in the name of a place, דִּיבוֹן and the Arabic ذيبان Dhíbán. The name Dhán is confined to the stream which flows from the Tell el-Kádhí. It is not to be confounded with (اردن) Ardan, the proper Arabic name of the Jordan.

[2] "Dan, viculus est in quarto à Paneade milliario cuntibus Tyrum; qui usque hodie sic vocatur, terminas Judeæ provinciæ contra septentrionem, de quo et Jordanis flumen erumpens, [a loco sortitus est nomen: Jor, quippe ῥεῖθρον, id est fluvium, sive rivum Hebræi vocant.]"—Euseb. et Hieron. Onomast. sub. voc. "Dan." This etymology of the word Jordan, proposed by Jerome, is inadmissible; for though Jor may mean a river, the latter syllable of the Hebrew name of the Jordan, (יַרְדֵּן), as noticed by some writers, has no connexion with the word Dan, and existed before the town of Dan was known in these parts.

communicated to us of his own accord, and without any idea of its possible import. It struck us for the moment, that though the word Difnah means a laurel, this may be the exact locality of the Daphne, (Δάφνη,) mentioned by Josephus,—and supposed by Reland and others to be a corruption of the word Dan,—and to which Josephus refers when speaking of the Lake Semechonites, (which he makes thirty furlongs in breadth and sixty in length,) he says that "its marshes extend as far as the place called Daphne, which has fountains supplying the lesser Jordan, under the fountain of the golden calf, and sent into the great Jordan."[1] The other stream rising at Bániás unites with that from the Tell el-Kádhí; but the point of junction we were not able to discern. The Nahr ed-Dhán proceeds from the Tell, first, in a serpentine course, in a south-west direction, and afterwards in a straighter line in a southerly. The Nahr Bániás comes down upon it from the north-east. From the position in which we were, we noticed a small pool in the marsh above the lake, probably the "small lake" north of the Húleh of Mr. Buckingham, the existence of which Dr. Robinson ascribes to his imagination.[2] The Mazárah, the cave or tomb of Sîd Yahúdá, lying on the elevated ground called Jebel Jurá or Jeidur, (Iturea,) on the eastern side of the marshes, bore S. by E. of the Tell on which we were. The village of Ain Fît lay S.E. by E. The town of Bániás lay E. Two remarkable conical hills in the distance bore N. ½ W., Kedes, the KEDESH NAPHTALI of the Bible, lay to the S.W. In the fields of wheat around the Tell, we observed great quantities of a grass like rye, called Zawán by the Arabs. This we set down decidedly as the ζιζάνιον of the gospels, translated "tares" in our version.[3]

[1] Joseph. Bell. Jud. lib. iv. cap. i. 1.

[2] Buckingham gives the name of "Birket-Jehouly" to his "small lake." —Travels among the Arab Tribes, p. 406.

[3] This some of us did without any reference to preceding authorities, many of which can be produced. See for example, Kitto's Pictorial Bible, under Matth. xiii. 25.

Its seeds, which are considered noxious, are carefully separated by the people from the pure grain, before it is sent to be ground.

When it got dark, we returned to the mills; and after thankfully participating in some of the humble fare of the miller, we made our preparations for the night. The miller seemed to have his confidence in us much increased, by observing us engage in the worship of God, and take the blessed name of the Saviour before we essayed to go to rest. He furnished us with a mat to stretch ourselves upon; but he could give us nothing in the shape either of bed-clothes or pillows. It was in vain that we tried to sleep. The place was a second Tiberias; and we were pricked and punctured the whole night by swarms of an imprehensible adversary, the pulex irritans.

15th April.—It was an easy matter for us to get in motion this morning; and on the appearance of daylight, we sallied out from the mills. We traced the stream of water which propels the machinery, and which falls into the main course of water close upon them, to its source in the Tell el-Kádhí, not far distant from our resting-place. We also traced the small stream which runs into what may be called "the pool of the springs," to its source, which is in the northern portion of the Tell. The Tell seems to have had some volcanic origin; but we did not notice upon it any appearance of a crater.

At six o'clock, A.M., we started for Bániás, distant an hour and a half, under the guidance of our kind friend the miller. The country through which we passed was, taking all things into account, the most beautiful and fertile which we had witnessed since we had commenced our journey. We could well understand and sympathize in the report given of LAISH and its neighbourhood by the Danite spies, "We have seen the land, and, behold, it is very good;" and looking to its

position and resources, understand how its original inhabitants should "dwell careless," "quiet and secure."[1]

Our march to Bániás occupied about an hour and a half. Our guide, as we were passing along, transferred a legend connected with the Euphrates, to the locality in which we were. Nimrod, he said, dwelt at Bániás; and he was accustomed to throw stones against Abraham, dwelling at the Tell el-Kádhí. About twenty-five minutes before arriving at Bániás, we came upon some old ruins, foundations, heaps of stones, broken pillars, capitals, and pedestals. Remains such as these were visible here and there even among the cultivated fields; and doubtless they were connected with the ancient city.

The town is situated in the corner of a recess in the plain, and is surrounded on all sides by hills, except on the west. It lies at the base of the lofty Jebel esh-Sheikh, some of the flanks and prolongations of which are remarkably fertile and beautiful, like the plain below, presenting a sparse forest of very thriving trees. A considerable part of the town, in the form of a trapezium, has been regularly fortified; and its defences yet remain to some good extent. Among them there is a handsome gateway, and eight large towers showing massive walls, and still bearing distinctive names. Among these we marked the Birj el-Bawadí, opposite a bridge, a strong tower with massive walls, having an Arabic inscription over the outer door, but of materials probably of older form than those of the times of the Crusaders; the Birj el-Hárún, now fallen; and the Birj el-Aṭlás, fallen to the plinth, and having old bevelled stones. Along these towers there passes a stream called Nahr Sárí, said to rise at a place called Majdel, in a gash of the hills to the east. A fosse lay along the Birj el-Atilah, the Birj ed-Daulah, and the Birj el-

[1] Judges xviii. 7.

'Alí. A tomb of chunam, said to be that of a Sulṭán Ibráhím, is within an enclosure. The bridge over the stream to the south is called the Jiṣr ed-Daulah. Its lower parts may be of Roman construction. We bathed in the stream below it, hoping that by our ablution we should get rid of some of the tormentors which had made our acquaintance at the mills of Dan. The houses and huts at present occupied at Bániás may amount to sixty. A ruinous castle, similar to that now noticed, called by distinction the Kalàt Bániás, bearing E. by S. from the town, is situated on the heights above. It is a conspicuous object from a great distance.[1]

The principal object of interest to us at Bániás, was of course the celebrated cave, which forms one of the most famous sources of the Jordan. It is at present called the Mughárat Bániás, or Rás Nahr. It is north of the town in a cliff, which it enters for a few feet. It is much choked up with stones. The water, at the time we saw it, was rising a few yards from its front, the spring at this station being about as copious as that at Dan. Over the cave, and to the east of it, several niches, evidently intended for the accommodation of statues, have been cut in the rock. Some of them are nearly filled up with cow-dung, earth, and stones. There are several Greek inscriptions on the tablets below, or beside the niches, the most legible one of which I copied, as far as I could satisfy myself about the reading.

ΥΠΕΡ CΩΤΗΡΙΑC ΤΩΝ ΚΥΡΙΩΝ
ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΩΝ
ΟΙ . . . ΑΕΡΙΟC . ΠΑΝΟC ΙΕΡΕΥC ΘΕΟΥ ΠΑΝΟC ΤΗΝ
ΚΥΡ Ν . . . ΕCΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΝ . . ΥΝΤΗ ΥΠΑΥΤΟΥ ΚΟΙΛΑΝ

The inscription, as here given, so far as it goes,—for it is not complete,—is, I believe, more correct than as it is set

[1] For a description of this castle, see Burckhardt's Travels in Syria, p. 37.

forth by Burckhardt, or even by the Rev. Mr. Thomson, who has been at Bániás since the time of our visit. As remarked by the editor of Burckhardt, it "appears to have been annexed to a dedication by a priest of Pan, who had prefixed the usual *pro salute* for the reigning emperors."[1]

The formation of a large temple at this source of the Jordan by Herod the Great, is noticed by Josephus:—"So when he had conducted Cæsar [Augustus] to the sea, and had returned [home]" he says, "he built him a most beautiful temple of the whitest stone, in the country of Zenodorus, near the place called Panium. This is a very fine cave in a mountain, under which there is a great cavity in the earth, and the cavern is abrupt, and prodigiously deep, and full of still water; over it hangs a vast mountain; and under the caverns arise the springs of the river Jordan. Herod adorned this place, which was already a very remarkable one, still further by the erection of this temple, which he dedicated to Cæsar."[2] Philip, the son of Herod, when tetrarch of Iturea, Batanea, and Trachonites, built or enlarged the city here, and named it Cæsarea, after the Roman emperor.[3] From himself it received the name of CÆSAREA PHILIPPI, to distinguish it from Cæsarea Palestinæ, on the coast of the Mediterranean. It is mentioned by this name in the Gospels.[4] Agrippa enlarged it, and called it Neronias, in honour of Nero.[5] One of the Greek inscriptions near the cave, which can be only imperfectly read, according to a transcript of Mr. Thomson, commences with the word ΑΓΡΙΠΠΙΑ.[6] This fact, as that able missionary observes, is interesting, as it corroborates the testimony of Josephus, that Agrippa adorned

[1] Burckhardt's Travels in Syria, p. 39. Bibliotheca Sacra, Feb. 1846, p. 194. Mr. Thomson's paper is an extremely valuable one in a geographical point of view.

[2] Joseph. Antiq. Jud. lib. xv. 10, 3.

[3] Joseph. Antiq. xviii. 2. 1; Bell. Jud. ii. 9. 1.

[4] Mark xvi. 13; viii. 27.

[5] Jos. Antiq. xx. 9. 4.

[6] Bibliotheca Sac. Feb. 1846, p. 195.

Bániás with royal liberality.[1] Vespasian, when in Syria, refreshed his army at the place twenty days, and was feasted by Agrippa.[2] Titus, after the destruction of Jerusalem, staid there a considerable time, and exhibited all sorts of shows, and there,—so close to the place where the Israelites had practised their abominable idolatries connected with the golden calf,—to use the words of the Jewish historian, "a great number of the captives were destroyed, some being thrown to wild beasts, and others, in multitudes, forced to kill one another, as if they were enemies."[3] Eusebius, in his Church History, takes remarkable notice of the place, in connexion with the performance of alleged miracles.[4]

[1] See Jos. Bell. Jud. iii. 10, 7.

[2] Jos. Bell. Jud.

[3] Jos. Bell. Jud. vii. 2. 1,

[4] "At Cesarea Philippi, which is called Paneas by the Phœnicians, they say there are springs that are shown there, at the foot of the mountain called Panius, from which the Jordan rises; and that on a certain festival day there was usually a victim thrown into these, and that this, by the power of the dæmon, in some wonderful manner, entirely disappeared. . . . Astyrius happening to be once present at these rites, and seeing the multitude astonished at the affair, pitied their delusion. Then raising his eyes to heaven, he implored the God over all through Christ, to refute this seducing dæmon, and to restrain the delusion of the people. As soon as he prayed, it is said that the victim floated on the stream, and that thus this miracle vanished, no wonder ever more occurring in this place. . . .

"But as we have mentioned this city, I do not think it right to pass by a narrative that deserves to be recorded for posterity. They say that the woman who had an issue of blood, mentioned by the evangelists, and who obtained deliverance from her affliction by our Saviour, was a native of this place, and that her house is shown in the city, and the wonderful monuments of our Saviour's benefit to her, are still remaining. At the gates of her house, on an elevated stone, stands a brazen image of a woman on her bended knee, with her hands stretched out before her like one entreating. Opposite to this there is another image of a man, erect, of the same materials, decently clad in a mantle, (διπλοΐδα,) and stretching out his hand to the woman. Before her feet, and on the same pedestal, there is a certain strange plant growing, which, rising as high as the hem of the brazen garment, is a kind of antidote to all kinds of diseases. This statue, they say, is a statue of Jesus Christ, and it has remained even until our times; so that we ourselves saw it whilst tarrying in that city."—Euseb. Ecclesiastical History, Book vii. 17, 18, (Kruse's Translation, pp. 316, 317.)

Respecting this statue Gieseler ob-

Bániás was an important place during the crusades, and enjoyed a varied fortune both in connexion with the Muhammadans and Christians. It was sometimes called Belinas, perhaps from its being confounded, as has been suggested, with Balineas.

Josephus speaks of the stream of the Jordan at Bániás as distinctively the source of the river.[1] He speaks, however, of another and lesser fountain as existing at Dan, and giving rise to the little Jordan.[2] The quantity of water of both the streams, at the time of our visit, as I have already hinted, was nearly equal; but it is easy to understand that the springs at the mountain which are directly fed by the rains which fall upon it, or by the melting of the snows, should, at other seasons of the year, be the most copious. It is a curious fact, as has been often noticed, that Josephus overlooks the large stream, the Ḥáṣbání, which flows from Ḥáṣbeiyá, in what may be called the natural course of the Jordan. This may have been owing to the estimate which he formed of the greater size of those at Bániás and Dan, an estimate which we thought not inconsistent with fact. It is also a curious fact, that he makes the stream at the Panium only a source of the river in a secondary sense. "Now Panium," he says, "is thought to be the fountain of Jordan, but in reality it is carried

serves: "All later writers repeat the story after him, and John Malala (600 A.D.,) in his Chronog., p. 305, gave the name of the woman Beronice. This monument was destroyed by Julian, (Sozom. v. 21, Philostorg. vii. 3,) or, according to Asterius, bishop of Amasia, (about 400 in Photii bibl. cod. 271 in fine,) by Maximin, at a time when copies of it were hardly taken. Judging by the analogy of many coins, the memorial had been erected in honour of an emperor, (probably Hadrian,) and falsely interpreted by the Christians, perhaps on account of a σωτῆρι or θεῷ, appearing in the inscription."—Gieseler's Ecclesiastical History, vol. i. p. 66.

The idea here expressed relative to a σώτηρ or θεός, is illustrated by the inscription which I have given above.

[1] Jos. Antiq. i. 10, 1; v. 3, 1; viii. 8, 4; Bell. Jud. vi. 1, 1. See above, p. 177.

[2] See above, p. 173; also Jos. Antiq. v. 1, 22; Bell. Jud. i. 21, 3.

thither after an occult manner from the place called Phiala; this place lies as you go up to Trachonitis, and is a hundred and twenty furlongs from Cesarea, and is not far out of the road on the right hand; and, indeed, it hath its name of Phiala [vial or bowl] very justly from the roundness of its circumference, as being round like a wheel, its water continues always up to its edges, without either sinking or running over; and as this origin of Jordan was formerly not known, it was discovered so to be when Philip was tetrarch of Trachonitis; for he had chaff thrown into Phiala, and it was found at Panium, where the ancients thought the fountain-head of the river was, to which it had been, therefore, carried by the waters."[1]

[1] Bell. Jud. iii. 9. 7. Irby and Mangles (Travels, p. 287,) in their journey from S'as'a to Bániás, notice a lake corresponding with the Phiala of Josephus. They describe it as "a very picturesque lake, and apparently perfectly circular, of little more than a mile in circumference, surrounded on all sides by sloping hills richly wooded;" and they add, "the singularity of this lake is, that it has no apparent supply or discharge, and its waters appeared perfectly still, though clear and limpid; a great many wild fowl were swimming in it." Of this lake we have a particular account by Mr. Thomson. "It is," he says, "about one hour and a half due east from the (upper) castle (of Bániás;) and consequently nearly three hours from the fountain of Bâniâs. The path climbs over a high mountain, and then leads across a plain covered with lava, and divided by the deep channel of a brook, which runs down S.W., and falls into the marsh of Hûleh. The *Birkeh* is the most singular basin of water I have ever examined. It is manifestly the mouth of a perfectly round crater, filled with water to within about eighty feet of the top. This great volcanic *bowl* is about three miles in circumference, and the sides are so steep, that it is difficult to get down to the water. It does not appear to be very deep; since, in most parts, the surface is covered with weeds, upon which thousands of ducks were feeding. The circumstances which identify the Birket er-Râm with the ancient Phiala, are its bowl-like shape, and the fact, that it has neither inlet nor outlet, is fed neither by a running stream nor by any visible fountain, and has no known channel of escape for its surplus waters. It neither increases nor diminishes; but what it is now, in this hottest and driest season of the year, the line on its lava-built margin clearly proves it to be, during the rains and snows of winter. This is a singular fact, and I leave others to explain the curious phenomenon. The examination confirmed my former doubts. It is scarcely possible that the Phiala is the more distant appearance, much less the *source* of the stream at Bâniâs. The water of the Phiala is so insipid and

We should have been glad to have continued longer than we did at Bániás, in the examination of its antiquities, and the survey of its neighbourhood; but prudential reasons urged us, after the edge of our curiosity was blunted, to set out for Ḥáṣbeiyá, to which our servants and luggage had yesterday proceeded. We had some difficulty in procuring a guide for a part of the way; but at eleven A.M. we were able to commence our journey.

On starting, we went for about an hour along the base of the prolongation of Jebel esh-Sheikh, principally in a north-west direction. We had then turned almost due north. In two hours from the time of our leaving Bániás, we crossed by a bridge, a stream called the Nahr es-Seraiyib, running down from the mountain, going in a westerly direction into the Nahr Ḥáṣbání. About this place, the great valley of the Jordan may be said to come to a termination, leaving open only a very small ravine through which the Nahr Ḥáṣbání flows. Basaltic rocks are here visible to some extent. They are decidedly impregnated with iron; and in this respect they differ from those in the neighbourhood of Tiberias. We now found ourselves in a hilly country, through which we had to continue our way northward by a very circuitous and uneven course. We passed through between the villages of Khareibah and

nauseous, that it cannot be drunk, while the fountain at Bâniâs pours out a river of cool, sweet, and delicious water. The Phiala is so crowded with leeches, that a man can gather 6000 or even 8000 in a day; while the fountain at Bâniâs is not infested by a single leech. This could not be, if the river of Bâniâs drained the lake Phiala. Besides, the size and position of the mountains, and the depth and direction of the intervening valleys, interpose physical and geological obstacles which render the supposition incredible. And, moreover, so vast a discharge of water as the fountain of Bâniâs requires, would draw off the whole lake of Phiala in twenty-four hours; or, if the supply from some hidden source be equal to the demand, it would at least change the stagnant character of the lake, and manifest its operation on the surface."—Bibliotheca Sacra, Feb. 1846, pp. 191, 192.

[1] Burckhardt (Travels in Syria, p. 35,) notices a ruined temple in the west of this village; but we did not stay to examine it.

Ráshaiyat el-Fakhár, and thus descended into the valley of the Ḥáṣbání, which we crossed by the Jisr es-Suḳ. We then passed a khán in the neighbourhood of which a weekly market is held, similar to that which I have noticed at the foot of Mount Tabor.[1] We kept along the west of the stream, till we had the village of Kaukabá to the left, and crossed the river to ascend to Ḥáṣbeiyá; and we noticed several other villages as we proceeded. In many of the deep Wádís, and on the summits of the hills to-day, we observed groves of the olive and mulberry, and fruitful fields of corn. A very decided improvement appeared in the agriculture of the country upon anything we had seen in our journey from Beersheba to Dan. A good deal of the rock of the country toward the termination of our march, was of a reddish sandstone, the green sandstone of geology. Near the Jisr es-Suḳ the Nahr Shebá,—running down from Jebel esh-Sheikh to the Wádí et-Teim, like that of Seraiyib mentioned above,—enters the Ḥáṣbání.

We got to Ḥáṣbeiyá about half-past six o'clock, both men and horses being almost entirely knocked up by the labours of the day. The town stands upon a hill about 800 or 900 feet high. We found lodgings provided for us by Mordecai, at the house of the Jew Moshe ben Joseph Valledo, or rather in a temporary tabernacle within its court. We were not permitted to sleep or eat in the interior, lest leaven, in some form or other, should be introduced by us, to the detriment of the celebration of the passover, in whose services the family were to be engaged. Every desirable attention, however, was shown to us by the simple-minded people, to whom we were indebted for our shelter; and we gave them, of course, no disturbance in their religious occupations. Mordecai joined their circle, and united with them in הגדה של פסח, the service for the Passover, used in families.

[1] See above, p. 108.

Little solemnity was observed by them either in their readings or their ceremonies connected with the wine-cup, bitter herbs, the cakes, and the meat set before them. The readings, which refer in a suitable manner to the wonders and judgments of God manifested in connexion with the deliverance of the Israelites from the house of bondage, and his subsequent providential dealings with his ancient people, include several Rabbinical legends and expositions, which, to say the least, are not in harmony with the Divine word. To the Christian it is very affecting to hear the Jews even in their own land, certainly more in desire than in hope, saying, "This year [we celebrate the passover] here, next year in the land of Israel. This year we are servants here; but next year we are the children of freedom in the land of Israel."

16th April.—The Jews of Hásbeiyá—forming a small colony of which we heard for the first time at Jerusalem,—met with us in the morning. They are all Sephardim. They told us that altogether they have about twenty houses, with a population of 100 souls. They are all natives of the place, except one individual who is from Acre. Their fathers settled in the Wádí et-Teim, they said, about a hundred years ago, coming mostly from Austria. Two or three of them are stationary merchants; and most of the others travelling dealers. They lend money on the security of trees and fields, taking charge of the produce, but allowing the owners to act as the cultivators. They have a small synagogue, but no reading-room, and little inclination for study. A few of them understand Hebrew, and eight or ten of them read and write Arabic. They were much in need of copies of the Hebrew Scriptures. We regretted, that owing to the expenditure of our stores at Hebron, Jerusalem, Tiberias, and Safed, we were not able, at this time, to supply their wants. The Hákim, Abraham ben David, who is their go-

vernor, butcher, teacher, and reader, told us that he is willing to act as a regular schoolmaster, if engaged as such, and to instruct the school independently of the Talmud. The demands made upon them by the Turkish government, they said, are very exorbitant. Under Ibrahím Páshá, they paid for their community 450 piastres annually. Now 3200 are demanded of them. They told us of a village near Ṣafed, and another near Akká, in which a few Jews were settled as *agriculturists*. The Christians of Háṣbeiyá, they estimated at 1000 houses, with 4000 souls; the Druzes at 300 houses and 1000 souls; and the Musalmáns at 20 houses and 100 souls. The population of the town they reckoned in round numbers at 5000 souls. Burckhardt's estimate of it is "seven hundred houses; half of which," he says, "belong to Druse families; the other half are inhabited by Christians, principally Greeks, though there are also [Greek] Catholics and Maronites here. There are only forty Turkish families and twenty Enzairie."[1]

A number of the Christians of the place called upon us in the course of the day. Finding many of them able to read, I opened a box which I had brought from Egypt, containing copies of the Arabic Bible and New Testament, and publications pregnant with plain statements of evangelical truth. I was engaged for some hours in meeting the demands which were made upon my stores, both by young and old. Among the Arabic books which I distributed, were several copies of a Life of Luther, and other Protestant publications. When the Greek priests saw them in the hands of the people, they became quite infuriated, and sent an agent to beg me to order their restoration. I told the people, that as a friend of religious liberty, peaceable discussion, and prayerful inquiry, I left the matter entirely in their own hands. They declared that they would keep what they had received at

[1] Burckhardt's Travels in Syria, p. 33.

all hazards; and they heard the threats of the agent of the priests and their attendants without being moved. Mr. Smith, my fellow-traveller from Bombay, who took a deep interest in the affair, and who strenuously defended the rights of the people, remarked to me, that more would afterwards be heard of this matter,—an anticipation which, as will appear from another part of this work,[1] has been most remarkably fulfilled. Before we left Ḥásbeiyá, a Druze of considerable intelligence told us, when we were quietly seated with him on the roof of his house, that a considerable number of persons in the town had for some time been anxious to declare themselves *Protestants;* and that, if we could promise them protection from England, a hundred families, he was sure, would immediately join our communion. The effects of the ministrations of the excellent missionaries from America, stationed at Beirút, who had occasionally visited the town, and at one time maintained a school for the instruction of its youth, had thus begun to appear. As will be afterwards mentioned, these effects, as far as Ḥásbeiyá is concerned, have proved to be of a decided character.

The Druze to whom I have now referred, was a person of very considerable intelligence. From the ideas which we had formed of the general secrecy observed by the class of religionists to which he belonged, we were surprised to find him not at all indisposed to converse with us about the peculiarities of his faith and practice. He seemed to make very light of the differences which exist between the creed and observances of the Druzes, and those of the orthodox Muhammadans. The only real distinction, he said, between us and the Muslims, is that we wont say, "Lá-hí, Lá-há." He expressed a wish that missionaries should devote themselves to the instruction of the Druzes, who are anxious to have the countenance of England in the same way that the Ma-

[1] See under "Greek Church" in the "General Researches."

ronites and other Papal Christians have that of France, and the members of the Greek Church that of Russia.

In the court of the house in which we were lodged, and in many similar places of the town, we noticed vines and fig-trees spreading their tendrils and umbrageous branches. The rearing of these plants in this manner is now common in Lebanon and Damascus, and, doubtless, is of great antiquity in the country. The peaceful times have here, however, yet to come,—but they will come certainly,—when "they shall sit every man under his vine, and under his fig-tree; and none shall make them afraid."[1] In the town, we noticed, for the first time on our journey, the *tantur* or horn, worn by the married women of Lebanon. This article is frequently alluded to in Scripture as an index of power and honour.[2] I procured at Damascus an ancient gem, representing a *man* wearing the horn. In the present day, its use is confined to the women.[3] In the heat of the day the Jews offered us water cooled with snow, from Jebel esh-Sheikh. It is a similar use of snow which is referred to by

[1] Micah iv. 4.

[2] See Deut. xxxiii. 17; 2 Sam. xxii. 3; 1 Kings xxii. 11; 1 Chron. xxv. 5; Job xvi. 15; Ps. lxxv. 4, 10; lxxxix. 17; xcii. 10; cxii. 9; cxxxii. 17; cxlviii. 14; Jer. xlviii. 25; Lam. ii. 3, 17, &c.

[3] Speaking of the *horn*, my friend Mr. Graham of Damascus, says, "The females have one striking peculiarity, *the Horn*, which gives them a wild, fierce, and inhuman appearance. This head-dress is of dough, tin, silver, or gold, according to the wealth of the different classes. The rank is indicated also by the length of it. The nobler the lady, the longer the horn. Some of them are more than one English yard. The horn is of different shapes, but generally they resemble a pyramid, (cone?) The larger end admits the head, which is fastened in very firmly. Sometimes the horn rises right out from the forehead, sometimes it is inclined to the right or the left, as the wearer chooses; and except among the upper classes, this honourable head-furniture is confined to the married. They rarely lay it off. They sleep in the horn. A principal Sheikh lately attempted to alter this custom, and lay the horn aside; but though his own family did so, the females in general absolutely refused, and he humorously said, he would not risk a rebellion for the sake of the horn. I should mention, that a large mandile or handkerchief is uniformly thrown over the horn, and hangs loosely down around the head and shoulders."—Letter to the Rev. D. Hamilton of Belfast.

Solomon, when he says, "As the cold of snow in the time of harvest, so is a faithful messenger to them that send him, for he refresheth the soul of his masters;"[1] for in the time of harvest there is no fall of snow, and if it did occur, it would then be most disastrous. Referring here to the snows of Hermon, I may notice its *dew*, the abundance and fertilizing properties of which, we had like others, noticed in its neighbourhood. When we adverted to the position of the mountain, we saw some difficulty in understanding the figure —"As the dew of Hermon which descended upon the mountains of Zion."[2] The "dew of Hermon," in this verse, may, perhaps, mean any dew like that of Hermon. Were it not for the words following in the Psalm, "for there the Lord commanded the blessing, even life for evermore," which seem to refer to that Zion which was the site of the tabernacle, we might be disposed to hazard the conjecture, that the word צִיּוֹן Zion in the Psalm corresponds with שִׂרְיֹן Sion, a name of Hermon mentioned in Deut. iv. 48.[3]

We were glad to-day, to find the shops of the bázár shut. Though the Christians of the place, however, were not carrying on their usual work, and though they were arrayed (particularly the women) in their holiday attire, they seemed to be making very light of the sanctity of the Sabbath.

Monday, 17th April.—Before asking the reader to leave Ḥáṣbeiyá with us, I shall insert an extract from the accurate notes on the place made by my young friend Dhanjíbhái:—"The town of Ḥáṣbeiyá stands upon the side of a mountain, which is about 800 or 900 feet high, on the south and south-west of which most of the houses are situated, covering it in

[1] Prov. xxv. 13. The Hebrew word for snow is שֶׁלֶג, which in the Chaldee (Dan. vii. 9,) is שִׁלְגָּא, corresponding with the Arabic ثلج, from which Hermon receives one of its names, Jebel eth-Thalj.

[2] Ps. cxxxiii. 3.

[3] Compare this with Deut. iii. 9.

their different rows from top to bottom. Terraces with mulberry trees are found where no houses stand. The front sides of almost all the houses have one or two windows. Every house seems to have a compound, entered by an arch, and in every compound there are one or two fig-trees. The best view of the town is from the mount opposite to it on the north. The sides of the mountains round the town are laid out in terraces, in which are planted numerous olive, fig, and mulberry trees. The town contains a pretty large bázár. The main employment of the inhabitants of the town seems to be the cultivation of silk, weaving, raising of olives, and agriculture. The town and the district of which it is the capital, are under the Páshálik of Damascus. A wádí opens upon the east, and passes the town; it is deep, and planted with olive trees. In the same direction there is a small stream. The fountain of this stream, which seems to be in the mount, is considered one of the sources of the Jordan. The stream forms a junction with some others below the town, and then goes to the lake of Merom, under the name of Nahr Ḥáṣbeiyá . . . . The day was much longer than ever I had seen it in India; but we were now greatly more to the north than I have ever been before. The climate of Ḥáṣbeiyá is very mild, and to judge from the robust and healthy appearance of the inhabitants, we should say, it is very salubrious. The Jews of this town have scarcely the appearance of Jews at all; and they resemble much the Arabs. Their females resemble the Samaritan women." The grain crops in the neighbourhood were much later than further to the south, and the corn was not yet in the ear. The highest point of the ridge of Hermon was quite covered with snow. It bears from Ḥáṣbeiyá E. ½ N.

Our time did not permit us to visit the Emír of Ḥáṣbeiyá, Sáid ed-Dín, whose large palace is a conspicuous object in the town. His family is a branch of the house of Sheháb.

He is the governor of the districts of Hásbeiyá. It is stated of him and the Emir Effendi of Rásheiyá, the district of the upper Wádí et-Teim, in the Parliamentary papers lately printed, that they have a claim on the gratitude of the Sublime Porte on account of their services in the last campaign, and that they have much influence and authority in the Anti-Lebanon.[1]

The source of the Nahr Ḥáṣbání is about a mile and a half distant from the town to the north-west, and is the most remote perennial fountain of the Jordan. It much resembles that which I have noticed as existing at the Tell el-Kádhí.[2]

[1] Cor. on Syria, Part I. 1843, p. 21.

[2] Of this fountain Mr. Thomson gives the following account:—"Sept. 20th, 1843.—We left the palace of the Emîrs of Hasbeiya about sunrise, and in half an hour reached the fountain of Hasbâny. Our path led us across the bed of a winter torrent, which comes down from the mountains on the east of Hasbeiya, and over a rocky hill covered with lava boulders. The fountain lies nearly N.W. from the town, and boils up from the bottom of a shallow pool, some eight or ten rods in circumference. The water is immediately turned by a strong stone dam into a wide mill-race. This is undoubtedly the most distant fountain, and therefore the true source of the Jordan. . . . It meanders for the first three miles through a narrow, but very lovely and highly cultivated valley. Its margin is protected and adorned with the green fringe and dense shade of the sycamore, button, and willow trees, while innumerable fish sport in its cool and crystal bosom. It then sinks rapidly down a constantly deepening gorge of black basalt for about six miles, when it reaches the level of the great volcanic plain extending to the marsh above the Hûleh. Thus far the direction is nearly south, but it now bears a little westward, and in eight or ten miles, it enters the Lake Hûleh not far from its N.W. corner, having been immensely enlarged by the waters from the great fountains of Bâniâs, Tell el-Kâdy, el-Mellâhah, Derakît or Belât, and innumerable other springs. The distance from the fountain of Hasbâny to the lake cannot be less than twenty-five miles, and nearly in a straight direction. . . . . Although the channel immediately above the fountain of the Hasbâny is, during most of the year, dry and dusty, yet during the rainy season a great volume of water rushes down from the heights of Jebel esh-Sheikh above Rasheiya, a distance of twenty miles, and unites with the water of this fountain. The stream is there so formidable as to require a good stone bridge, which is thrown across it a few rods below the fountain."—Bibliothec. Sac. Feb. 1846, p. 185. At the time of our visit the stream from Rásheiyá was considerable.

Beirut.

CHAPTER XVIII.

FIRST JOURNEY ACROSS THE LEBANON, AND RESIDENCE AT BEIRUT.

WHEN we had got to the farthest source of the Jordan at the western base of Mount Hermon, we were well aware that for some time at least our movements would cease at every stage, to bring under our notice, as they had hitherto done in this country, some of the remarkable localities mentioned in the sacred Scriptures. Notwithstanding this circumstance, we anticipated with much interest our journey across the mighty Lebanon,—

> "Whose head in wintry grandeur towers,
> And whitens with eternal sleet,
> While summer in a vale of flowers,
> Is sleeping rosy at his feet."

For myself I expected, even when passing over its lofty summits, to obtain some respite from the daily labour of making and recording minute observations in which I had been engaged with much delight to myself, but almost to exhaustion, during upwards of three months.

We left Ḥáṣbeiyá at ten o'clock of the day last mentioned in the preceding Chapter, going down to the Ḥáṣbání by the road by which we had ascended on the preceding Saturday. The valley through which the river flows is very narrow; and on crossing it we commenced the ascent of the hill which lies between the Ḥáṣbání and the Litání or Leontes, and which separates the Merj Ayún from the Baḳáà or Coelesyria. Going up this hill, we passed, at a quarter to twelve, the Christian village of Kaukabá, or the "star," consisting of about fifty houses with flat roofs and stone walls. Here we took the bearings of the most remarkable peaks of Jebel esh-Sheikh, the more northern of which was E. ½ N., and the southern S.E. by E. A little to the north of this village are the Biyár el-Ḥammar, or bituminous pits noticed by Burckhardt.[1] They were not wrought at the time we passed them. Mr. Thomson is the latest writer who has noticed them with any degree of precision. "The wells," he says, "are dug in the side of a smooth and gently declining hill, of soft chalky rock, or indurated marl, abounding in nodules of flint. A shaft is sunk about twenty feet deep, to the bed or stratum of bitumen, which appears to lie horizontally, and is wrought like coal mines. These wells are not now worked; but the sheikh who formerly rented them of the government informed me, that the supply was apparently inexhaustible; and were it not for the exorbitant demands of the Pasha, bitumen would be sold at the wells for about one hundred piastres the cantar. As the geological formation

[1] Burckhardt's Travels in Syria, p. 34.

is exactly similar for many miles north and south of the mine, it is not improbable that this valuable product may be very abundant, and, at some future day, of better things to Syria, become an important article of commerce."[1] The Turkish government is entirely destitute of enterprise; and in its present state nothing can be expected from its patronage or assistance in this country.

On the western side of the hill on which Kaukabá stands, and at an hour's distance, is the Druze village of Barghaz, consisting of fifteen or twenty houses. This place is close on the banks of the Litáni, over which is a Roman bridge about thirty-five yards wide, called the Jisr Barghaz. The Leontes is a very rapid stream, and rushes and dashes, foaming and boiling through a very deep and romantic gorge, which it has cut for itself, with almost precipitous rocks of great height on each side. Many beautiful poplar and mulberry, and other trees, cover its banks, and overhang its waters. Its exact course to the Mediterranean was at this time unknown to us, but the sketch map of Major Robb, since published in the Bibliotheca Sacra, supplies the information about it which we then wanted.

The hill to the west of the bridge, the commencement to us of the Lebanon range properly so called,—that to the east of the Leontes being a continuation of Jebel Sharḳíyah, or the Anti-Lebanon,—we estimated at two thousand feet in height. The ascent threatened to be extremely difficult; and our muleteers and horsemen who, belonging to the plains of Diárbakr, were entirely unacquainted with this part of the country, began to remonstrate with us against the attempt to accomplish it, proposing that we should return to Ḥáṣbeiyá, and seek another route to the coast of the Mediterranean. Finding their supplications unavailing, they began to cry

[1] Bibliotheca Sacra, Feb. 1846, p. 186.

like children, and then to abscond, making a pretence of leaving us to do with the animals what we pleased. *Gaudet patientia duris:* we were in no way disinclined to attempt the duty imposed upon us. As soon as our friends saw that we were in earnest, they came to our relief, and, in due time, we arrived at the summits of the hill, from which we had a glorious view of the valley of the Jordan, Mount Carmel, and of part of the Mediterranean Sea. These summits form the northern continuation of Jebel esh-Shaḳíf, so called from the Kalât esh-Shaḳíf, an ancient and most romantic fort, on the highest cliffs of the Litáni, which we had noticed on Saturday on our march from Bániás to Ḥásbeiyá. In a few minutes after our ascent, we tiffed at the side of a clear and cool mountain stream, which runs down the Wádí Ṣafsáfah, the "Vale of the Willow," as a tributary of the Litáni. After a journey of some six or seven miles in advance, we pitched our tents near the village of Kafr Ḥúnah. We attended the evening service in a church at this hamlet. It was conducted by a priest of the Greek-Catholic communion, through the medium of the Arabic language. The priest told us, when he had concluded his labours, that, like many of his brethren, he acts as the schoolmaster as well as the religious minister of the place, teaching the young, as he said, for the love of God. He was a married man, having availed himself of the privilege,—demanded by all the papal sects of the East in behalf of their ministers not being monks, and conceded by the Pope himself,—of taking a wife before entering into holy orders.

Tuesday, 18th April.—We felt it extremely cold in our tents during the night, owing to our height above the level of the sea, and a strong wind, against which we had scarcely any defence; and we were glad to get astir with the early dawn. We did not, however, leave Kafr Ḥánah till nine o'clock. A short time after we were in progress, we began

to pick up, as we did during the whole day's march to Deir-el-Ḳamar, some nice specimens of petrified shells, and impressions of shells, all of which, when particularly examined, mark the character of this part of Lebanon to be of the upper Jura limestone, or indurated chalk. At eleven, we arrived at Jezzín, a considerable village, where the peculiar terrace cultivation of Lebanon, of the mulberry and vine, as well as of grain, advantageously appears. Close to the village there is a small stream running west. It forms a tributary of the Nahr el-Ȧulí, or Bostrenus, which runs into the Mediterranean north of Sidon.

From Jezzín to Deir el-Ḳamar, we found the journey, owing to the roughness of the road, and its windings and turnings, and ascents and declivities, very fatiguing. It was withal, however, very delightful. At its close, Mr. Smith made this emphatic record of what he had witnessed and felt:—"This has been a day of days, and I know not whether I have been better pleased with the country or with its inhabitants. We passed a continued series of villages, embosomed in the hills, which presented the finest cultivation to the very top, and enriching the land with wine, silk, and olives. The climate is lovely. The people are healthy. They were very civil to us; but they declared their hatred of the Turks and the Sulṭán's government. We passed a village in which we saw a palace,—a flat-roofed house of one of the Druze chiefs. I have never been more gratified than to-day."

We got to Deir el-Ḳamar, the capital of Lebanon, at the dusk. As we were passing up a lane between some gardens to enter the town, Mr. Smith received a severe cut and blow on the leg, from an ignoble donkey, from which his horse was not keeping at a sufficiently respectful distance, which proved a great annoyance while he remained in Syria, as much circumscribing his pedestrian exercise. We found

the town unusually crowded with people. This was partly caused by the presence of a Turkish regiment of some 2000 men. We were accommodated with lodgings at a house belonging to the Greek convent.

19th April.—Early in the morning we went to the Jewish synagogue, where about twenty adult men and twelve women, and as many children, were assembled for worship. We had some conversation with them after they had concluded their service. They informed us that there are thirty Jewish houses in the capital of Lebanon, with a population of about 100 souls; and that they are principally shopkeepers, travelling-merchants, weavers, dysters, and hirers of horses. They complained of having been repeatedly plundered, and lately to the amount of 100,000 piastres, by the Druzes, whom they denominated *Philistines*, and by the Maronites. They told us, also, that they are in want of a school. The name of their head man is Obadiah Saror.

The settled population of Deir el-Ḳamar is estimated at 8000 souls. Colonel Rose, her Britannic Majesty's Consul-General in Syria, states, that one-sixth part of this population are Druzes, and that the rest are Christians. In his correspondence with Lord Palmerston, (18th Sept. 1841,) he notices a casual misunderstanding which arose between the two parties, in consequence of two of the Christians having killed some game near the Druze village of Baḳalein in the neighbourhood, in a preserve of the Druze governor of Deir el-Ḳamar, and which led to a serious affray between them, during which several lives were lost, and which, had he not judiciously assisted to restore the peace, would have led to more disastrous consequences. "The origin of the conflict," he says, "was a partridge; but the real, although remote cause, may be traced to the inveterate dislike which has existed between Druzes and Christians for centuries, which has been handed down from father to son, and which

it has so often suited the policy of their rulers to foster rather than to check."[1] The irritation, arising from this quarrel, we found scarcely subsided; but both Christians and Druzes, without any interrogation on our part, expressed to us a very cordial hatred of the Turkish government, and begged us to let our country know, that they were anxious for the return of the Ex-Emír Beshír, though he was never popular among them, and who was removed from the country, first to Malta and then to Constantinople, for his support of Muḥammad 'Alí. "God send him to us," they emphatically said, "for we cannot remain as we are with a nominal Emír Beshír, under a Turkish Páshá."[2] Similar sentiments we heard expressed in every part of the Lebanon. These things I here notice merely as matters of fact.

We were not able to visit Beit ed-Dín, in the neighbourhood of Deir el-Ḳamar, about a mile and a-half distant from the town, where stands the palace of the late Emír Beshír, the magnificence of which has been noticed in many works of travel. We had passed it yesterday; and we had a distinct view of it from the town. It is quite oriental in its form.

After breakfast we set off for Beirút, which is distant from Deir el-Ḳamar about twenty-five miles. The road over the mountain in continuation, we found to have much the same character as that which it had had for the last two days. It is merely a bridle path, generally a yard or a couple of yards in breadth; and it is exceedingly rough and broken. In the more difficult parts, the ascent and descent is by flights of steps, which are far from being kept in the

[1] Correspondence with her Majesty's Consul-General in Syria, and her Majesty's Consul at Damascus, respecting the affairs of Syria. Part ii. p. 53. Presented to Parliament, Feb. 1843.

[2] The Páshá of the united páshálíks of Tripoli and Sidon, at present resident at Beirút.

best order. It is no part of the policy of the natives of Lebanon, to facilitate travel from one terrace to another, and from one story to another, in their lofty and sublime natural citadel, as the whole of Lebanon may be correctly denominated. The difficulties of scaling that citadel, they are well aware, constitute its greatest security.

In a couple of hours from our leaving Deir el-Ḳamar, we crossed the Nahr el-Kádhí by a bridge. This stream flows through a mountain gorge, first in the general direction of north-west, and then of west. It enters the Mediterranean about half way between Beirút and Sidon, by the name of ed-Dámúr, in which the ancient Damouras and Tamyras have been recognised. On a height overhanging the banks of this river, about three or four miles to the north of the Jisr, is the famous convent and college of Ain Teráz, which will afterwards fall to be noticed in another connexion. A great many villages occur between the Kádhí and Beirút; and in connexion with them there are many "fountains of gardens, wells of living waters, and streams from Lebanon,"[1] of crystal purity, and the most agreeable coolness, which refresh the weary traveller, and vivify and beautify the whole country. The husbandry of Lebanon to which they give effect, is that of the mulberry, the vine, and the olive, more than of wheat and barley, and other grains. Various patches of sandstone are found here and there overlying the Jurassic limestone, and the indurated chalk on the western as well as on the eastern face of Lebanon. We noticed that these patches, generally speaking, are more genial to the Ṣnobar or pine, than to the olive. We were greatly delighted to come upon groves of fir, after fifteen years' deprivation of the sight of this tree, so familiar in the land of our nativity. The *sough* of the western breeze, through its needle-studded branches,

[1] Song iv. 15.

so familiar to us in the days of old, called up a thousand tender associations in our minds, even to the shedding of tears!

I do not know exactly what was the greatest height above the level of the sea to which we attained on this journey; but comparing our position with the more distant and lofty peaks of Lebanon and the Anti-Lebanon, the height of which is known, and some of which we afterwards ascended, I should say that we were about 5000 feet above the level of the sea. We had our first view of the Mediterranean about fifteen miles from Beirút. Its bright and glassy surface, under an unclouded atmosphere, was so like the azure sky above, that we could not define the line of our horizon.

The Sáḥil Beirút, or plain of Beirút, commences at the foot of Lebanon, about four miles from the town. It is the eastern part of the promontory on which Beirút is situated. The soil is light and sandy, being formed principally of the debris of the sandstone rock of the promontory, and of drift sand from the shore. The slope of the promontory is from the west to the east. There is a very large olive grove in it; and also a grove of pines, called the Ḥarsh, planted by the celebrated Druze chief Fakhr ed-Dín. The road to Beirút, after leaving the groves now mentioned, leads through plantations of mulberry trees, and the gardens in the vicinity of the town, which add so much to the beauty of the place. On each side of the road there are high hedges, principally of the cactus Indicus.

We did not find unoccupied a suitable place for pitching our tents outside of Beirút, on account of a large encampment of Arnaut troops formed in its neighbourhood. We consequently entered the town by the eastern gate; and lodged for the first night in what is called the Frank Hotel, where we obtained tolerably comfortable accommodation.

The day after our arrival at Beirút, I sent a note to the Rev. William Graham of the Irish Presbyterian Church, then

residing with his family in the suburbs, informing him of our safe arrival, after our long voyage from India, our arduous journey through the great and terrible wilderness, and our interesting pilgrimage in the Land of Israel, from Beersheba to Dan. He had been long and anxiously waiting for us, expecting to be henceforth associated with me in my further researches in the country, particularly with a view to fixing the head-quarters of the Presbyterian Mission to the Jews in the Holy Land, which he has since had the honour and the privilege to found; and he was well prepared to give us the most cordial, and sincere, and affectionate welcome. He was not satisfied till he got us all added, for the time being, to his family establishment, though it had but temporary accommodation in a house situated among the gardens to the south of the town. As he was not able to leave the place to enter on the journey which we contemplated taking in behalf of the sister churches to which we belonged, I remained at this time eighteen days under his roof, enjoying,—what was afterwards continued for a couple of months,—as delightful and profitable fellowship, as has ever been vouchsafed to me during my earthly pilgrimage. It is not the expression of partial friendship, but of disinterested judgment, which I make, when I say, that in Mr. Graham are combined the most devoted piety, the highest talents, and the most extensive attainments. He has a large heart, with strong affections, to love both the actual disciples of Christ, and the Jew and Gentile, whom he is called to beseech to sit at the feet of the Saviour as his disciples. In every remembrance of him, I thank God for putting it into his heart to enter the field of foreign missionary labour, and especially in that land in which I believe that the battle of the world will yet be fought.

During my residence at Beirût, I had particular opportunities of becoming acquainted with the place and neigh-

bourhood. The town stands about the middle of the northern side of the promontory on which it is situated. It is of a quadrangular form, its greatest length being in the direction of N. by E. On the north it is bounded by the sea, where close upon the waters are an old mole and two ruined castles; the latitude of the north-eastern one of which is represented in a new chart by Mr. Dillon, master of H.M.S. Vernon, which was shown to me on board that vessel, as 33° 54′ 42″ N.[1] On the land side of the town there is a wall of no great height. The town is much crowded with houses, and the streets are narrow. To the west and south-west of the town there are red sand hills, rising to the height of about 306 feet. In the suburbs there are many fine gardens, and orchards, and groves, surrounded generally by hedges of the prickly pear, and containing great numbers of mulberry, and flowering, and fruit-trees. In the midst of these gardens there are many commodious houses, with flat roofs. The place is beautiful in itself; and the view from it of Lebanon is grand and magnificent. Jebel Sannín, one of the highest parts of the range, particularly attracts attention, with its snow-covered peaks. Beirút is reckoned the healthiest town on the coast of Syria, according to Mr. Moor, the English consul, who is well acquainted with the country, and less subject to fever than Acre, Tripoli, or Tyre. According to the same authority, it has a population of 12,000 souls, the majority of whom are Christians, some of them being possessed of considerable wealth. It has every appearance of being a thriving place. The cultivation of silk is rapidly increasing in its neighbourhood,[2] and the town contains many silk and cotton weavers,

[1] This chart has been since published by the Admiralty.

[2] "The mulberry tree," says Dr. Bowring, "flourishes admirably on the coast, and through the more fertile parts of the Lebanon range. The arrangement generally made with the peasantry, is to allow them one-fourth of the silk for taking care of the worms, and reeling it off from the cocoons. The land-owner provides the leaves, which are gathered by the peasants. He also erects the sheds in which the cocoons are kept.

and manufacturers of gold and silver thread. The grape is abundant in the parts of Lebanon contiguous to it; and considerable quantities of red and white wine, with a comparatively small portion of alcohol, are produced from it, which are sold in the bázárs of Beirút at a low price, and which, as generally used by the people without intoxication, forms to them a great blessing. Though the roadstead is not very safe at certain seasons of the year, and in the winter ships have to anchor at the Nahr el-Kelb, eight miles to the north-east of the town, the place, in succession to Sidon, has become, in the present generation, the sea-port of Damascus, still a great emporium in the east; and it is altogether the most flourishing commercial port in Syria. Goods are conveyed from it inland by camels and mules. There are several European mercantile houses in the town, including some connected with Britain, from the members of which, Messrs. Black, Lancaster, Scott, and others,—gentlemen of high respectability, intelligence, and character,—we received the greatest kindness. Some of these houses have branch establishments at Aleppo.

Beirút has long been the head-quarters of the American mission in Syria, which is devoted to the work of diffusing

They are simple barrache of reeds, without any roof, merely serving to shelter the worm from the inclemency of the weather; rain being little to be feared in the silk-worm season, and a covering is easily found in case of need. The power of producing silk is very great, and a little more attention to its cultivation, would render it, in a few years, the principal article of export; articles of export being really the great desiderata for the extension of the Syrian trade."—Report on Syria, p. 14. The same gentleman adds, "In Mount Lebanon almost every male inhabitant is a small proprietor of land. In the neighbourhood of Beyrout, there are also a great number of land-holders, who, for the most part, cultivate the white mulberry tree. Large proprietors there are few, except among the emirs of Mount Lebanon, some of whom have extensive lands, which they either cultivate for their own account, or let out to farming tenants."—Ibid. p. 102.

evangelical knowledge, and promoting evangelical reform, among the different sects of native Christians. I had the pleasure of making the acquaintance of all the members of this establishment at the time of our visit; and I got from them quite a fraternal reception. They are men of superior talents and attainments. The Rev. Eli Smith, who is well known in Britain as the author of the very able and interesting volume of "Missionary Researches in Armenia," and as the travelling companion of Dr. Robinson, to whom, as such, the student of biblical geography is under the highest obligations, has been longest in the country. The Rev. W. M. Thomson, too, has been many years in the land, and has a minute and extensive acquaintance with its physical features, various productions, and the different classes of people by whom it is inhabited. As a public speaker, he has a great command of the Arabic language, and is much noticed by the natives for the warm sympathy and assistance which he extends to them. The Rev. Mr. Keyes was principally engaged in the study of the Arabic, to which he was applying himself with great diligence and success. Dr. De Forrest, a medical gentleman of highly respectable standing in America, had lately arrived, with a view to the exercise of his professional and Christian influence among the people of the land, many of whom were seeking to avail themselves of his kind services and attentions. Dr. Van Dyck was, with great zeal and devotedness, labouring among the villages of Lebanon. The operations of the mission were principally confined to the press, a mighty instrument of good, in the hands of Christians in Syria; to conference and conversation with numerous visiters, both nominal Christians and Druzes; and to the preaching of the Gospel in Arabic to some three or four scores of people, the number who usually attended their ministrations on the Lord's

day; and in English to the British, Prussian, and American residents and visiters.[1] At first the missionaries had not thought of directly interfering with the organization of the Eastern Churches; but the desire of the individuals to whom their labours had been blessed, to free themselves from the idolatrous services and bewildering doctrines of these churches, as well as their own convictions of the propriety and necessity of maintaining the purity and efficiency of Christian fellowship, had led them to form a small church on Protestant principles, partly after the Presbyterian, and partly after the Congregational form. The schools of the mission mentioned by Dr. Bowring, in his report on Syria, and of which I had often read in the American Missionary Herald, were suspended *pro tempore*.[2] A few girls, however, were under the care of the ladies of the mission.

Beirût is a sort of rendezvous to travellers in Syria. It is the landing-place, indeed, of most persons of this description who visit the Holy Land. We had the pleasure, while there, of meeting with Eliot Warburton, Esq., whose parts and accomplishments led us to expect much from him as the

[1] Mr. Graham, at the time of my visit, was taking part with the American brethren in their English preaching, at the house of Mr. Chasseaud, the American consul. I preached there on two occasions myself.

[2] "In Beyrout," says Dr. Bowring in 1839, "the Americans have also schools of some reputation. One large one, attached to the premises of the mission, is stated to be more deserving of the name of college than any other institution in Syria; for, in addition to studying Arabic grammatically, arithmetic, geography, astronomy, and chemistry, &c., with the aid of apparatus, are included. I had an opportunity of seeing many of the Syrian youths who are educated in the American missionary school, and found them more advanced than any other boys of their age in Syria. They are all taught English. The expense of the establishment is from 6000 to 7000 dollars per annum, and it is wholly paid by public subscriptions in the United States. I understood there was an intention of opening a branch school at Aleppo under the same auspices. They have also had several female schools at different times. The result is, that a greater proportion of the Christian population of Beyrout can read and write than in any other town in Syria."—Bowring's Report on Syria, p. 106.

fruit of his pilgrimage, and who has since distinguished himself as the author of the lively, graphic, and interesting sketches comprised in the "Crescent and the Cross;" with Mr. Holman, the "blind traveller," whom I have already had occasion to mention;[1] with Mr. Paton, the author of the "Modern Syrians,"—a work which contains a large portion of information both original and valuable, about the people among whom he wandered for many months as an oriental student; with the Rev. Ridley H. Herschell, a convert from Judaism, whose general philanthropy and ministerial usefulness are so well known in the English metropolis, and who has since given to the world the notes of his journey to Palestine and Syria, under the title of a "Visit to my Fatherland;" and with several respected individuals, who have not in any capacity yet come before the public. Colonel Rose, Her Britannic Majesty's Consul-General, and Mr. Moore, the consul, are very obliging to all travellers, and, like others, we experienced their kindness. The despatches of the former gentleman in the Parliamentary Papers, show a minute acquaintance with the state and movements of parties in the land. Mr. Moore, who has paid considerable attention to the antiquities of Syria, showed me a Phenician scarabæus, with a very distinct inscription, which had been found, I believe, at Tyre, and lately come into his hands. He also showed me a MS. of the greater part of the Syrian New Testament in the Karshúní character, which he had lately obtained, and which appeared to be about six hundred years old. Colonel Wildenbruck, the Prussian Consul-General, whose acquaintance I made at the Rev. Eli Smith's, is a gentleman of great ability and excellent Christian character, and takes a great interest in the moral improvement of the inhabitants of the country. Only one English ship was at

[1] See vol. i. pp. 112, 145.

this time at Beirút, that fine frigate the Vernon. One or two of the officers, with whom he was deservedly a great favourite, were in the habit of visiting Mr. Graham. I heard of the baptism, on board one of her Majesty's ships which had visited the place some months before, of Haider Alí, a young Persian munshí, who had been at one time employed by the German mission at Shúster, and who had been a pupil for a couple of years in our missionary institution at Bombay. He was so much annoyed on the streets of Beirút, after his avowal of his faith in Christ, that he was literally driven mad. We found him in that state. He recognised both Dhanjíbhái and myself, and conducted himself pretty well in our presence. He had publicly solicited baptism from me in Bombay, after Dhanjíbhái and his companion Hormazdjí, professed their faith in Christ at that place; but I thought it expedient to propose to him the extension of the time for his instruction and probation. A strong wish to visit Jerusalem led him to leave India.

The only remains of antiquity connected with Beirút are to be found on the shore. They consist of a few pillars and frustra, the ruins of the mole already alluded to, and traces of baths. The place, as is well known, is one of olden celebrity. In the present name which it bears, we see its resemblance to *Βηρυτὸς* and Berytus, by which it was known among the Greeks and Romans. Dr. Robinson says that it is "perhaps also the BEROTHAI or BEROTHAH of the Hebrew scriptures." He adds, that the "notices respecting the latter are so very indefinite, that the name alone suggests an identity."[1] It occurs to me that the only notices of Berothai and Berothath in the Bible are not neutral, but quite opposed to the notion of their identity with Beirút. Berothai, which is mentioned in 2 Samuel viii. 8, belonged to the kingdom

[1] Bib. Res. vol. iii. pp. 441, 442.

of Zobah, and included Hamath, and was doubtless inland, to the east of the Lebanon chain. Berothah, in the vision of the restored Holy Land, Ezek. xlvii. 17, was not on the borders of the Mediterranean, but also inland "*from* the Great Sea, the way of Hethlon as men go to Zedad, Hamath, *Berothah.*" The olden name of Beirút, I submit, may not be derived from a Shemitic word, signifying "the place of wells," or of "my wells," as Berothah and Berothai; but it is probably from the individual thus obscurely mentioned by Sanchoniatho, himself a native of Berytus, and the most ancient writer of the heathen world: "Contemporary with these [Misar, Taautus, etc.] was one Elioun, called Hypsistus, and his wife named Berouth (*Βηρούθ,*) and they dwelt about Byblus" (the present Jebeil.) . . . "After these things Cronus gave the city of Byblus to the goddess Baaltis, which is Dione, and *Berytus* to Poseidon, and to the Caberi who were husbandmen and fishermen: and they consecrated the remains of Pontus at *Berytus.*"[1] The origin of the name Berytus here implied, occurred to me as probably the true one, when simply reading the fragment of Sanchoniatho. I was not aware at the time, that a somewhat similar idea had occurred to Bochart, who supposes that Baal-Berith of Judges viii. 33, was connected with this town.[2]

For notices of Berytus as a Roman colony, and celebrated for its Greek learning, particularly in law, and for some incidents of its modern history, I must refer my readers to Cellarius, Le Quien, and Dr. Robinson.[3] It was at Beirút that the military operations for the ejection of the troops of Muḥammad Álí from Syria were commenced in 1840. This was on the 10th and 11th September of that year, when a great many of the Egyptian soldiers were killed, and much

[1] Sanchoniatho, in Cory's Ancient Fragments, pp. 9, 15..

[2] See Bochart. Geograph. Sac. par. post. lib. ii. ch. 17.

[3] Cellar. Geograph. Antiq. pp. 273, 274; Le Quien, Oriens Christianus, tom. ii. col. 815-818; Robinson's Biblical Researches, vol. iii. pp. 442-446.

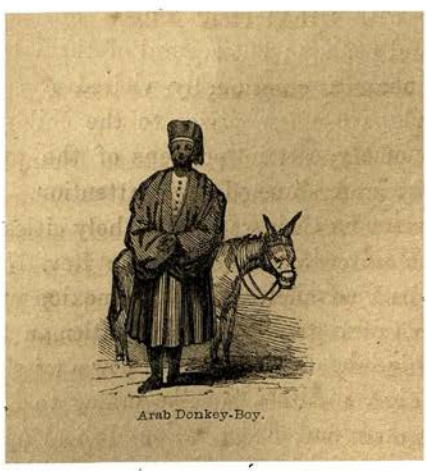
damage done to the private and public buildings of the town, by the united English and Austrian fleets.[1] The mischief thus caused was, on the occasion of our visit, nearly completely repaired.

I made several pleasant excursions from Beirût to different places in the neighbourhood, along with my friend Mr. Graham. The most important of these was to the mouth of the Nahr el-Kelb to the north-east, a place, the remarkable antiquities of which I shall afterwards have occasion to notice. We received several calls from Druze chiefs and other influential natives at Mr. Graham's house; but the Jews were the principal persons whom we visited in the town. They have here, as elsewhere in the East, a quarter of their own, in which they have one synagogue, in which we found both Sephardim and Ashkenazim worshipping together. The great majority of the Jews of the place consist of the former class. The Jewish population of Beirût amounts to about forty families, with perhaps 200 souls. Most of them are shopkeepers and pedlars; but several of them have considerable substance. I occasionally visited a school which they have, and gave a few prizes to the children for committing to memory certain portions of the prophecies of Isaiah, to which we directed their attention. Many Jews land at the place on their way to the holy cities. Before I left Syria, the Rev. H. Winbolt and the Rev. N. Davis had settled in Beirût, as missionaries in connexion with the London Jews' Society; and the former gentleman is still there prosecuting his labours. Dr. Kerns, now a missionary of the same institution in Syria, was beginning to attract much attention, as an agent of the Syrian Medical Aid Society.

While I was at Beirût, my friend Mr. Smith left Syria in the Austrian steamer for Smyrna and Constantinople, in the

[1] Correspondence relative to the affairs of the Levant, (Par. Pap.) part ii. p. 302.

prosecution of his journey to Europe. It was no easy matter for us to separate from one another, closely united as we had been during our lengthened pilgrimage, since our meeting at Cairo. His great enterprise, perseverance, and self-denial, never-failing good humour, sound judgment, and inquisitive and candid mind, made him an invaluable companion as a traveller. I owed him more than I can express for his sympathy and co-operation when we were together; and neither of us can forget either the mutual esteem and confidence which we cherished towards one another, amidst the travel and trials of our lengthened way, among the asperities and horrors of the terrible wilderness, nor the delightful fellowship which we enjoyed, when we contemplated the numerous scenes of most wondrous and hallowed interest in that country which once was, and will yet be, the glory of all lands.



Arab Donkey-Boy.

Acre, or Akka.

CHAPTER XIX.

JOURNEY FROM BEIRUT TO JOPPA.

On the 8th of May 1843, Mr. Graham, Dhanjíbhái, and I, accompanied by an Arab teacher named Nasíf, and Mordecai the Jew, put ourselves in readiness for our journey along the coasts of the Mediterranean, and at midday we started from Beirút. We had advanced, however, only a little beyond Fakhr ed-Dín's pine grove, when an awkward affair interrupted our progress. Mr. G.'s horse, a beautiful little Arab, across whose back a saddle had never been thrown till a few days before we set out, began to cut capers, and then, on securing his liberty, to bound through the forest like a deer. Before we got him again under our control, and had returned to the place of his escape, we had lost nearly a couple of hours.

The soil across the headland of Beirût is of red sand. Our road was first in the general direction of south, and afterwards a little to the west; but as the direction of the western coast of the Holy Land is well known, I need not frequently exhibit our compass-box to my readers as we proceed. A little to the north of the Khán Khaldah, we came down upon the sea, at a short distance from which our path afterwards conducted us. This Khán Khaldah is of no great size. It has been properly recognised by Pococke, Robinson, and others, as the "mutatio Heldua" of the Jerusalem Itinerary, there stated, by an over-estimate, to be twelve Roman miles from Berytus.[1]

In advance of it, on our right hand, for about two miles, at the base of the hills of Lebanon,—which here come near to the shore,—we observed numerous large stone sarcophagi, many of which, except in their coverings, were entire. A good many of them were certainly not in the place where they were originally cut from the rock. They were in general thick and deep, as well as long; and could allow the corpses deposited in them to rest with all the convenience and pomposity demanded by that "pride of dust" which, in its weakness, seeks to bedeck even the trophies of the king of terrors. Most of them were plain, but a few of them were ornamented with cut wreaths of the palm. We walked over the ground where they occurred. We were inclined to consider them the work of the ancient Phenicians, as we have no notice of any Greek or Roman settlement formerly contiguous to them. The Nahr ed-Dámûr occurs about eleven miles from Beirût. This river, which we crossed on Lebanon about five miles to the west of Deir el-Kamar, I have already mentioned. It is the ancient Tamyras of Strabo,[2] and Damouras of Polybius.[3]

[1] Itin. Hierosol. (Wessel. edit.) p. 583.

[2] See above, p. 197.

[3] Polyb. lib. vi. 68. Strabo says, "After Berytus is Sidon, distant from it about forty stadia. Midway is the

We stopped in a place where travellers often rest, at the Khán Nabí Yúnas,—according to the legendry of the Muhammadans, the spot where the fish out-vomited the prophet Jonah.[1] A Musalmán Faḳír, a very funny old body, sought both to assist our servants, and amuse their masters, during the evening. Whatever his devotion to Islám might be, it was evident to us that he had no objections to receive the favour of the despised Naṣrání, particularly if he had any hope of its being expressed in the form of a Turkish gold piece, however diminutive.

9th May.—We had an early breakfast this morning, our friend the Faḳír having made himself very serviceable in expediting the culinary operations. We were pleased to find that he and his attendants were able to read with fluency; and we presented them with an Arabic New Testament. Sending our baggage forward on the road along the shore, we ourselves went up a ravine leading to the east, that we might have an opportunity of examining some excavated tombs of which we had heard. A guide whom we procured at the village of Barjá pointed them out to us in the face of the contiguous rocks. Some of them are intended for individuals, and some for families, as is shown by their separate niches. One of them is ornamented with a lion couchant. It was probably in the neighbourhood of Khán Yúnas, or Barjá itself, that the ancient Porphyrion, or the "Mutatio Parphirion" of the Jerusalem Itinerary stood.[2]

We did not return from Barjá to Nabí Yúnas, but proceeded over the flanks of the hills in a south-west direction to the sea. On our way, we came upon a considerable number of black tents, very dissimilar in appearance to those of the Badawín,

river Tamyras, and the City of Lions, (Λεοντωπόλις)." — Strab. Geograph. lib. xvi. p. 756.

[1] For the Muhammadan notions of the case of the prophet Jonah, see Sale's Korán, chap. 37.

[2] See note in Wesseling, p. 583.

whom we had hitherto found in the east in their curtain tabernacles. They were *gypsies*, or Nawarah, as they called themselves, speaking an Indian language, of which more hereafter, which was perfectly intelligible to us from the far east. Of the existence in the Lebanon of numbers of these widely-scattered tribes, I heard for the first time from Mr. Eli Smith at Beirút. Half-way between Nabí Yúnas and Sidon, we bathed in the sea, the waters of which, in a little quiet bay, seemed pure as crystal. We had a fine sandy beach, and we found the increase of depth very gradual. We felt ourselves much refreshed by our ablutions, and we repeated them almost daily on our way to Joppa. In about three-quarters of an hour before we got to Sidon, we arrived at the Nahr el-Aulí, a broad and deep stream, recognised by Dr. Robinson as the Bostrenus of the ancients,[1] and running through a fertile valley, which we crossed by the old bridge erected by Fakhr ed-Dín. This river, if I mistake not, is the longest of those which rise in the mountainous range of Lebanon. We had formerly seen it on our march between Jezzín and Deir el-Ḳamar. Its source lies north of the ridge of el-Barúk, from which, in the first part of its course, it receives its name.

SIDON, when it first came in sight, seemed to be situated in the sea, into which stretches the small promontory on which it stands. It has rather an imposing appearance from a distance, particularly on account of the castle standing on a rock at its north-eastern point. We arrived at this ancient place at midday, and after looking round us for a little, we took up our abode for the night at a Musalmán tomb, close on the shore to the north of the town. We here fell in with some Jewish pilgrims from Mesopotamia, with whom I had a little conversation in Persian. Their attainments in know-

[1] Bib. Res. vol. iii. p. 429.

ledge were of a very humble character. They were greatly alarmed by the prospect of an earthquake, which, they told us,—as a Jew from Smyrna had informed the brethren here, —was prognosticated by the appearance of the great comet in March last. It was to occur, they said, between the 9th and the 15th of this month. They walked in procession along the shore a little beyond the Khán, where they turned, declaring that they had reached the northern limit of the tribe of Asher, which, they said, it is the duty of the Jewish pilgrim to visit. Sidon, we learn from Scripture, was allotted to this tribe in the distribution of the land, but it was never conquered and occupied by the Israelites. The ancient town must have been much more extensive than the modern. To the north-east of the town, and even among the gardens and orchards further east, there are various traces of the ancient city.

After dinner we went into Sidon, or Ṣaidá, as it is now called. We entered it by the principal gate, which is on the east, where we found a guard of Turkish soldiers. The wall, which runs north and south across the promontory on which the town stands, is tolerably high, but it is of no great strength. Some of the best houses of the place are built immediately over it, as we find to be the case at Damascus. The streets in general are narrow. The bázárs seemed to be well frequented, and presented to view a variety of commodities. The Jews, whom we wished particularly to see, have here, as elsewhere, their own quarter; but we found but few of them in the place, most of them having left the town, and gone out to the gardens in the neighbourhood, through fear of the earthquake. We had a conversation with one or two of them at their synagogue. Their numbers in the place they reckoned at from 70 to 80 houses, and from 350 to 400 souls, the whole population of the town being about 6000 souls, principally Muhammadans and Greek-Catholics. They

have one school, with three teachers and forty scholars, who read the Scriptures, but not the Talmud. Into this school we agreed to put Mordecai's son, Abraham, till our return to Beirût. They are in possession of twenty-five manuscript copies of the law, one of which they reckon 500 years old. Suspended on the walls of the synagogue, we noticed a list of the principal holy places and tombs visited by the Jewish pilgrims, a copy of which I afterwards procured at Jerusalem. This rather curious document I give in full in another part of this work. The Jews here all belong to the Sephardim. Their chief is Issachar Abu'l Lafiah. Three or four of them have foreign passports; but only one or two of them are Europeans. They are all shopkeepers, pedlars, or spinners and preparers of silk. They seem to have none of the feelings against secular employment which we had witnessed among their brethren elsewhere. We tried, in the most delicate form we could, to get them engaged in religious conversation; but they were exceedingly shy in making known their sentiments, and in giving us an opportunity of expressing ours. The following is the only note of our conversation which we recorded:—

Travellers.—"Have you any fields belonging to, or cultivated by yourselves, near Sidon?"

Jews.—"We have none."

T.—"Have any Jews in the Holy Land any fields of their own?"

J.—"None of them have."

T.—"Then the sceptre has departed from you?"

J.—"It has departed."

T.—"Then, according to the prophecy of Jacob, Shiloh must have come?"

J.—"There is no sceptre to the Jews here; but there is beyond the river Sabation."

We found it impossible to divorce them from their dreams

about the *terra incognita* in which they supposed a prince of Judah reigns. We suggested to them that some of the European nations, particularly Britain, are now enjoying somewhat of the blessing promised to Abraham; and this fact, which I have found stagger the Jews in all parts of the world, they scarcely ventured to deny. When we alluded to the inefficacy of the blood of bulls and of goats to take away sin, they said, "Yes, this is the case now; but it was not so when the temple stood." They were only of avail at any time, we of course mentioned, as the worshippers apprehended through them God's design and method of propitiation through Him whom they adumbrated. The discussion which we had with them was evidently not relished. Before bringing it to a conclusion, we pressed upon them the necessity of religious inquiry.

Before it got dark, we found time to extend our perambulations in the town, which is a much more extensive and thriving place than we expected to find it. Great numbers of soldiers were walking about in it in all directions, it being one of the principal depots of Turkish troops in Syria. We visited the French khán. It is a square erection, the rooms below having been formerly appropriated for the accommodation of cattle and horses, or used as go-downs, while those above were for inhabitation and the exhibition of goods. This erection was made by the enterprising Fakhr ed-Dín, the celebrated Emír of the Druzes, about the beginning of the seventeenth century, and the great patron of European commerce, particularly that of the nation after which this establishment was denominated. It is particularly described by D'Árvieux, who resided for a considerable time in the town.[1] We ascended to the roof of the church, from which we had a good view of the whole place. The sun was setting on the western waters, which, in the days of Phenician great-

[1] Mémoires du Chevalier D'Arvieux, tom. i. p. 312, &c.

ness, were, doubtless, covered with thousands of vessels laden with the richest treasures of eastern commerce. On descending, we crossed over the bridge of seven or nine arches, to the small island adjoining the town, on which is situated the castle called the Kalât el-Bahr. To the south-west of the castle, there is another fort in a state of ruin. The entrance to the ancient port was in the intermediate space; and vessels lay between them and the town. It is now nearly choked up; Fakhr ed-Dín, in dread of the Turkish gallies, having put into it quantities of stones and earth. Only boats and other small craft, of which we observed one or two specimens at anchor, now find entrance.

In the evening we read the interesting articles on Sidon in Relandi Palestina, and Robinson's Biblical Researches. Combined with the details in the Mémoires du Chevalier D'Arvieux, they contain a good outline of the history and condition of the place, both in ancient and modern times. Dr. Robinson with others, says, that "Sidon was the most ancient of all the Phenician cities, and is mentioned both in the Pentateuch and in the poems of Homer, while Tyre is not."[1] It is only as the border town of the Canaanites and of Zebulun that it is referred to as a town by Moses.[2] In all probability, it either derived its name from Sidon, the first born of Canaan,[3] according to the opinion of Josephus,[4] or Sidon derived his name from the building or possession of the place. Tyre is mentioned before it by Sanchoniatho;[5] but Isaiah (xxiii. 12) seems to speak of Tyre as the "daughter of Zidon." Justin, in conformity with an obvious etymology of צידון, makes it mean a fishery or fish-town.[6]

[1] Bib. Res. vol. iii. p. 421.
[2] Gen. x. 19; xlix. 13.
[3] Gen. x. 15.
[4] Joseph. Antiq. Jud. i. 6, 2.
[5] See Sanchoniatho in Cory's Fragments, pages 6, 13. Sanchoniatho makes Sidon the daughter of Pontus, the son of Nereus, the first inventor of the hymns of odes or praises.—Ibid. p. 13.
[6] Justin. xviii. 3.

10th May.—Before taking leave of Sidon this morning, we ascended the highest ground near the walls, which we found at the southern side of the town, where there are several towers mounting guns. From this eminence we had an excellent view of the Phenician plain. It runs parallel to the sea, and, at an average, may be a couple of miles in breadth. The part of it which is near Sidon, is mostly laid out in excellent gardens of flowering and fruit-trees, in which there are many respectable-looking houses. In the adjoining burying-ground and fields, we found considerable numbers of Syrian sheep, with immensely large tails, tended by Turkish soldiers, and evidently destined for the use of the camp. They were of a much larger size than any which I had previously seen in this country; and they formed a visible demonstration of the fact, that the Turkish warriors are, of an occasion at least, allowed better fare than is sometimes supposed. Our way, in the first instance, after we got in motion, had enclosures on each side, such as are seldom seen in this country, and was partly lined with trees, among which the tamarisk was conspicuous. In the course of our march to the south, we passed several ancient pillars and Roman milestones. The inscriptions on two of them are given by Maundrell.[1] Whence the material of these pillars was procured, it is difficult to say, as there is no granite in this part of Syria. It may possibly have been brought from Egypt, or Mount Taurus. We breakfasted under the shade of the broken bridge of the Nahr ez-Záharáni, a streamlet of no great size. On the banks of the river, as well as in similar situations, we observed many oleander bushes now in full blow. There are very few villages seen on the hills to the east in this part of the country. It has hitherto been quite otherwise from the time of our leaving Beirút. The

[1] Even in his day they were not altogether legible. His transcript may be compared with that of Monconys, Journal des Voyages, tom. i. p. 382.

whole range of Lebanon, from north to south, is thickly studded with villages. The want of security in other parts of the country contributes to the sparseness of its population.

About two miles farther to the south, and crossing two or three small streamlets running down from founts contiguous to the road, and principally on our left, we observed traces of the foundations and walls of an ancient town, not without reason supposed to be ZAREPHATH or SAREPTA of Scripture, so particularly noticed in connexion with Elijah, and the name of which is preserved with tolerable accuracy in the present Ṣarafand of the Arabs, which is situated on a height to the eastward less than a mile distant from the shore.[1] Near to these ruins appears the Khán el-Khadr, or the Khán of St. George, who is here localized by the Muhammadans as in many other parts of the East, where the fictions and fables that have been invented and propagated about him are best known. Adlan, perhaps the site of the ancient Ornithopolis, about an hour distant, we passed without notice. Not far from it we enjoyed a most delightful and refreshing bathe in the clear waters of the Mediterranean, which here, towards the shore, has sometimes a sandy, and sometimes a rocky bottom. I procured a piece of spunge in the waters which I carried to Britain; but the specimen was by no means so good as the spunge of commerce obtained on the northern shores of Syria.[2] We did not return to the usual

[1] Eusebius and Jerome, in the Onomasticum, simply speak of "*Sarepta*," as a "town of the Sidonians, situated on the public road, where formerly Elias dwelt." Jerome, in Epitaphio Paulæ, says, "Sidone derelicta in Sareptæ litore Eliæ est ingressa turriculam, in qua adorato Domino Salvatore per arenas Tyri, in quibus genua Paulus fixit, pervenit Acco." For further notices of this place, see Reland. Palest. p. 985-6; Le Quien, oriens. Christ. tom. iii. col. 1337-8. Maundrell, under 20th March says, "The place shown us for this city, consisted of only a few houses on the tops of the mountains, within about half-a-mile of the sea; but it is more probable, the principal part of the city stood below, in the space between the hills and the sea, there being ruins still to be seen in that place of a considerable extent."

[2] "Sponge," says Dr. Bowring, "is

road from which we had diverged, but proceeded over mounds and wreaths of sand, in some places thickly covered with a bush resembling box, to the mouth of the Ḳásimíyah or Leontes, the same river which, under the name of the Litání, we had crossed on our first march from Ḥáṣbeiyá.[1] We found the stream both deep and rapid, and about twenty yards broad at its entrance into the sea, and quite unfordable. We consequently proceeded up its western bank, passing by some companies of Arabs in the Badawín dress, at work in the fields, till we came to a bridge, which seems to be an erection of some antiquity, though repaired on a scale considerably reduced from its first dimensions, especially in its breadth.

Long previously to this, Ṣúr or TYRE had been visible, lying on a small peninsula stretching into the sea, and by no means so imposing as Sidon at a distance. Its Hebrew name, צור, means a rock, and is well suited to such a place as that now occupied by the town. As it is mentioned as a "strong city" in Joshua,[2] and a "stronghold" in the second book of Samuel,[3] and in Ezekiel as being "in the midst of the sea,"[4] I have little doubt that the town in its first form stood on the island, afterwards joined to the mainland by the

not an article of export from Aleppo, but as the fishery for sponges extends along the coast from Tripoli to the Latakia jurisdiction, both inclusive, it forms a branch of commerce which merits attention. The fishery is open to every adventurer, upon paying to the government 100 piastres for each fisher. Besides the Syrians, fishermen arrive from the Archipelago, who take with them the sponges for sale, to Smyrna chiefly. Some portion is sold by them at Rhodes, but the whole is conveyed eventually to the Smyrna market. A successful season produces at Tripoli and its coast, by the Syrian fishermen or divers, 1500 okes fine sponges, 1500 middling or rejected quality, 500 large horse ordinary. The first are worth 130 to 180 piastres per oke, the second 15 to 18. The quantity is partly sold to speculators for Europe, but the major part is sent to Marseilles and Smyrna by the country traders." — Bowring's Report on Syria, p. 19.

[1] See above, p. 192.

[2] Josh. xix. 29.

[3] 2 Sam. xxiv. 7.

[4] Ezek. xxvi. 5.

mole of Alexander the Great, and the sands which subsequently accumulated along its course. It is no insuperable objection to this view, that Josephus, Strabo, and others speak of a Palætyrus as being on the mainland; for this name may have been given to this continental town, on its becoming waste, even though it were not the most ancient town.

Before entering the gate of the town, we passed over a considerable space of ground, covered with sand, and noticed two fountains from which the town is supplied with water. We went for lodgings to the house of the English Consular agent, Georgio Anatola, a native Christian, who received us with much kindness. From the roof of his house we had an excellent view of the village. Though it has considerably revived during the last century, previous to which it had been reduced to a few fishermen's huts,[1] and contains a considerable number of houses, it is still a most miserable representation of the queen of the seas. The exact situation of the place will be observed from the plan on the margin of our map of the Holy Land. It occupies the north-eastern corner of the peninsula, its greatest length being north and south, and double on its western what it is on its eastern

[1] Maundrell, who visited it in 1697, says: "On the north side it has an old Turkish ungarrisoned castle; besides which you see nothing here but a mere Babel of broken walls, pillars, vaults, etc., there being not so much as one entire house left. Its present inhabitants are only a few poor wretches, harbouring themselves in the vaults, and subsisting chiefly upon fishing; who seem to be preserved in this place by divine providence, as a visible argument, how God has fulfilled his word concerning Tyre, viz. that *it should be as the top of a rock, or place for fishers to dry their nets on*, Ezek. xxvi. 14."—Maund. pp. 48, 49. Similar accounts are given by other travellers. Volney says of Tyre, at his time, "The whole village contains only fifty or sixty poor families, which live but indifferently on the produce of their little grounds, and a trifling fishery. The houses they occupy are no longer, as in the time of Strabo, edifices of three or four stories high, but wretched huts, ready to crumble to pieces. Formerly they were defenceless towards the land; but the Metoualis, who possessed themselves of this place in 1766, inclosed it with a wall of twenty feet high, which still subsists."—Volney's Travels, vol. ii. pp. 178, 179.

side. This is owing to the peninsula's being of the form of a boot, the toe part of which points to the north. The ancient port, which was surrounded by a mole, was protected by the extension of land running to the north. The houses are, generally speaking, rather mean and unsubstantial; but that in which we were accommodated and a few others, were tolerably respectable. The population our host reckoned as follows:—Christians, 2500; Matáwilah, 2430; Turks and other orthodox Muslims, 70; giving a total of 5000. Judging from appearances, I should think that he is not far wrong in his estimate. We were sorry to learn, that the government of the Turks is here, as in Lebanon, much more unacceptable and disadvantageous to the Christians than that of Muḥammad 'Alí. They seemed surprised that England had not kept possession of Syria. They quite overlooked its alliance with its coadjutors in war.

Of monuments of antiquity, we found in our perambulations in the evening, few or no remains, except, perhaps, in the broken columns and pillars which are here and there visible along the shores. The old cathedral is the most remarkable ruin in the place. One of its staircases is tolerably entire; and we had a better view from it than from the roof of the consular agent's house. The prospect hence is very correctly described by Maundrell.[1] Two enormously large pillars

[1] "In the midst of the ruins, there stands up one pile higher than the rest, which is the east end of a great church, probably of the cathedral of Tyre; and why not the very same that was erected by its bishop Paulinus, and honoured with the famous consecration sermon of Eusebius, recorded by himself in his Eccles. Hist. lib. x. cap. 4, this having been an archiepiscopal see in the Christian times? . . . There being an old stair-case in this ruin last mentioned, I got up to the top of it, from whence I had an entire prospect of the island, part of Tyre, of the isthmus, and of the adjacent shore. I thought I could, from this elevation, discern the isthmus to be a soil of a different nature from the other two; it lying lower than either, and being covered all over with sand, which the sea casts upon it, as the tokens of its natural right to a passage there, from which it was, by Alexander the Great, injuriously excluded."—Maundrell, pp. 49, 50.

of red granite, lying near the northern entrance, are particularly worthy of attention. One of them, at least, is not perfectly round, being hewn so as to form part of a wall, as well as to serve for an ornament and support of its extremity. It is very probable that these pillars were turned to account in the cathedral; but the entire disproportion to them of the other remains, suggests the idea, that they may claim a much higher antiquity.[1] In the basin of Tyre,—for it does not now deserve the name of a harbour,—we observed a few small fishing-vessels, and one of larger dimensions. Commerce it has none, in the proper sense of the term. It is impossible to divest the mind, when visiting it, of all reminiscences of its past greatness; but they have their origin in historic associations, and are not prompted by present appearances. Literally and awfully have descended upon it the judgments of God, according to the denunciations of the prophets, which, with the allusions to its former manufacturing and commercial greatness, we read with much interest in the evening. Even Volney, the infidel, after quoting Ezekiel,[2] says, "The vicissitudes of time, or rather the barbarism of the Greeks of the Lower empire, and the Mahometans, *have accomplished this prediction.*"[3] The same writer, finding in the notices of Ezekiel a "historical fragment which contains descriptions the most valuable, as they present a picture of distant ages, perfectly similar to that of modern times," deigns to "cite the words of the writer in all their *prophetic enthusiasm.*"[4] Dr. Vincent, who, in his Commerce of the Ancients, illustrates the subject at great length, says, "It is not only the most early, but the most authentic record extant, relative to the commerce of the ancients."[5]

[1] Yet Eusebius speaks of the erection of Paulinus in very strong terms. —Eccles. Hist. lib. x. cap. 4.

[2] Ezek. xxvii.

[3] Volney's Travels, vol. ii. pp. 189, 190.

[4] Volney, ut sup.

[5] Vincent, vol. iii. p. 622.

The elevation of Tyre, however, is only brought to our notice, that we may be the more deeply impressed with the greatness of its fall. The splendour and majesty of the vessel replenished with every precious ware, are minutely described to us, that we may more signally mark the judgment of God upon her, when her rowers bring her into great waters; when she is broken by the east wind in the midst of the seas; when her riches, and fairs, and merchandise, and mariners, and pilots, and calkers, and the holders of her cargo, and all her men of war, and her company, are overwhelmed in the midst of the seas; and when city and suburbs shake at the cry of her ruin, and pour forth their throngs, to devote themselves to wailing, lamentation, and mourning, because of her perdition.

In the course of the night, also, we read most of the profane historical and topographical notices of Tyre, which were contained in the books which we had taken with us for this part of our journey; but they were of course far from exhausting a subject on which whole volumes have been and may be written. At present, I note only some of the more remarkable passages appertaining to the quondam capital of the Phenicians, particularly those which more or less bear on the prophetical testimony of scripture.

Little can be gathered from Sanchoniatho. He emerges merely from the darkness of heathen fable, and speaks of Hypsoranius, near the times of the progenitors of the human race, as inhabiting Tyre. When relating the legends of Astarte, or Ashtaroth, the daughter of Uranus, and one of the wives of Chronus, after the dismemberment of her husband, he proceeds thus:—"But Astarte, called the greatest, and Demarous named Zeus, and Adodus, who is entitled the king of gods, reigned over the country by the consent of Cronus: and Astarte put upon her head, as the mark of her sovereignty, a bull's head: and travelling about the

habitable world, she found a star falling through the air, which she took up and consecrated in the holy island of Tyre: and the Phœnicians say that Astarte is the same as Aphrodite."[1] To this identification of Astarte, as the Syrian Venus, we shall afterwards have occasion to allude. Herodotus, who informs us that he made a voyage to the Phenician Tyre, refers to a shrine of the god Hercules, which he there inspected. "It is richly furnished," he says, "with various offerings, and within it are two pillars, the one of refined gold, the other of an emerald, which by night shone with exceeding splendour." He adds, "while conversing with the priests of the god, I asked them how long it was since their temple was built by the Greeks: for they said that the temple was consecrated when Tyre itself was raised; and that the foundation of Tyre took place 2300 years ago."[2] This is but a slight exaggeration for a heathen priesthood. In the second book of Maccabees, reference is made to the quinquennial games celebrated at Tyre in honour of Hercules.[3] Josephus, when quoting from the Tyrian annals the correspondence which passed between Solomon and King Hiram, makes the latter ask corn for the timber which he agreed to furnish, on the ground that the Tyrians were inhabiting an island. Eusebius, however, gives the letters of the Hebrew and Phenician monarchs in another form.[4] Josephus says that Tyre was founded 240 years before the temple of Solomon.[5] The same writer, when noticing the attack made on Tyre by Shalmanezar, king of Assyria, according to the authority of Menander, who translated the Tyrian records into Greek, seems to distinguish between Palætyrus on the mainland, which submitted to the Assyrian king, and Tyre itself, which stood out against him for five years, through the supplies furnished

[1] Sanchoniatho, in Cory's Fragments, pp. 6, 14.
[2] Taylor's Herodotus, p. 124.
[3] 2 Mac. iv. 18-22.
[4] Euseb. Præparat. x. cap. 33, 34.
[5] Antiq. Jud. viii. 3. 1.

from the cisterns which had been dug after it was cut off from the rivers and aqueducts.[1] He extracts various notices from the same authorities.[2] According to one of them, "Nabuchodonesor besieged Tyre for thirteen years in the days of Ithobal."[3] It was then that,—probably with reference to the continental Tyre,—the prophecies of Ezekiel, intimating the terrible judgments to be executed upon the locality by that king, must have been exactly fulfilled, even to the extent of the town never being rebuilt on *the site which it had occupied*, or with its *pristine grandeur*.[4] The subsequent revival of the city, however, in an important form, was to be expected, and abused. "It shall come to pass after the end of seventy years, that the Lord will visit Tyre, and she shall turn to her hire, and shall commit fornication with all the kingdoms of the world upon the face of the earth."[5] The historians of Alexander the Great, and others, give the particulars of the state in which he found the city, and of the obstacles which it presented to his mighty force. He destroyed the Palætyrus which he found, and used its material to form a mound between the continent and the insular city, which submitted to him after a siege of seven months.[6] The Grecian general left Abdalonymus, or Bullonymus, or Strato, in possession of this place. After Alexander's death the city, as well as other places in Phenicia and Syria, fell to the Seleucidæ. It stood a siege of fourteen months from

[1] Joseph. Antiq. Jud. ix. 14, 2.

[2] Joseph. cont. Apion., 17, 18, 21.

[3] Ut supra, 21.

[4] Ezek. xxvi. 1-15. That the continental Tyre was principally in the eye of the prophet, seems obvious from his own language:—"By reason of the abundance of his *horses* their dust shall cover thee; thy walls shall shake at the noise of the horsemen, and of the wheels, and of the chariots, when he shall enter into thy gates, as men enter into a city wherein is made a breach. With the hoofs of his horses shall he tread down all thy streets."—Ezek. xxvi. 10, 11.

[5] Isa. xxiii. 17.

[6] Diodor. Sic. xvii. 40, etc.; Quint. Curt. iv. 218; Justin. xi. 10, 11; Arrian. Alex. ii. 16, et seq.; Strabo xvi. 758; Joseph. Antiq. Jud. xi. 8, 3.

Antigonus. On the conquest of Syria by the Romans, it came under their power; and in connexion with them it contended with Sidon for the supremacy. The Emperor Augustus deprived both places of their assumed dignity; but afterwards, as their coinage testifies, sometimes the one, and sometimes the other, was acknowledged as the metropolis of Phenicia.[1] The district of the country in which it was situated was visited by our Lord.[2] The apostle Paul landed at it on his voyage from Asia Minor, and finding disciples, tarried there seven days.[3] Christianity had its early triumphs in the place. Cassius is mentioned as its bishop at the close of the second century, in connexion with the council of Cesarea. Paulinus, at the dedication of whose church Eusebius delivered his celebrated oration,[4] is the seventh in the lists of Le Quien.[5] Jerome speaks of Tyre in his day, as the noble and beautiful city of Phenicia, and as having extensive commerce. It was probably in the early history of its Christianity that her merchandise and her hire were holiness to the Lord.[6] Its trade under the Muhammadan government was considerable. It was taken by the Crusaders, A.D. 1124, at which time it was a place of very considerable strength and importance; and it remained in the possession of the Christians, different parties having the predominance within it, till the year 1291, when it fell under the power of the Saracens, under whose government, and that of the Turks, it declined to the wretched state in which it is described as being, by the travellers who visited it in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

10th May.—After presenting our host with an Arabic Testament and a couple of other books in the same language,

[1] See, for a notice of the coinage, etc. Reland. Palest. and Taylor's Calmet, under Tyre.
[2] Matth. xv. 21; Mark vii. 24.
[3] Acts xxi. 3, 4.
[4] Euseb. Eccles. Hist. x. 4.
[5] Le Quien, Oriens. Christ., tom. ii. col. 803, 804.
[6] Is. xxiii. 18.

which he had solicited from us, we took our leave of him and of Tyre. On coming out at the gate, we examined the two fountains from which the town is at present supplied with water. All are agreed that they are not original springs, rising among the sands by which the island of Tyre is now united to the mainland, but that they are connected with some aqueduct running underneath the ground from the east.

From the fountains we struck across the sands of the peninsula to its termination on the south-east, for about three-quarters of a mile. Our course then lay along the shore to the south. There appeared much culture in the vale lying to our right. About two miles from the south-east corner of the peninsula, we were opposite the celebrated fountains called the Rás el-Ain, lying less than a quarter of a mile to the east. We diverged to them, following the course of one of the mill-streams which issue from them. Though they have been particularly and accurately described by many travellers, they are well worthy of inspection. Like many similar fountains in Syria, they are very copious; and they are doubtless fed by some underground currents, issuing from the hills to the east. Small artificial tanks have been built around them, not to act as reservoirs,—for the quantity of water which they afford is always great,—but for the purpose of raising the water to a higher level than the ground from which it issues. One of these called the Birket or pool, *par excellence*, is an irregular octagon of strong masonry, about fifty feet broad, and declared by a native whom we found swimming in it, to be twelve fathoms deep. The streamlet issuing from it for the propulsion of a mill in its neighbourhood, we estimated at two yards, breadth and depth being added together. There are the remains of an aqueduct leading from its east side to two of the adjoining cisterns. These are nearly square in their form; and their broad mar-

gins above are united together.[1] The fourth cistern is small, and has an aqueduct of its own.

In the neighbourhood of the fountains, and along the source of the streamlets proceeding from them, there are luxuriant bushes and plants, and some trees. The plain of Tyre to the northward is well watered, and very fertile. The description of this plain, and of the various fountains which it contains, which is given by Willermus, the Bishop of Tyre, is well worthy of notice.[2] Ancient Tyre is placed

[1] The description of the pools given by Maundrell is on the whole very correct:—"The former," he says, "is of an octagonal figure, twenty-two yards in diameter. It is elevated above the ground nine yards on the south side, and six on the north; and within is said to be of an unfathomable deepness, but ten yards of line confuted that opinion. Its wall is partly of no better a material than gravel and small pebbles, but consolidated with so strong and tenacious a cement, that it seemed to be all one entire vessel of rock. Upon the brink of it you have a walk round, eight feet broad. From which descending by one step on the south side, and by two on the north, you have another walk twenty feet broad. All this structure, though so broad at top, is yet made hollow, so that the water comes in underneath the walks, insomuch that I could not with a long rod reach the extremity of the cavity. The whole vessel contains a vast body of excellent water; and is so well supplied from its fountain, that though there issues from it a stream like a brook, driving four mills between this place and the sea, yet it is always brimfull. On the east side of this cistern was the ancient outlet of the water, by an aqueduct raised about six yards from the ground, and containing a channel one yard wide. But this is now stopped up, and dry; the Turks having broken an outlet on the other side, deriving thence a stream for grinding their corn.

"The aqueduct (now dry) is carried eastward about one hundred and twenty paces, and then approaches the other two cisterns, of which one is twelve, the other twenty yards square. These have each a little channel, by which they anciently rendered their waters into the aqueduct; and so the united streams of all the three cisterns were carried together to Tyre. You may trace out the aqueduct all along by the remaining fragments of it. It goes about one hour northward, and then turning to the west at a small mount where anciently stood a fort, but now a mosque, it proceeds over the isthmus into the city. As we passed by the aqueduct, we observed in several places on its sides, and under its arches, rugged heaps of matter resembling rocks. These were produced by the leakage of the water, which petrified as it distilled from above; and by the continual adherence of new matter, were grown to a large bulk."
—Maundrell's Travels, pp. 51, 52.

[2] "The aforesaid city was not only very strong, but also famous for its great fertility and richness of soil;

by Strabo at thirty stadia from the insular Tyre, in his course, which is to the south, and must, according to his

for though it is situated in the sea, and is wholly surrounded by the waves like an island, yet it has a large champaign without, and a plain adjoining it, of rich ground, and the best soil, affording many conveniences to its citizens; which plain, though it may seem but small in respect of other regions, makes up for its littleness by its great fertility, and compensates by its manifold fecundity, for boundless acres. Nor is it even confined by narrow bounds; for it extends to the south, in the direction of Ptolemais, for four or five miles, even to the place now commonly called the district of Scandarion; and in the northern part it goes as many miles toward Sarepta and Sidon; whilst, where it is narrowest it is two, and where broadest, three miles. In this same (plain) are many fountains from which issue clear and salubrious waters; which, by their agreeable temperature, afford refreshing coolness during the immoderate heats. Of these the best, and the most famous, is that which Solomon is said to have extolled in his Canticles, as '*A fountain of gardens, a well of living waters, which flow with a rush (impetu) from Lebanon.*' Although this has the origin of its currents in the lowest part of the whole region, and not in the hills, like the most of other fountains, but seems to gush out from the very bowels of the abyss, (abyssi cataractis); yet it has been raised aloft by care and manual labour, and plentifully waters the whole circumjacent district, and by its beneficent presence renders it fit for multifarious uses. It has been raised and brought to a height of ten cubits, by a wonderful construction of stone, resembling the hardness of iron; and that, which in its natural very low situation could not have been of much use, was raised by an artificial work, and renders itself useful to the whole district, and pours forth waters for the purpose of fructification. To those approaching it and receding from it, who behold the wonderful work, the exterior tower seems a mere eminence, and it does not present any appearance of a fountain; but when the ascent to it is made, it seems like a reservoir of water, which spreads itself over the surrounding district, through aqueducts of the same height, but of wonderful strength. There are ascents by steps of the same solid stone, prepared for those who wish to go to the top of it, by which horses also can, without difficulty, be taken to its summits. A very great advantage is procured by its means to the adjacent district; insomuch as it not only nourishes, by its great richness, orchards and gardens planted with fruit-bearing trees, but also canes, from which sugar (zachara) is made, so excellent and necessary for the use and health of men. From this place it is carried by merchants to all parts of the world. Also the most beautiful kind of glass is made from the sand which is collected in the same plain; and is thence carried to the remote provinces, and affords material fitted for the finest vessels, and most remarkable for their transparency. On this account, the name of the city has been widely extended to foreign countries, and procures gain, with a large return, to its agents." He goes on to say, that

notions, have been about the Rás el-Ain.[1] The site is scarcely one adapted for a city, though some detached suburb of Tyre may have been here, which Strabo may have supposed to have been the ancient town. Captain Ormsby marks traces of two temples at the Rás el-Ain. According to Dr. Robinson, they are remains of two factories for cloth, which the Páshá of Egypt had begun to erect.

Several villages lie to the east of the Rás el-Ain. One of these called Káná, about three or four miles distant, has been recognised as the KANAH of Asher, mentioned in Joshua xix. 28. It was visited by Dhanjibhái in his journey from Safed to Tyre, to be afterwards mentioned.

Leaving the Ain, we rode along the shore to a small building where we halted to take breakfast. Here we witnessed large flocks of goats watering, under the direction of their herdsmen. The keepers made them move forwards and backwards to the water in parties, simply by their cry and peculiar whistle. As it was intended that our march for the day should extend to Akká, we despatched our morning meal as quickly as we could. The principal observations which we made on our onward movement along the coast, and over the two remarkable headlands, over which we had to pass, are the following:

Near the commencement of the Rás el-Abyadh, or White Promontory, the Album Promontorium of Pliny[2] and others, we came to a number of small rivulets, where traces of ruins are visible. The White Promontory derives its name from the colour of its cretaceous slopes and strata, the rock here, as in other promontories jutting into the Mediter-

when assaulted by the Crusaders, Tyre was the strongest town, and best supplied, in the territories of the Prince of Egypt, between Laodicea of Syria and the Lybian desert.—Willer. Tyr. lib. xiii. (Gesta Dei per Francos, pp. 834, 835.)

[1] Lib. xvi. (p. 758, edit. Paris 1620.)

[2] Plin. Nat. Hist. v. 19.

ranean on the south, being the upper white chalk. Its ascent is by a winding artificial road,—much worn, and very rugged and steep, though with steps to facilitate the progress of the traveller,—ascribed to Alexander the Great, but probably, in its original form, more ancient than his day, and constructed to suit the land-transit of the Phenicians along the coast which was in their possession. This path frequently approaches the very edge of precipitous rocks, against which the waves are seen dashing below. An old fortlet, near the summit, lies to the right. This promontory may be cleared in twenty or twenty-five minutes, with baggage mules. About a quarter of an hour in advance of it, we came to some slight and obscure ruins at a fount called Skanderúná, in the name of which is recognised the "Mutatio Alexandroscene" of the Jerusalem pilgrim, and set down by him at twelve Roman miles from Tyre.[1]

In advance of the place last mentioned, we have remains, stretching along the shore for a considerable distance, of both a Roman road and aqueduct. Before arriving at the Rás en-Náḳúrah, we pass a khán, at which travellers sometimes halt to receive refreshment, called the Khán en-Náḳúrah. The Rás en-Náḳúrah, or "Hewn Promontory," resembles the White Promontory, with which, by many persons, it is confounded. We found a Turkish guard of a few soldiers stationed at another khán on its summits. We made a halt here for a few minutes, as we found a new scene presented

[1] Itin. Hierosolym. (Wesseling, p. 584.) This locality is particularly mentioned by Maundrell. "About one-third of an hour further, [from the White Promontory,] you pass by an heap of rubbish, close by the sea-side, being the ruins of the castle Scandalium, taking its name from its founder, whom the Turks call Scander. The ruin is one hundred and twenty paces square, having a dry ditch encompassing it; and from under it on the side next the sea, there issues out a fountain of very fair water. In an hour from hence you come to the sixth Caphar, called Nachera."—Maundrell's Travels, pp. 52, 53. See also Adrachomii Theatr. Ter. Sanct. p. 7.

to our view, embracing the nearly level coast of the Mediterranean to Akká and Haifá, bounded by the picturesque ridge of Carmel on the south. This ridge, it is well known, runs from the sea pretty much in the direction of south-east. Directly south of our position, it may be said, properly speaking, to terminate, for its continuation afterwards is much lower than the ridge to the north-west. Of this last-mentioned part of Carmel, the highest points are near its middle, being, in the divergence of our compass, about two degrees from one another. The coast road appears to lie much more inland than from Beirút to our present position. The village of el-Bassah lies at no great distance from us, S.E. by S.; the Burj-Jadín S.S.E. by E. and Akká S.S.W., according to our compass. Various other villages are in sight, particularly on the western slopes of the wooded hills, bounding the plain of Akká to the east. The Rás en-Nákúrah is supposed by some to be the Ladder of Tyre alluded to by Josephus, and which he speaks of as a hundred stadia from Ptolemais on the north.[1] The White Promontory agrees best with the distance here specified; but he had probably in view the range of mountains nearly parallel with Carmel, with which they are both connected.

Maundrell says, "Having travelled about an hour in the plain of Acra, we passed by an old town called *Zib*, situate on an ascent close by the sea-side. This may, probably, be the old ACHZIB, mentioned in Joshua xix. 29, and Jud. i. 31, called afterwards Ecdippa; for St. Jerome places Achzib nine miles distant from Ptolemais toward Tyre, to which account we found the situation of Zib exactly agreeing. This is one of the places out of which the Asherites could not expel the Canaanitish natives."[2] This said Zíb, which is now a village of no great magnitude, is, doubtless, the place it is here

[1] Joseph. Bell. Jud. lib. ii. cap. x. 2. [2] Maundrell's Travels, p. 53.

supposed to be. By Ptolemy it is called Ecdippa; and it is mentioned by him as intermediate between Tyre and Ptolemais.[1] It receives the same name from Pliny.[2] It stands close to a small brook, running into the sea from the east.

Nothing very particular attracted our attention between Ez-Zíb and 'Akká, except various villages, most of which are inserted in the map, and the extensive aqueduct, gardens, and country seats, near 'Akká itself. The whole spacious plain of 'Akká must have anciently been very fertile; but it is now much neglected except in the vicinity of the villages, and near the town.

'Akká is the most regularly and strongly fortified town in Syria, the key to which it has long been esteemed; and its appearance is formidable both at a distance, and in its immediate vicinity. It stands upon an angular promontory, jutting into the sea. The walls are in many places double, and those on the landside are protected by strong outworks, of mounds with facings of stone, which we observed were undergoing a process of repair or completion. We entered the town by the land port, which is at its south-east corner, passing the soldiery on watch, and various guard-houses and public buildings. We made inquiry for Mr. Finzi, the English consular agent, whom we found truly attentive and obliging, in providing everything for us that we needed, and giving us much of the information about the place which he has accumulated. He procured lodgings for us at the Franciscan convent.

12th May 1843.—Mr. Finzi, who is himself an Israelite, introduced us to the Jews of 'Akká, at the houses of two of their principal men. They form but a small community of thirty families, with from about 125 to 150 souls. They are, they told us, "merchants, oilmen, dressers of cotton,

[1] Ptol. Geog. lib. v.

[2] Plin. Nat. Hist. v. 19.

pedlars, pipe-head manufacturers, fishermen, and confectioners." They are all Sephardim, having one small synagogue, built about nineteen years ago, and a school attended by twenty boys. Three or four of them read Arabic, which all of them more or less speak. They are visited frequently by Jews from other places in the Holy Land. They know of no Jews from Yemen having ever been in the country, though they have seen Jews from all other places. They complain much of the Turkish government, and also of the usage which they receive from the so-called Christian part of the population. One of their number had been lately severely wounded in a squabble.

Mr. Finzi walked with us through the town. It is a large and flourishing place, with about eight or ten thousand inhabitants; but the predominance of the military in it is everywhere apparent. The whole community of the place seems more or less devoted to procuring for them provisions and service. In one of the streets near the public buildings, we came upon two European tombs, the inscription on one of which we thought well worthy of being copied. It ran thus:—"SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF LIEUT.-COLONEL WALKER, R.M., C.B., WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE, THE 8TH DECEMBER 1840, AGED 58 YEARS—WHO FELL A SACRIFICE TO HIS ZEAL FOR THE CAUSE IN WHICH HE WAS ENGAGED, AND IN WHOSE LIFE AND CHARACTER THE VIRTUES OF THE HERO, THE PATRIOT, AND THE CHRISTIAN, WERE SO EMINENTLY CONSPICUOUS, THAT IT MAY BE JUSTLY SAID, HE SERVED HIS MONARCH AND HIS COUNTRY WITH AN ARDOUR EXCEEDED ONLY BY HIS PIETY TOWARDS GOD." This monument, (will my readers believe it?) has been considerably defaced and injured by the soldiers of the Sultán, in whose cause he valiantly fought, though not to the loss of life in action, yet to the loss of life through over-exertion.

Most of the public buildings of the place are clustered together within the walls to the north-east of the town.

They consist of the castle, ḥarams, diwáns, hospitals, store-houses, and mosks. Of the last the most remarkable is the mosk of Aḥmad Páshá Jezzár. It stands in the middle of a raised quadrangle, and is represented in the cut prefixed to this Chapter. It was much injured by shot when the town was taken in 1840, and it had not been repaired at the time of our visit. The greatest curiosity connected with it is the tomb of the tyrannical and cruel Páshá, whose name it bears. This monument is but a plain erection for such a dignitary. We had some difficulty in inducing the sheikh of the mosk to allow us to copy the inscription, which we esteemed very curious, but the potent promise of a Bakshish did the needful for us. It is as follows:—

هو الحي لاموت
هذا قبر المرحوم له
المحتاج الغفران الواحدالغفار
الحاج احمد باشا الجزار
عليه رحمة العزيزالغفار
١٢١٩
سنة
في ١٧ م

This is thus to be interpreted:—"He is the living one the immortal.—This is the tomb of him who requires mercy, who is needful of the forgiveness of the one forgiver, the Hájí Aḥmad Báshá, the Butcher, (Jezzár.) On him be the mercy of the dear forgiver. A.[H.] 1219 (A.D. 1804) on the 17th M[uharram]."[1] This singular man gloried in the title of Butcher, both in life and in death. A singular anecdote

[1] Báshá is the Arabic recommendation of the Persian Páshá. The Arabs are prone to substitute the letter *B* for *P* when attempting even to speak English. In Egypt a dandy turmagán, alias dragoman, describing his Muslim devotions to his master, very gravely says, I *bray* five times every day.

connected with him and his Jewish minister of finance, I elsewhere relate.

From the public buildings of Akká, we went to look at the defences of the town on the land side. The walls are remarkably strong. Before the outer ditch there is the best glacis which we had ever seen. The mischief caused by the terrific explosion of the powder magazine, when the British, Austrian, and Turkish fleets were firing upon the town on the 3d November 1840, for the expulsion of the Egyptian troops, is being fast repaired, by a great many workmen acting under the direction of Turkish officers. By the explosion now referred to, no fewer than two thousand soldiers of the army of Muḥammad Alí were hurried into eternity, without a moment's warning."[1] The remnant of the Egyptian troops evacuated the town during the succeeding night.

When we were standing on the ramparts, an Arab who was with us pointed to a mound opposite to us, exclaiming at the same time, *Kardillan! Kardillan!* We were for some time at a loss to know what he meant; but on his telling us that Kardillan was our "own man," we came to the conclusion that he had in his mental eye, however obscurely,

> "Richard, that robbed the lion of his heart,
> And fought the holy wars in Palestine;"

whose valour and cruelty were so conspicuous when Akká was retaken by the Christians, A.D. 1191. This was the only allusion to the Crusades which we heard made by a native of the East during our long journey. The accounts of them by the Musalmán historians and biographers, interesting though they be, are now but little read. Their evil effects, in a moral point of view, however, continue to be felt to this day. The exasperation and embitterment which they caused in the whole Muslim world are incalculably great, and injurious to Christianity.

[1] For particulars, see Nautical Magazine, Jan. 1841.

We did not visit the site of the church of St. Jean d'Acre, which formerly belonged to the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, and the name of which has already been applied to the city, though its ruins were pointed out to us. It is perhaps not improbable that the Turks, in their excavations about the town, may have come upon ruins of the highest antiquity; but they have too little of the antiquarian about them to take cognizance of what is most interesting to the folks of the West. The place is mentioned by the name of ACCHO, so similar to that which it now bears, in Judges i. 31, in which it is said, "Neither did Asher drive out the inhabitants of *Accho*, nor the inhabitants of Zidon, nor of Ahlab, nor of Achzib, nor of Helbah, nor of Aphik, nor of Rehob," doubtless the principal towns on the Phenician coast. It is sometimes called Ἄκη and Ace by the Greek and Roman writers; and sometimes Ptolemais, from the first Ptolemy of Egypt, by whom it was rebuilt and readorned. Under the name of Ptolemais, it is mentioned in the Apocrypha, New Testament, and Josephus.[1] For interesting historical notices of the place, I beg to refer my readers to Reland's Palestina and Kitto's Biblical Encyclopædia.

When we had satisfied, or sickened, ourselves with the view of the grandeur of Akká in a military point of view, we set out on a journey for the day, which we had resolved should extend merely to Haifá, on the other side of the bay, at the base of Mount Carmel, about eight English miles distant, following the encroachment of the shore.

In less than half-a-mile after leaving the town, we came to the mouth of the rivulet Namáaní, commonly supposed to be the *Belus Amnis* of Pliny, on the banks of which glass was first found.[2] The depth of water running over the sands

[1] 1 Mac. v. 15; Acts xxi. 7; Joseph. Antiq. Jud. xiii. 12, 2, etc.

[2] Pliny says, "Pars est Syriae, quae Phœnice vocatur, finitima Judææ, intra montis Carmeli radices paludem habens, quæ vocatur Cendevia. Ex

of the beach, raised by the heavy waves of the wintry season, was only three or four yards. We learned nothing of the source or course of this stream, except from our map.

We had a fine sandy beach as we proceeded. Inland, running in a southerly direction, at the distance of a mile or two, a rocky ridge of no great height is seen. It runs down to the base of Carmel, to the place where the Kishon breaks through from the great plain of Esdraelon, which, from what we saw of it when passing through it, we ventured to suppose, has been at one time a lake, bounded by the hills of Samaria and Galilee, till it was drained by this Kishon.

When we passed the Kishon at its entrance into the sea, we found it a rapid stream, twelve yards wide and two feet deep. Its size and volume differ of course with the season of the year. We have only to look to the general contour of the hills and valley of which it forms the drainage, and realize even the effects of a storm of thunder and rain, to understand the reference made to it in the song of Deborah and Barak :—

> "The kings came and fought;
> Then fought the kings of Taanach by the waters of Megiddo;
> They took no gain of money.
> They fought from heaven;
> The stars in their courses fought against Sisera.
> The river of Kishon swept them away,
> That ancient river the river Kishon."[1]

The town of Haifá is in form an imperfect oblong, having

ea creditur nasci Belus amnis quinque M. p. spatio in mare perfluens juxta Ptolemaidem coloniam. Lentus hic currit, insalubri potu, sed ceremoniis sacer, limosus, vado profundus. Non nisi refuso mari harenas fatetur, fluctibus enim volutatæ nitescunt, detritis sordibus. Nunc et a marino creduntur astringi morsu, non prius utiles. Quingenterum est passuum non amplius litoris spatium idque tantum multa per secula gignendo fuit vitro. Fama est, appulsa nave mercatorum nitri, cum sparsi per litus epulas pararent, nec esse cortinis attollendis lapidum occasio, glebas nitri e nave subdidisse. Quibus accensis permista harena litoris, transfluentes nobilis liquoris fluxisse rivos, et hanc fuisse originem vitri." —Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xxxvi. cap. 26.

[1] Jud. v. 19-21.

a curvature to the south. It is surrounded by a wall, on the land side, with towers, but of no great strength. It has two gates, one on its western, and the other on its eastern side. We entered it by the former, ordering our tents to be pitched on the beach near the latter. As soon as practicable we went to visit the Jews of the place, who had been expecting our arrival; and we met with about sixteen adults, and some children, at the synagogue. They are altogether but a small body, consisting only of fifteen houses, with a population of from forty to fifty souls. They are all Sephardim, principally from the north of Africa. Rabbi Maimon ben Chamo, from Morocco, is their ruler, reader, and butcher. They have a school of ten boys, taught by Jacob ben Simeon, which is greatly in want of books. They all understand Hebrew, and one of them reads Arabic. The population of Haifa, they told us, consists of about 500 Muslims. The Christians are more numerous, having about 200 houses. There are English, French, Russian, and Austrian consular agents resident at the place, because, in winter particularly, the ships which enter the bay of Akka find the safest anchorage outside the town.

Mr. Graham and I tried to get these Jews engaged in religious conversation; but they showed great backwardness to meet our views in this respect, more so, indeed, than any Jews with whom we had elsewhere met in any part of the world. The moment that we took the name of the Messiah into our lips, four or five of them made their escape from our company. And yet we were approaching the subject of His great work in the manner the most gentle, as far as their views and prejudices were concerned.

Trav.—"Where do the Jews expect that the Messiah should appear?"

Jews.—"At Tiberias, and from thence he will go to Safed to reign, before he proceeds to Jerusalem."

Trav.—"On what account do you expect that the Messiah will first reveal himself at Tiberias?"

Jews.—"That place was the sanctuary of the Jews after the destruction of Jerusalem."

Trav.—"But does not the prophet Micah say, 'But thou, Bethlehem-Ephratah, though thou be little among the thousands of Judah, yet out of thee shall he come forth unto me that is to be ruler in Israel, whose goings forth have been from of old from everlasting?'"[1]

Jews.—"What is this?"

Other Jews.—"Bethlehem-Ephratah was the city of David. The prophet Micah intimates that the Messiah is to be descended of King David."

Trav.—"You are making too great a limitation of the passage. It makes no mention of David. He had already lived and reigned before the prophet wrote. The contrast in the eye of the prophet, is between the littleness of Bethlehem and the greatness of the ruler who was still to come out of it, even of that Divine personage, whose goings forth are not merely from David, but 'from of old, from everlasting.' The whole Christian world believe that they have indisputable historical evidence, that the Messiah has already appeared at Bethlehem."

They listened to us with apparent uneasiness, when we further prosecuted this interesting theme. I have often noticed, that the more ignorant the Jews are, the more are they indisposed, generally speaking, to have their unbelief opposed.

None of these Jews seemed to have any acquaintance with the ancient history of Haifa. They were not even acquainted with Rabbi Benjamin's account of the place. This writer erroneously supposes it to be the Gittah-hepher of Joshua

[1] Micah v. 2.

xiv. 13. It is referred to in the Talmud under the name of חיפא, in a passage in which it is said, that "the purple fish is caught from the Tyrian ladder to Ḥaifá."[1] The place is not mentioned by Strabo, Pliny, Ptolemy, the author of the Itinerary of Antoninus Augustus, or the Jerusalem pilgrim. By Eusebius and Jerome, it is identified with the town of "Sycominum," mentioned by most of the writers now named.[2] I think it more probably occupies the site of the "Mutatio Calamon," given in the Jerusalem Itinerary as twelve Roman miles from Ptolemais, while the "Mansio Sicamenos" of the same work was three miles farther on.[3] Ruins have been discovered along the shore about two Roman miles to the west of Ḥaifá, which, in a plan of the Bay of Acre, published in the Nautical Magazine, have been marked as those of "Porphyrion." These ruins may be those of Sycaminos. Porphyrion lay between Beirút and Sidon.[4]

After leaving the Jews, we took a walk along the shore to the west of the town, where we observed several fishermen at work with the hand-net. They used no boats, but wading a few yards from the shore, they threw their instrument from its rolls and folds exactly as do the fishermen of India. In a few minutes they caught a sufficient supply for our dinner, which we had to-day at an earlier hour than usual, on account of the shortness of our march.

After dinner we left our tents for the ascent of Mount Carmel, by a line directly south of Ḥaifá. We passed through some very fertile fields and olive groves lying above the

[1] Tract. Sabbath. 26 a. Asher's Benjamin of Tudela, vol. ii. p. 78.

[2] Hieron. de Situ. et Nom. Loc. sub Japhet, (Jafthie.)

[3] Wesseling, p. 584.

[4] See above, p. 211. William of Tyre, and Jacob de Vitriacus are, probably, the authors of the mistake of placing Porphyrion near *Haifá*. —See Gesta Dei per Francos, pp. 770, 1067.

The Antoninian Itinerary makes Sycamina twenty-four miles from Ptolemais.

town. As we advanced, we found a lateral gash in the hill, running in the direction of the promontory, which is of some magnitude. It is here that the best cultivated fields occur. Long before we got to the summits of the mount, we were in a thick jungle of brushwood, principally of prickly oak, mountain juniper, thorns, and grasses, intermixed with many beautiful odoriferous plants and flowers, growing most luxuriantly,[1] and well calculated to remind us of the ancient "excellency of Carmel."[2] This jungle extends over the higher flanks and the summits of the hill, as far as we could see, and forms good lair for the leopards, which are here occasionally seen. The Hebrew word Carmel means a "garden," and the incidental allusions to the mount in Scripture, lead us to believe, that probably the whole hill was formerly laid out in the finest orchards, groves, and pastures. As the season advances, much of the verdure of the hill passes away; and comparing it throughout the year with what it once was, it may be said of it, that it is now stripped of its glory, even more than when exposed to the scorching blast of Sennacherib the "plunderer:"—

> "The land mourneth, it languisheth,
> Lebanon is ashamed, it is hewn down;
> Sharon is like a wilderness,
> And Bashan and Carmel shake off [their leaves.]"[3]

The highest point of Carmel, we were of opinion, is fully 1200 feet above the level of the sea. This is the estimate of Schubert.[4] The view from it is exceedingly grand and beautiful, embracing the coasts of the Mediterranean between the White Promontory and Joppa, and inland the mountainous ranges of the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, and the hills of Galilee, Samaria, Bashan, and Judah. With Carmel itself we have many interesting and sacred associa-

[1] For a list of plants on the range of Carmel, see Schubert's Reise in das Morgenland, dritter band, p. 212.

[2] Isaiah xxxv. 2. [3] Isaiah xxxiii. 9.

[4] Schubert, Reise in das Morgenland, ib.

tions, particularly connected with Elijah and Elisha. The Scripture portion most suitable for this mount is 1 Kings xviii.

In our descent I made an awkward leap from a rock about five or six feet high, and seriously injured one of my knees by my fall. Mr. Graham and Dhanjibhái had great difficulty in getting me conveyed to our tents.

13th May.—Finding myself almost unable to sit on horseback to-day, we contented ourselves with moving up from Haifá to the convent of Mount Carmel. One of the fratres, who professed to have some knowledge of surgery, kindly dressed my knee. He poured, however, a most tormenting tincture into the excoriated part, which greatly impeded my movements for several days. When I put some questions to him about the present buildings of the monastery, he said that I should find an answer to them all in a paper, which he meant to present to me. The document, when I received it, I found entitled, "Temple et Hospice du Mont-Carmel," and bearing the signature of M. Alexandre Dumas of Paris. The zeal of Jean-Baptiste, of which it speaks, may teach a lesson to those who labour in a better cause than that of establishing or maintaining a monastic institution.[1]

[1] As the document of M. Dumas is one of a somewhat curious character, I here give a translation of the greater portion of it:—

"In 1819, brother John-Baptist, who lived at Rome, received a commission to set off to the Holy Land, to see, in his capacity as an architect, what means could be employed to rebuild the convent of Carmel. . . .

"Since that time [of Elijah] Carmel has remained in the possession of the faithful: Elijah left to Elisha not only his mantle, but also his grotto; to Elisha succeeded the sons of the prophets, who are the ancestors of Saint John. After the death of Christ, the monks who inhabited it passed from the written law to the law of grace. Three hundred years after, St. Basil and his successors gave to these pious monks particular rules. At the time of the Crusades, the monks abandoned the Greek ritual for the Roman; and from St. Louis to Bonaparte, the convent built upon the same spot of ground where the prophet set up his altar, was open to travellers of every religion and of every country. . . . . .

"The holy mountain had been consecrated to the worship of the Lord

Sabbath, 14th May.—We confined ourselves mostly to the convent, where we were permitted to attend to our own

during two thousand six hundred years, when Bonaparte came to besiege Saint-Jean-d'Acre. Then Carmel opened, as usual, her gates, not only to pilgrims and to travellers, but to the dying and the wounded. During intervals of eight hundred years, it had been visited by Titus, Louis IX., and Napoleon.

"These three reactions of the West upon the East were fatal to it; after the taking of Jerusalem by Titus, the Roman soldiers laid it waste; after the abandonment of the Holy Land by the Christians, the Saracens murdered the inhabitants; finally, after the defeat of Bonaparte before Saint-Jean-d'Acre, the Turks took possession of it, massacred the wounded French, dispersed the monks, broke doors and windows, and left the holy asylum uninhabitable.

"There remained, then, nothing of the convent but some broken walls, and of the community only a single brother, who had retired to Kaifa [*Haifa,*] when brother John-Baptist received from his general the order to go to Carmel, and to see in what state the infidels had put the holy lodging-house of God, and what were the means necessary for rebuilding it.

"The time was ill chosen. Abdallah-Pacha commanded for the Porte, and the minister of the Sultan bore a profound hatred to Christians; that hatred was still more increased after the revolt of the Greeks. Abdallah wrote to the sublime emperor that the convent of Carmel might serve as a fortress to his enemies, and asked permission to destroy it: it was easily granted. Abdallah had the monastery undermined, and the envoy of Rome saw the final destruction of the edifice which he had come to rebuild. . . . . That happened in 1821. There was nothing more could be done for Carmel, so brother John-Baptist returned to Rome.

"Nevertheless, he had not given up his plans. In 1826 he set off to Constantinople, and thanks to the credit of France, and to the recommendation of the ambassador, upon the entreaties of M. Alix. Desgranges, interpreter to the embassy, who gave proof at that time of great ability, he obtained from Mahomed a firman, which authorized the rebuilding of the monastery. He then went again to Kaifa, and found the last monk dead. Then he ascended alone the holy mountain, seated himself on the remains of a Byzantine column, and there, with his pencil in his hand, the chosen architect for rebuilding the Lord's house, he made the plan of a new convent, more magnificent than any of those which had ever existed. Then after the plan came the estimate. The estimate amounted to 350,000 francs. After the estimate was finished, this wonderful architect, who built thus in idea, without harassing himself about the execution of it, went to the first house he saw to ask for a morsel of bread for his evening repast.

"The next day he began to think about finding the 350,000 francs necessary for the accomplishment of his holy work.

"The first thing he thought of was to produce an income for the community, which had not existed before; he had noticed at five hours' distance from Carmel, and three from Nazareth, three mills, deserted either

devotional exercises without disturbance. For a few minutes we looked into the church, to observe what the monks were

in consequence of war, or because the water which moved them had been turned off. He searched so well, that at the distance of a mile he found a spring, which, by means of an aqueduct, he could make useful for his plans. Having made the discovery, and being certain that he could put the mills in motion again, he set himself to obtain them. They belonged to a family of Druzes. . . . John-Baptist offered to rent from them this ground which they did not wish to sell. The chief agreed to that last proposal; the revenue from the mills was to be divided into three parts, one-third for the proprietor, and the two other thirds for the occupiers.

"For the occupiers were to be two; one to employ his industry, and that was to be brother John-Baptist; but it was required, that the other should produce the money necessary for the expense of repairing the mills, and of making the aqueduct. Brother John-Baptist, found among his friends a Turk whom he had known since the time of his first journey, he asked from him 9000 francs for his laborious undertaking; the Turk conducted him to his treasury,—for the Turks, who have neither rents nor industry, have to this day, as in the *Thousand and one Nights*, tons of gold and silver. (!) John-Baptist took from it the sum he required; he appropriated to the repayment of this sum the third of the profits of the mill, and thanks to the first deposit made by a Musulman, the architect could lay the foundation of his great undertaking; there was no question about interest although it would require at least twelve years before his share of the rent would cover the advance just made to him by the follower of the prophet.

"Very soon brother John-Baptist set out on his first excursion, leaving the care of the execution of his aqueduct and of the repairs of his mills, to an intelligent neophyte. Before leaving he wrote to those who wished to join themselves to the superior of the Eastern Carmelites, that they had only to come, and that in a short time a monastery would be built for their reception; then he travelled through the coasts of Asia Minor, the islands of the Archipelago, and the streets of Constantinople, everywhere asking charity in the name of the Lord; and after six months he returned, bringing with him the sum of 20,000 francs, enough to defray the first expenses of his building. In short, the day of the *Fête Dieu*, exactly seven years to an hour, after Abdallah-Pacha had blown up the walls of the old convent, he laid the first stone of the new one.

"But by the end of the year that first sum was spent; then brother John-Baptist set out again for Greece and Italy; he returned a second time the bearer of a considerable sum, which brought new life to the monument, which continued to grow, and which was now sufficiently finished to afford shelter. Lamartine, Taylor, Champmartin, and Dauzatz, were lodged there on their journeys to Palestine.

"It was in this way that brother John-Baptist, without growing tired, though sixty years of age, carried on his work; he set out and returned to Carmel eleven times. During the six years occupied in these excursions, he visited an entire

about. One of them showed us a work, entitled "Officia Propria Sanctorum et Aliarum Festivitatum Ordinis Carmelitarum," containing various lections and precations, which they are in the habit of using; and particularly directed our attention, as Britons, to an account given under the sixteenth of May, of a certain friar, "Simon Stokius Cantiae in Anglia nobilissimis parentibus ortus," whom they held to be a very paragon of an ascetic.[1]

I was unable to-day to leave the convent; but Mr. Graham took a short walk in the neighbourhood, not in search of the loca sancta of the monks, but with a view to catch a glimpse

hemisphere; he went to Jerusalem, to Damascus, to Beyrout, to Tyre, to Sidon, to Jaffa, to Rosetta, to Alexandria, to Cairo, to Rama, to Tripoli in Syria, to Mount Lebanon, to Smyrna, to Malta, to Athens, to Constantinople, to Tunis, to Tripoli of Africa, to Syracuse, to Girgenti, to Palermo, to Tarentum, to Algiers, to Tunis, to Gibraltar; he even went to Morocco. He went through the whole of Italy, all Corsica, all Sardinia, all Spain, part of England, and finally France, who, not wishing to be less pious than the rest of the world, contributed her share to this humane work, which assists or accomplishes the work of redemption. At this time brother John-Baptist has collected 230,000 francs. And now, when you see this holy man pass, bow down, for there dwells in him, no doubt, a faithful heart.

"At last the monastery of Mount Carmel is finished; 500,000 francs have been spent on this great and useful building. It is requisite, however, to add to it another building; to enclose it by a wall to protect the pious inhabitants, and the travellers who lodge in it, from the attacks of wild beasts."

[1] A brief account of this object of monkish admiration, as contained in the work which they put into our hands, is the following:—"Simon Stokius Cántiæ in Anglia nobilissimis parentibus ortus, cum puer liberalioribus disciplinis studeret, in sortem Domini electus est. Nam duodecimum annum agens, relictis parentibus, et spretis rebus familiaribus ac mundi pompis, in solitudinem secessit, ubi in concavæ quercus trunco delitescens, ab omni hominum commercio separâtus, tanto copiosius mentem pavit cælestibus contemplatiônis deliciis, quanto parcius corpus fovit terrenis alimentis: eò libentius habuit cum sanctis communionem, quo rarius cum hominibus colloquium. Jejuniis adeo deditus erat, ut aquam frigidam tantummodo biberet, herbis, radicibus, et pomis silvestribus vescerêtur. Quem vitæ rigorem leniêbat non nunquam Deus canum ministerio, qui statis diêbus ad Simonem accurrentes, panem ei unde jejuna membra resocillaret, afferebant. Sedebat solitarius in arbore: orabat assiduus profunda fundens suspiria, dormiebat rarissime et carnem vepribus constructam, spinarum verberibus subjiciebat spiritum."

of the mount so hallowed in the sacred records. He did, I believe, however, find his way to the monkish "grotto and garden of Elias." Dr. Pococke says, that the monks give the denomination to the latter place which it bears, "because they find many stones there, resembling pears, olives, and, as they imagine, water melons."[1] The monks say that these "petrified fruits," as they call them, are the consequence of a curse of the prophet, in punishment of the proprietors of the garden, who refused to allow him and his disciples to partake of their fruit. These stones are what are called by others lapides Judaici. I picked up considerable numbers of them in the cretaceous strata both of the Holy Land and the desert. They consist merely of fossile echini, and their different detached spines and processes.

15th May.—We took a few bearings from the convent, which may be of use in the revision of the map of the Holy Land.[2] We also framed a table of the different places lying to the south of Ptolemais, and extending to Joppa, which are mentioned in the olden geographical works, for use in our journey to the latter place. This I may here insert:—

PTOLEMÆI GEOGRAPHIA, LIB. V.	ANTONIN. AUG. ITIN.	ITINERARIUM HIEROSOLYM.
Ptolemais, 66 50. 33 0.	Ptolemaidam.	Civitas Ptolemaida.
		Mutatio Calamon, M. xii.
Sycaminos, 65 50. 32 56.	Sycamina, M.P. xxiv.	Mansio Sicamenos, M. iii.
Carmelus Mons, 66 36. 32 56.		Ibi est Mons Carmelus, etc.
		Mutatio certa, M. viii.
Dora, 66 30. 32 40.		*Fines Syriæ et Pal.*
Chersei Flu. Ostia, 66 20. 32 36.		
Cæsarea Stratonis, 66 15. 32 30.	Cæsarea, M. P. XX.[3]	Civitas Cæsarea Palestina, id est Judæa, M. viii.
Apollonia, 66. 32 15.		Fit a Tyro Cæsaream Palestinam, M. 73.[4]
Joppe, 65 40. 32 6.		

After breakfast we started from the convent, and had a

[1] Pococke's Description of the East, book i. chap. 15.

[2] The White Promontory, N.N.E. ¼ E. 'Akká, N.E. *Haifá*, E.S.E. 'Athlít, N.N.E. ½ E.

[3] Wesseling, p. 150.

[4] Wesseling, p. 584.

tremendous march of fourteen hours and a half, extending as far as the village of Mukhâlid.

Our road lay along the shore, occasionally taking us inland, however, to avoid the heavy sands, which are frequently blown up in mounds, partially covered with bushes. The range of Carmel is highest in its northern parts; and it gradually declined to the east of us as we proceeded south. The valley intervening is from about half a mile to a mile broad, and is mostly under cultivation. A ledge of rocks occurred between the valley and the sea before we reached the Castellum Peregrinorum, or Athlît. A path is cut through this ledge, which we followed to the ruins. In those of them with which we first came in contact, several Arab families were burrowed. They gave us a cordial welcome, expecting, no doubt, that we should give them a "consideration," while we explored the adjoining antiquities. The Castellum, properly so-called, occupies a small promontory, a little bay being on its southern side. The ruins of a town and fort are still conspicuous. They are of great strength and extent, many walls, arches, and vaults, being still standing, and granite pillars being here and there strown about. The remains of a church on the western side are well worthy of observation. We had the pleasure of finding engaged in the examination of them, Mr. Consul Young from Jerusalem, returning from his convoy of the Prussian prince, Albert, who, after visiting the Holy City, had sailed up the coast in an English steamer from Yâfâ to Akkâ, from which he had proceeded to visit Nazareth and Tiberias. He showed us a Roman coin which he had just picked up from one of the heaps before us. We were agreed that the style of the architecture indicates a Christian origin of the different erections. They are not mentioned in the ancient itineraries, but they are frequently alluded to in the times of the Crusades, and in later ages.

The low ridge of rocks running nearly parallel to the sea, continues for some time after the traveller leaves the Castellum Peregrinorum. There is a good deal of drift-sand lodged about it, in connexion with which much jungle occurs. From the rock itself excavations for building have at various places been made on an extensive scale. Mr. Buckingham thinks that these excavations may have been the dwelling-places of the Canaanites, previous to their expulsion by the Israelites;[1] but we observed nothing connected with them which seemed favourable to this opinion. The rock is the same as that used at Jerusalem and Baalbek for architectural purposes; and stones may have been taken from it to a great distance, to those towns especially where the prevailing rock is the friable upper chalk.[2]

Continuing our journey to the south, we found the villages of Ṣarafand, Kafr 'An, and Hadharah, occupying their respective sites, much as they are represented in the map. A considerable number of more villages than have been there entered, however, are seen on the heights inland. Ṭanṭurah is close to the sea. It has been recognised by many travellers as the ancient DORA, דאר or דור, of Scripture;[3] the "Dora upon the sea" of the book of Maccabees;[4] and the Dora of Josephus.[5] Its situation seems to agree pretty well with the Dor, the remarkable ruins of which are placed by Jerome nine miles from Cæsarea on the way to Ptolemais.[6] In the Peutingerian tablet, its name is given as Thora, of which Ṭanṭurah may be a corruption. Only a few wretched houses are to be found at Ṭanṭurah, situated near a small

[1] Buckingham's Travels in Palestine, p. 123.

[2] We were told at the Castellum, that material is even now being carried from it to 'Akká, to repair the fortifications there.

[3] Josh. xvii. 11; 1 Kings iv. 11; Josh. xi. 2; xii. 23; Judg. i. 27; 1 Chron. vii. 29.

[4] 1 Mac. xv. 11.

[5] Joseph. Antiq. v. 1. 22; viii. 2. 3; xiii. 12; xiv. 10, &c.

[6] Hieron. Onomast. sub. voc. Dor, et in Epitaphia Paulæ.

bay. There are considerable masses of ruins at the place. From the references made to Dora in Scripture, it seems to have been early a place of considerable importance. It was one of the towns which Manasseh had in Issachar, but the inhabitants of which that tribe could not originally drive out. Its king was smitten by Joshua. It was the residence of Ben-Abinidab, the son-in-law of Solomon, and one of his twelve commissariate officers, and was probably at this time one of the ports of the Israelitish kingdom.[1]

The jungle which I have already noticed continues along the shore south of Ṭanṭurah to Ḳaisáríyah, or CÆSAREA of Palestine. Two small streams occur, the Nahr Belká and the Nahr Zerká. The latter is the larger of the two, and, as commonly supposed, is probably the Chersei Flumen of Ptolemy.[2] Dr. Pococke supposes that it may be the crocodile river of Pliny, near a town of the same name of Strabo.[3]

On our arrival at the site of Cæsarea, we made a halt for about half-an-hour. The ruins are very extensive lying along the shore to the north, where there are some remains of aqueducts. The wall of a fort, surrounded by a moat, still remains in tolerably good order. This Irby and Mangles suppose to be of Saracenic architecture.[4] The ruins within it consist of foundations, arches, pillars, and great quantities of building material; but there is nothing distinctive about them. Various columns and masses of stone are seen lying in the sea close to the shore. The only considerable pile of building standing is at the southern part of the fort, where travellers enter the gate to get a supply of water for themselves and cattle. At this place we observed only a solitary human being; and there are now not more than one

[1] 1 Kings iv. 11.
[2] See above, p. 247.
[3] Plin. Nat. Hist. v. 17; Strab. Geog. xv. 758; Pococke, i. 15.
[4] Irby and Mangles's Travels in Egypt, Nubia, Syria, and Asia Minor, p. 189.

or two familes of herdsmen occasionally to be found at the Roman capital of Judea. Were either the Grecian Strato, who first marked the place by his tower, or Herod the Great, who built the city in a style of the greatest magnificence, and formed the breakwater necessary for constituting it a port, to raise his head, he would be astonished at the doings of the ruthless hand of man, and the still more potent hand of time, the great Destroyer.

Josephus gives us ample and particular details of the founding of the city by Herod the Great, and notices many curious circumstances connected with its dedication to Cæsar Augustus, and its early history.[1] It is mentioned in the New Testament in connexion with circumstances and events of great interest. Philip preached in all the cities intermediate between Ashdod and Cæsarea.[2] The apostle Paul was brought down to it from Jerusalem on his way to Tarsus, when the brethren were inducing him to escape from the violence of the Grecians who had been irritated by his reasonings.[3] It was the residence of Cornelius the centurion, the first Gentile convert.[4] It witnessed the judgment of God inflicted on Herod Agrippa, when,—probably in the magnificent amphitheatre erected by his father,—he was smitten by the angel of God, when glittering in the gorgeous display of his royal apparel, and rejoicing in the idolatrous plaudits of the maddened multitude.[5] Paul concluded at it his voyage from Ephesus, and there saluted the church.[6] This apostle made it a landing-place on a similar occasion, when he took up his abode for a time with Philip the Evangelist.[7] He was sent to it by Claudius Lysias to appear before Felix, in whose presence he uttered the noble speech

[1] Joseph. Antiq. xv. 9, 6, etc., (see Index.)
[2] Acts viii. 40.
[3] Acts ix. 30.
[4] Acts x. 1, etc.; xi. 11.
[5] Acts xii. 19-23.
[6] Acts xviii. 22.
[7] Acts xxi. 8, 16.

which made that governor tremble.[1] Here he was imprisoned for two long years, till he was called forth to plead his cause before Festus and Agrippa.[2] From Cæsarea he sailed to imperial Rome, to finish, at that centre of influence and of power, his wondrous testimony to the cause of Christ.[3] A Christian Council was held at Cæsarea, A.D. 198.[4] Eusebius, the celebrated historian of the Church, was one of its bishops. From its connexion with the Roman government, it early claimed ecclesiastical superiority over Jerusalem, where the patriarchate, however, was afterwards established.[5] The Samaritans attempted to drive the Christians from it in the year 484. A mob of the Jews and Samaritans resident at it took place in the year 548. Another sedition of the Samaritans took place in the second year of Justinian, in consequence of some of their number having been converted to Christianity.[6] When the Khalífs, with the Saracens, invaded Syria in the middle of the seventh century, it was still, under the eastern Roman empire, the capital of Palestine, and Constantine, the son of Heraclius, was stationed there with forty thousand men. After doing his best in the field at several places on the coast,—to use the words of Gibbon,—"the defenceless citizens solicited their pardon with an offering of 200,000 pieces of gold;" and "Syria bowed under the sceptre of the Caliphs seven hundred years after Pompey had despoiled the last of the Macedonian kings."[7] Cæsarea is often mentioned by the historians of the Crusades.[8] Rabbi Benjamin, who erroneously identifies it with Gath of the Philistines, speaks of it as "a city very elegant and beautiful, situated on the seashore." He found resident in

[1] Acts xxiii. 24; xxiv.
[2] Acts xxv. 26.
[3] Acts xxvii. 1.
[4] Euseb. Ecclesiast. Hist. lib. v. cap. 23, etc.
[5] Euseb. Eccles. Hist. lib. v. cap. 22, et seq.
[6] Reland. Palest., p. 673.
[7] Gibbon's Decline and Fall, chap. li.
[8] Gesta Dei per Francos, p. 272, 310, 396, 404, 742, 908, 1067, etc.

it ten Jews and two hundred Cutheans or Samaritans.[1] Edrisi describes it as a very large town, surrounded by a suburb, and defended by a strong citadel.[2] It is mentioned by Abulfeda as overthrown.[3] The history of its decline and total ruin may be tolerably well collected from the incidental notices of succeeding travellers.

Continuing our march south of Cesarea, we passed the Nahr Akhdhar, and the Nahr Abu Zabúrah, running into the sea from the east. We were weary and worn when we arrived at the village of Mukhálid. It stands on a rising ground; and we found none of its inhabitants moving about but the dogs. The barking of some of them at length roused one or two of the people. They recommended us to pitch our tents at the remains of a considerable erection near a well, to the east of the village, which we were most happy to do, to obtain some rest after our long and most fatiguing, and to me,—owing to the injury which I had received at Carmel,—painful march.

16th May.—On getting up this morning, we had a fine view of the extensive plain of Sharon between the sea and the range of hills now much removed to the east. At present it affords abundance of excellent pasture, though it is much choked with thorns and thistles. Groves of oak are here and there apparent. Mr. Buckingham, whose travels in these parts we had found more accurate, on the whole, than they are commonly reputed to be, considers Mukhálid to be the site of ANTIPATRIS. Surely, if he had read the article on Antipatris in Reland, he would never have hazarded that opinion. Prokesch, in his journey from Ramlah to Nazareth, notices a village in the plain north of the Aujah, called Kafr Sábá,[4] and the coincidence of this name with

[1] Asher's Benjamin of Tudela, p. 65.
[2] Edrisi, par Jaubert, p. 348.
[3] Abulfed. Tab. Syr. p. 80.
[4] Reise in Heilige Land, 1829, p. 125, etc.

that of *Καφαρσαβα* or *Χαβαρζαβα*, according to Josephus the original name of the place where Antipatris was built,[1] has been noticed by Von Raumer.[2] Though the site of this village of Kafr Sábá has not yet been definitely fixed, no doubt is now entertained that it is the veritable Antipatris, several times mentioned by Josephus, and once in the New Testament.[3] I am inclined to think that Kafr Sábá must stand in some of the Wádís near the source of the Nahr Arsúf, as Josephus speaks of it as being well-watered and fertile, with groves of large trees and a stream flowing around it. The Crusaders[4] thought that they had found it at Arsúf, now a ruined village, which we passed on our right, and which is now generally admitted to be near the site of Apollonia.[5]

Our road from Mukhálid was considerably inland. The prevailing rock of the great plain of Sharon we noticed to be tertiary sandstone; and of course it must have been recovered from the ocean, long after the cretaceous hills by which it is bounded on the east. The soil, generally speaking, is light and loose; but, nevertheless, it has a considerable covering of vegetable mould. The mounds running parallel to the sea have evidently been formed by drift-sand. The plain, in general, I should think admirably adapted for crops of grain. We noticed in it large plots of ground, here and there, prepared for the rearing of melons and cucumbers. The wood of the plain, which is abundant, is deciduous oak. On our leaving Mukhálid, we observed it in the form of the tree; but before we had got half-way to Yáfá, it had degenerated to the bush. East of Arsúf, we came to several marshes with gigantic reeds and rushes. We observed a man wading through one of them, with a view to catching

[1] Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 15, 1.

[2] Von Raumer, Palästina, pp. 144, 462. See also his Beitrage zur Biblischen Geographie, p. 19.

[3] Acts xxiii. 31. See Robinson's Researches, vol. iii. pp. 45-47.

[4] Gesta Dei per Francos, p. 774, etc.

[5] See above, p. 247.

leeches, which he allowed to adhere to his legs. We breakfasted at one of them, near a small village not on our maps, named el-Failak.

We passed to the east of el-Ḥaram Ali Ibn Aleim. The road, a little in advance of this place, goes nearly directly south to an old bridge over the Nahr el-Aujah, or "crooked river," by which we crossed that sluggish and dark stream, which we could not have forded. We nearly lost one of our horses in the mud of a streamlet running into the Aujah on the south side.

Keeping along the southern bank of the Aujah, and near some old mills, we came to a herd of young buffaloes, which, in this part of the country, are reared in considerable numbers. A little further on, we were at an encampment of thirty-five tents of the Jámúsíyah Badawín, or Buffalo Badawín, so called from their ruminant property and charge. Their women were most happy, in consideration of a few piastres, to give us a supply of milk. We noticed in them, however, a degree of unfeminine harshness and impudence, which we had not hitherto seen exemplified by their sex in our extended peregrinations.

The road where it leaves the Aujah leads to the southwest to Joppa. Before reaching that ancient town and port, we came upon some sand-hills at a little distance from the shore. Between them and the town there are most beautiful and excellent gardens, from which an abundant supply of fruit was forthcoming to us, as soon as we had pitched our tents near the eastern gate.

Arnaut officers.

CHAPTER XX.

JOURNEY FROM JOPPA TO JERUSALEM AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD.

17TH MAY.—JOPPA, now Yáfá,—a mere modification of its Hebrew names יָפוֹ and יָפֹה,—stands on a rocky hill of an oblong shape, the houses and streets regularly rising above one another in tiers, according to the elevation of the different strata forming the site of the buildings. Neither the houses nor the walls of the place are by any means so despicable as they are often represented to be. We entered the town by the eastern gate, near which there is a cistern highly ornamented in the Saracenic style, and with an Arabic inscription. In the bázár we found a great profusion of fruit, the produce of the neighbourhood. The best buildings, including the principal magazines of the merchants, lie along the side of the

town contiguous to the sea, where were planted most of the guns by which it is protected. Among these buildings are the abodes of the European consular agents. The Franciscan convent is not large, and it has only a few monks, who attend to the accommodation of the pilgrims of the Romish Church, who land at the place, or visit it in the course of their excursions. The Greek convent is still smaller. The Armenian convent is the hospital in which Bonaparte poisoned his sick soldiers. The harbour, which is close to the town, is surrounded by rocks, and is quite inadequate to afford shelter to vessels of any considerable size. We observed some small craft in it, which were frequently tossed about, owing to a swell produced by a stiff breeze from the west.[1]

The Jews at Joppa were the only class of its inhabitants with whom, last night and this morning, we had any particular intercourse. They form a small but respectable community, of twenty-six families, with 120 souls, an insignificant portion of the population of Joppa, which, exclusive

[1] "The harbour of Joppa," says one well acquainted with it, and whose notes on the Holy Land, though little known, are often singularly accurate, "extends from north to south, is close to the town, surrounded with rocks, and has two entrances, one to the north, which is the widest, but dangerous, as there are sand-banks; the other to the west is narrow, of about ten feet in breadth, and the same depth, and dangerous in boisterous weather, as it is among the rocks. The whole breadth of this harbour on the north part, is about twenty yards, but is unfit for any vessels to ride, for two reasons, one for being exposed to the high winds, the other for not having sufficient depth of water. The southern part of it is from ten to sixteen yards wide, and safer than the first, as it is defended on the west side by high rocks, on the south by the wall of the town, on which is a battery of three sixteen-pounders, and on the north by an angle of the mole: the depth of it at low-water does not exceed six feet, and at high-water about ten; if this part was to be cleared up, perhaps fifteen or eighteen vessels at the most, of a hundred and fifty tons, but not heavier burden, might ride close to each other, for the bottom of the harbour is one piece of rock, which appears in some parts at low-water."—Letters to Fordyce by S. L[usignan], vol. ii. p. 79. This may be compared with Joseph. Bell. Jud. iii. 9, 2-4.

of the military, may be reckoned at 5000 souls. They are principally, they said, from the north of Africa, and have settled in Yáfá during the last eight or ten years. Their chief is Rabbi Judah, who presides in their small synagogue, in which the Sephardim liturgy is used. They have a school with ten children, to which we presented a copy of the Hebrew Scriptures. Most of them are, by occupation, merchants, shop-keepers, carpenters, and weavers of silk. They are frequently called upon to exercise the rites of hospitality to their co-religionists, who engage in the pilgrimage of the tombs. We found with them two Jews from Egypt, and one from Baghdád. The latter told us, that in his native town and its vicinity, there are altogether 20,000 Jews. He also brought to our notice a small community of the Karaim at Hít, near Baghdád. In the course of our conversation with these Israelites, we found them much offended by the idolatry of the eastern Christians. They were pleased to find us cherish as great an abhorrence of it as themselves. We were glad to be able to assure them, that the use of images in the worship of God is entirely discarded by the British churches. We put the question to them, "To what Tarshish do you think the prophet Jonah attempted to go when he set sail from Joppa?" Their reply was satisfactory enough,—"To Tarsus of Cilicia."

We observed no remains of antiquity about Joppa. Yet we know that it is one of the most ancient of towns. It is first mentioned in Joshua xix. 46, as, with its adjoining towns, part of the lot of Dan. It next appears as the place at which the floats of wood from Lebanon for the building of the temple were landed.[1] The "sea of Joppa" was that to which the cedars of Lebanon, destined for the repair of the temple, were also brought.[2] It is not without mention in the classical writers. Some of them say that it derived its name

[1] 2 Chron. ii. 16. [2] Ezra iii. 7.

from Jope, daughter of Æolus, and the wife of Cepheus, its founder. According to Pliny it existed before the deluge.[1] The same author and others say, that it was on this shore that Andromeda was rescued by Perseus from the sea-monster.[2] They probably allude to some legendary perversion of Jonah's deliverance from the fish's belly.[3] Joppa is mentioned in the book of Maccabees,[4] and it is referred to by Josephus.[5] It is mentioned in the New Testament, particularly in connexion with Peter's tarrying many days with Simon the tanner.[6]

Jerusalem is commonly held to be about thirty-two or thirty-three miles from Joppa. This distance we thought of accomplishing in two marches. The first of them extended only to Ramlah, about eight or nine miles to the south-east. We were unwilling to sleep in any exposed town farther to the east, and especially among the hills, the inhabitants of which are frequently very troublesome to travellers.

The gardens of Joppa extend for a considerable distance outside the town. The road penetrating them is bounded by a hedge of the cactus, overhanging which, at some places, are many fine sycamore, and orange, and other fruit trees. On leaving them we have various plantations, or dottings, of olive trees, which more or less continue all the way to Ramlah. The plain is decidedly sandy, and the word Ramlah itself means "sand." It is rather slightly undulating than level, and there is a general rise in it to the east. A good part of it is at present neglected as far as cultivation is concerned. The villages of Yásúr, Ḳabáb, and Beit-Dejan

[1] Joppe Phœnicum, antiquior terrarum inundatione, ut ferunt.—Plin. Nat. Hist. v. 13.

[2] Plin. Ibid.

[3] Even Jerome says, "Hic locus est in quo usque hodie saxa monstrantur in litore in quibus Andromeda religata Persei quondam sit liberata præsidio."—Comment. Jon. cap. i.

[4] 2 Macc. xii. 13, &c.

[5] Joseph. Bell. Jud. ii. 18, 10; iii. 8. 3, &c.

[6] Acts ix. 36, 42, 43; x. 5; xi. 5.

occur on the road; and those of Sáfaríyah and Ṣarafand are respectively seen to the right and left. Elevated ground, according to the general rule of the country in ancient and modern times, has been chosen for their site. None of these places, with names corresponding to them, occur in Scripture; but most of them probably stand on old sites. Yásúr may be some Jazer or Hazor; and Beit-Dejan is, doubtless, a Beth-Dagon, probably, as suggested by Dr. Robinson, the Caphar-Dagon placed by Eusebius and Jerome in the region between Diospolis (Lydda) and Jamnia.[1] Ṣarafand or Sáfaríyah is the city described by Reland, as "urbs Palestinæ episcopatu insignis," and of which he collects several notices.[2]

About a quarter of a mile from the town is the celebrated tower of Ramlah, about 120 feet in height. We repaired to it,—leaving the road, and passing through several cultivated fields and olive groves,—before entering into the town. It stands in the middle of a quadrangular enclosure. It is in appearance something like the Gothic tower of a church or cathedral; but an external gallery near the top,—to which the ascent is by a staircase within,—seems to indicate that it must have belonged to a Muhammadan mosk. The arches of its windows are of Saracenic architecture. We observed the stone over the door noticed by Dr. Robinson, which contains an Arabic inscription, bearing the date of A.H. 710, corresponding to A.D. 1310.[3] The mosk, to which

[1] Bib. Res. vol. iii. p. 30.

[2] Reland. Palæst. pp. 987, 988.

[3] Dr. Robinson, who ably discusses all the historical matters of the least consequence connected with Ramlah, says, "This is further confirmed by the testimony of Mejr ed-Dîn, the author of a valuable Arabic history of Jerusalem and several other towns, written in A.D. 1495. He relates, that their Khalif Nâsr Muhammed Ibn Kalâwûn, (who was restored to the throne of Egypt in A.D. 1310,) built here a minaret, unique for its loftiness and elegance, which was finished in A.H. 718. This allows eight years for the completion of the work. The same writer informs us, that the ancient mosk with which this minaret was connected, was situated outside of the town, and surrounded by many tombs. In his day it was known as

this minaret probably belonged, is entirely destroyed. The remains in the quadrangle in which it is situated, are certainly much like those of a khán, and the extensive subterraneous crypts into which we descended, like those of storerooms or magazines.[1] I see no objection to the idea of a mosk being connected with a caravanserai; and on the other hand, I can easily conceive of a Muhammadan mosk having all such appurtenances for religious purposes, as the remains here indicate. Ramlah falls on the great caravan route from Egypt to Damascus; and, doubtless, it has long had its large establishments for the accommodation of travellers.

We did not ascend to the top of the tower, though the view from it must be very extensive and interesting. On entering Ramlah, we found that our servants, who had gone on before us, had sought accommodations for us in the Franciscan convent, in which European travellers generally rest. We found the friars in a state of great excitement, in consequence of the introduction into their establishment of the Jew Mordecai. We were somewhat surprised at their choler, as no objections to the lodgement of our Israelitish friend had been urged at Bethlehem, Nazareth, or Mount Carmel. They answered our remonstrance against their turning Mordecai to the door, merely by exclaiming, "padre Tomaso! padre Tomaso!" thus absurdly reminding us of the charge of murder brought against the Jews of Damascus,—a charge which, by their earnestness, they showed they actually believed. Mordecai in seeking for lodgings in the town, discovered two families of Jews, who usually reside there for

the White Mosk; though little of the ancient structure remained. It had been built originally by Suleimân, son of 'Abd el-Melek, the founder of Ramleh, on his succession to the Khalifate in A.D. 717; and was renewed during the reign of Saladin by a person of his court in A.D. 1190, a year before the dismantling of Ramleh by that Sultan."—Bib. Res. vol. iii. p. 38.

[1] See drawing in Le Bruyn, Voyage au Levant, p. 251. They are there called cisterns.

the accommodation of the Jewish pilgrims, who pass between Jerusalem and Joppa.[1]

Many of the houses of Ramlah are very commodious and substantial, with flat roofs and low domes; and on looking at the place, and its situation in a fertile part of the country, with fine grain-fields, gardens, and olive-groves, one can easily understand how of old it should have been a place of great importance. It is first mentioned by a name "Ramula," corresponding with that which it now bears by the monk Bernard, c. A.D. 870.[2] Abulfeda says, that it was founded by Suleimán, son of Abd el-Melek, and consequently in the early part of the eighth century.[3] William of Tyre, and Marinus Sanutus, attribute its erection to the Muhammadan chiefs, after the conquest of the country.[4] Azízí, as quoted by Abulfeda, calls it the capital of Palestine. Edrisi says, that Ramlah and Jerusalem are the principal towns of Palestine, and notices it as large, full of population, and remarkable for its commerce and revenue.[5] It is frequently mentioned in connexion with the Crusades.[6]

Eusebius and Jerome speak of an "Armatha-Sophim, the city of Elchanah and Samuel," as being in the Tamnitic district, near to Diospolis, [Lydda,] and of which was Joseph, who is said in the gospels to be "of Arimathea."[7] Benjamin of Tudela, about A.D. 1160, identifies Ramlah with RAMAH, and speaks of walls there erected by his Jewish forefathers, as is evident from inscriptions upon stones.[8] By many writers

[1] The workings of the Judæo-phobia of the monks of Ramlah, seem to have been noticed by Lady Francis Egerton.—See her ladyship's short but interesting Journal of a Tour in the Holy Land, p. 10.

[2] Bernard. de Loc. Sanct., p. 10.

[3] Abulfed. Tab. Syr., p. 79.

[4] Will. Tyr. x. 17. Marinus Sanutus, p. 152.

[5] Geographie D'Edrisi, par. A. Janbert, p. 559.

[6] For multifarious notices of the place, see Robinson's Bib. Res. vol. iii. pp. 33-40.

[7] Eusebii Onomast. sub. Armathem Sophim.

[8] Asher's Benjamin of Tudela, p. 79, etc.

since the time of the Crusades, Ramlah has been spoken of as the Arimathea of the New Testament. That Ramlah cannot be the Ramah of Samuel, is evident from the single fact, that Rachel's sepulchre does not occur on any road between it and Gibeah, as the exigencies of scripture require.[1] That it may not have been built by the Muhammadans, on the site of some ancient Ramah, or the Arimathea of the Gospel, I see no decided evidence. The difference between Ramlah, "sand," and Ramah, "height," I would certainly notice as Dr. Robinson does; but I would not lay too much stress on this circumstance, as the Arabs can be misled by a similarity of sound as well as others.[2] A slight swell in a valley, such as we see at the tower of Ramlah, might be comparatively a height. But all this with becoming diffidence. The full explanations and reasonings of Dr. Robinson in support of the opinion that Ramlah is *not* the Arimathea of Joseph, are entitled to much deference.[3]

18th May.—As we had a long journey before us to Jerusalem, we left Ramlah this morning at six o'clock. We chose, as our pathway, the nearest road to the Holy City.

After leaving the gardens of Ramlah, we had a view of Ludd, the LOD of the Old Testament, and the LYDDA of the New,[4] lying to our left. We had also seen it yesterday on our way from Joppa, its lofty minaret being cognizable at a considerable distance. The mosk, to which this minaret is attached, stands near the ruins of the magnificent church of St. George, frequently mentioned with admiration by the writers on the Crusades, and old travellers. Ludd is identified as Diospolis by Jerome and others.[5] To the south-east of Ludd is a village called Jimzu, in which Dr. Robinson has recognised the GIMZO of 2 Chron. xxviii. 18.

[1] 1 Sam. x. 2.
[2] See an example in vol. i. p. 45.
[3] Bib. Res. vol. iii. pp. 40-43.
[4] 1 Chron. viii. 12; Ezra ii. 33; Neh. vii. 37; xi. 35; Acts ix. 32, 35, 38.
[5] Hieron. in Epitaph. Paulæ.

At a village called Anábah, the plain of Sharon ends, and the hills of Judea commence. The sandy soil ceases at Ramlah; and the rock underlying the eastern part of the plain, is of the common indurated chalk of the country.

At the commencement of the hills we visited a miserable Arab village called Finch, built over some considerable ruins, probably of some antiquity. Near this place, we breakfasted at a well called the Bír Eyúb. The summits of the hills over which we afterwards passed, are mostly of a conical shape, with intervening Wádís or depressions in the form of basins. The strata were not at first distinctly marked; and large bare patches of rock appeared among the numerous bushes on the hills, which form a sort of sparse jungle. In advance, however, the cretaceous strata became distinctly marked, and were sometimes horizontal, and sometimes dipping at various angles. Terraces and plots of ground devoted to culture, became pretty numerous as we approached Jerusalem, but immediately before we came in sight of the Holy City, we found great barrenness. The hills increase in height and steepness toward the east. Several of the villages which we passed are worthy of particular notice. Had we been aware that the position of one or two of them in the map rests on a slender authority, we should have been more particular than we were in noting their relative bearings.

Amwás, which has been recognised as an EMMAUS,—not that of Luke xxiv. 13, with which, from early times, it has been confounded, but which was distant from Jerusalem only threescore furlongs, while this is upwards of twenty miles,—we passed to our left, and not to our right, as we had been led to expect. This Emmaus is the Nicopolis of the Romans.[1]

[1] For topographical and historical notices of the place, see Relandi Palæst. p. 758. Josephus mentions the other Emmaus corresponding with that of Luke, to which he attributes the same distance from Jerusalem that the sacred writer does. Its situation seems to have been early forgot-

Beit Núbá, nearly on a line with the preceding, is doubtless a Hebrew נֹב NOB. It is probably the place referred to by Jerome as near Arimathea, and the "Nobe urbem quondam sacerdotum nunc tumulum occisorum."[1] Nob, where the priests were slain, however, as is evident from the passages in which it is mentioned in Scripture, was in the neighbourhood of Anathoth, Ramah, and Michmash, on the heights north of Jerusalem. Beit Núbá is the Betsannaber of the Onomasticon of Eusebius and Jerome. This much occurred to us without reference to any modern author. Our opinion, we were glad to find, accords with that of Dr. Robinson.[2]

Yálo, about a mile from the above mentioned village, we connected with the AJALON or AIJALON of the tribe of Dan. Dr. Robinson is somewhat doubtful about this identification, though he thinks that it is the place referred to by Joshua, when in pursuit of the five kings, he uttered the potent command, "Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon; and thou Moon in the valley of Ajalon."[3] His doubt arises from the Ajalon of Dan being coupled with Bethshemesh, and Zorah, and Socoh, and Ekron, which have been identified as lying much further to the south;[4] but, as he is aware, it is also coupled

ten, as is abundantly evident from the quotations introduced into the article of Reland to which I have now referred.

[1] In Epitaphio Paulæ.

[2] The Doctor adds, respecting this place: "In the age of the Crusades, Beit Nûbah became celebrated, first, as the site of the "Castellum Arnaldi," erected by the patriarch and citizens of Jerusalem, in order to protect the approaches to that city; and then as the place to which Richard of England, in June A.D. 1192, led his army from Askelon on their way to besiege Jerusalem. There, having lingered for several weeks ingloriously, the English monarch turned back with his troops to Ramleh and Joppa, and, after concluding a truce with Saladin, soon left the country. . . . . It is mentioned by Willebrand of Oldenborg upon the same road in A.D. 1211, and again by Brocardus; but seems to have been wholly lost sight of from that day to the present time."—Bib. Res. vol. iii. p. 64. Joseph. Bell. Jud. vii. 26.

[3] Josh. x. 12.

[4] Josh. xix. 42; 2 Chron. xi. 10.

with Gimzo, lying nearly as far north as Lydda.[1] Though Eusebius and Jerome had some dream about Ajalon being situated to the east of Bethel, yet the latter writer tells us that the Hebrews of his day considered Ajalon to be at the second milestone from Nicopolis, (Emmaus,) on the way to Ælia or Jerusalem,[2] evidently identifying it with Yálo.

The three villages now mentioned we saw only from the road as we passed close by Látrún, about a mile in advance of the one last mentioned on the brink of Wádí 'Alí. Látrún is the monkish "Castellum boni Latronis," which Dr. Robinson says he has not been able to find noticed earlier than the latter part of the sixteenth century.[3]

Saris, which we passed about ten miles before coming to Jerusalem, has not, as far as I am aware, been identified with any ancient town; but may it not be the Σαρις of Josephus,[4] mentioned by him in connexion with the flight of David from Saul, of which Reland asks, if it be not the Sores of a passage in the Septuagint translation of Joshua xv. 59, 60?[5]

[1] 2 Chron. xxviii. 18.

[2] Onomast. sub Αιλὼμ. Epiphanius (adv. Hæres. l. ii. p. 702) writes Ἰαλὼ for Ajalon. Compare Reland. Palest., p. 553, with Rob. Bib. Res., iii. p. 63.

[3] Bib. Res., vol. iii. p. 30. Dr. Richardson, vol. ii. p. 220, says, that it is called by the Franks a "Den of Thieves." It deserves the name.

[4] Jos. Antiq. Jud. vi. 12, 4.

[5] Reland, p. 988. The addition of the Septuagint, as quoted and commented upon by Reland, is, with two various readings omitted by him, the following:—" Θεκὼ καὶ Ἐφραθὰ, ἥτις ἐστὶ Βαιθλεὲμ, καὶ Φαγὼρ καὶ Αιτὰν (al. Αἰτάμ) καὶ Κυλὸν (al. Κυλόμ) καὶ Ταταὲμ (al. Ταταμεὶ) καὶ Θωζὴς [al. Σωρής, vid. Bos. Sept. sub loc.] καὶ Καρὶμ καὶ Γαλὶμ καὶ Θεὴρ [al. Βαιθηρ] καὶ Μανοχώ· πόλεις ἕνδεκα καὶ αἱ κώμαι αὐτῶν. Et dein sequitur, ut in codicibus Hebraeis, Καριαθβαὰλ, &c. Animadvertit hanc rem jam olim Hieronymus in comment. ad Mich. cap. v. cujus verba dabimus, ut pateat quae ejus sententia fuerit de hac re, et quomodo ipse illud comma apud Graecos in codicibus suis legerit. 'Legimus juxta septuaginta duntaxat interpretes in Jesu Naue, ubi tribus Judae urbes et oppida describuntur inter cætera etiam hoc scriptum Thaeco et Ephratha, haec est Bethleem, et Phagor, et Aetham, et Culon, et Tami, et Soris, et Caraem, et Gallim, et Baether, et Manocho, civitates undecim et viculi earum, quod nec in Hebraïco nec

Karyet el-'Enáb, which is about two miles in advance from the village last mentioned, has been identified by Dr. Robinson as the KIRJATH-JEARIM or KIRJATH-BAAL of Scripture,[1] which Eusebius and Jerome make nine Roman miles distant from Ælia, on the way to Diospolis or Ludd, which agrees with its situation.[2] There is here a ruinous church, formerly connected with a Franciscan convent. In the village is the residence of the hereditary freebooters, who go by the name of Abu Ghosh.[3]

At Kaloníyah, probably the Koulon of the Septuagint, referred to in a preceding note, and some Roman Colonia, half-way between the place last mentioned and Jerusalem, there is also a forsaken church, which we visited. It is in a tolerable state of preservation; but it is used by the Musalmán inhabitants of the village as a stable. A Christian from Beitjálá, whom we found inspecting it, expressed his wish to us that the nations of Europe might renew the

apud alium invenitur interpretem, et sive de veteribus libris erasum sit malitia Judaeorum ne Christus de tribu Juda ortus videretur, sive a septuaginta additum, nequaquam liquido cognoscentes certum quid novimus.' In manuscripto codice membranaceo bibliothecae nostrae Trajectinae legitur, 'Theco et Ephrata, haec est Bethleem, et Fagor, et Ethan, et Caulon, et Dathan, et Sores, et Corem, et Salim, et Tether, et Manacho, civitates undecim et viculi earum.' Ego autem nihil (atque adeo nec hoc) a Judaeis erasum esse ex Codice Hebraeo existimo."—Reland. Palæst. pp. 643, 644.

* The passage of the Septuagint appears to me clearly to be an interpolation, as Coulon, mentioned in it, seems to be the Kaloníyah (Colonia) about to be noticed, the name of which probably originated with the Romans. Baether is probably the Bether of Adrian's Jewish war, which Mr. Williams (Holy City, p. 138) has identified with some remarkable ruins described by him as in Wádí Beitir, nearly due S. of Kaloníyah and west of Beitjálá.

Dr. Hudson has this note on the occurrence of ἰις Σαρίν in Josephus: —"Non dubito quin legendum sit, ἰις 'Αρὴν, vel 'Αρίθην πολιν littera Σ attracta ex præcedenti vocala ἰις." By 'Arith here, he means the Jewish Hareth, (1 Sam. xxii. 5.) Hudson. Jos. p. 259. There are no MSS. in favour of this conjecture.

[1] Judges xviii. 12; Josh. xviii. 14, &c.

[2] Compare Robinson, vol. ii., with Reland, pp. 725, 726.

[3] Their leader and some of his followers were lately caught by the Turks, and shipped for Constantinople. Jan. 1847.

Crusades, and rescue it from pollution. While sympathizing in some degree with his sense of its degradation, we ought to have told him that it would be a much more becoming thing in them to seek to rescue the Christians of the East from ignorance, idolatry, and superstition. The convent of Ain Kárim, or St. John's in the Desert, is visible at the other side of the valley, nearly directly south. This Kárim may be the *Καρὲμ* of the Septuagint, and the Caraem of Jerome.[1]

From Ḳaloníyah, the road to Jerusalem winds up the hill of Liftá, from which, as we ascend, there is a view to the eastward of Ṣobá, perhaps the REMATHAIM-ZOPHIM of Scripture, and of various other villages, duly entered in the map.

Jerusalem first becomes visible on this road, about a couple of miles from the western wall. Mr. Graham, who had rushed on before me to have the first view of it, I found deeply affected when I overtook him. Though I had often before looked at the Holy City from all its approaches, I could not but sympathize with his feelings. The associations of the place are absolutely overpowering. Of the city itself, we noticed only before we arrived at it, part of the western walls, the citadel, a portion of Mount Zion, and the higher parts of a few of the edifices.

Going along the road above the valley of GIHON, we approached the Yáfá Gate. Here we found the Páshá and the Medical Superintendent of the quarantine establishment seated before a tent in the cool of the evening. I was recognised by them as having already gone through the ordeal, or farce, of sanitary inquiry; and they politely gave orders to the guard to allow us to enter the town without molestation. We found suitable accommodation, as formerly in my own case, at the house of Abu Ḥabíb, who gave us more than his wonted welcome. Before it got dark, we took a

[1] See note above, p. 266.

walk together down the Via Dolorosa to the Haram, and the part of its exterior wall near the St. Stephen's Gate.

19th-23d May.—The result, such as it was, of our observation and research, connected with the topography of Jerusalem on the occasion of both my visits to the place, I have already laid before my readers. It is not my intention, consequently, under the present date, to do more than submit a few general notices.

The Christian pilgrims having left Jerusalem after the Easter holidays, it now appeared to me as if its population had nearly entirely vanished. I felt on the whole, however, some relief to my feelings in the absence of the revelry and idolatry which they so painfully exhibit. Mr. Graham thus speaks of *his* first impressions in a letter addressed to a venerable minister of the Irish-Presbyterian Church :—

"Dr. Wilson and I have now been some whole days in the Holy City. On Thursday the 18th, at four o'clock, P.M., we entered by the Yáfá Gate. The appearance of the city on that side is mean and uninteresting, as you can discern little more than the wall, and the minarets of a few mosks; but on the other side, when you pass the valley of Jehoshaphat, and ascend the Mount of Olives, the appearance of the city is still good, and in the days of her grandeur must have been exquisite. Here the Lord looked on the devoted city and wept. What feelings crowd the mind as you stand on the sacred spot! Behind us, about the space of an hour's walk, is the quiet village of Bethany, so interesting from the Saviour and Lazarus; immediately on the left hand, stands the church of the ascension, and a few perches below it, towards the valley of Jehoshaphat, is the garden of Gethsemane, and direct before us the solitary city, beautiful though in ruins, presents the picture of a bereaved and desolate widow, mourning over an absent and rejected lord. . . .

"I cannot say, dearly beloved friend and father, that my feelings have been much excited, or my faith strengthened, by examining the sacred places at Jerusalem. Of course my prophetic faith,—my conviction of the truth of God's testimony, whether it be in promise or in threatening, must be confirmed by witnessing, in this land, the awful realities of God's word, which has taken effect like a thunderbolt. A country teeming in former times with many millions of inhabitants, is now nearly dispeopled; the Vale of Sharon alone could sustain all the population of Palestine; most fertile districts without culture; proud cities and kingdoms overthrown, according to the exact word of God; and many similar fulfilments of prophecy, cannot but deepen the conviction of the truth of God's word in the mind of the spectator. But my love to Jesus was not excited by surveying his supposed tomb, nor my zeal for Christianity

increased by seeing the hole in the rock where the cross is said to have stood, or the chamber of the cross, or the fissure in the rent rock, or the spot pointed out as that where the cock crew. In fact, I could not get rid of the idea of monkish imposture, and the emotion of my mind was that of melancholy mixed with anger. The *loca sancta* are all matters of gain and sordid speculation to the idle and ignorant monks. Every thing is formed to attract and dazzle the pilgrims. The superstition of the deluded multitudes who, urged by the stings of an unquiet conscience, press into the church to touch or kiss the marble of the holy sepulchre, is melancholy; and the deceivers of these men, who ought to know better, and who are implicated in contriving and perpetuating many of the delusions, must have a severe reckoning in the day of God. The Judge is at hand, and we are forbidden to judge before the time. On the Mount of Olives, indeed, when apart from the practices of superstition, and beholding the ruined city of a Saviour's rejected love, the fountain of my feelings was stricken open again, and the awed yet tranquillized heart entered into sympathy with the moral and historic glories of the scene. Here, in very truth, the Son of God lived, and laboured, and died. There is the castle of David, here is Mount Zion, and yonder is the hill of Calvary. O my Father, is this a reality, or is it all a dream! Did redeeming love flow on that spot? and are these the ways and footsteps of incarnate love? O my God, let the affections of my heart flow out to the person rather than the place; to the glorious Prisoner, now risen and ascended to the right hand of God, rather than the supposed sepulchre in which he lay bound! Let my affections be with him in heaven, and let me have a share in his kingdom and glory, for thine own name's sake, O Lord."[1]

On Sabbath, the 21st of May, we witnessed a very interesting service, the baptism, in connexion with the mission of the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews, of four members of the Hebrew nation, Rabbi Eliezer, Rabbi Benjamin, Isaac Hirsh, and Simon Frankel.[2] On this occasion the senior missionary, Mr. Nicolayson, delivered a highly suitable discourse from John xvi. 24. Dr. Alexander, the Anglican bishop, administered the ordinance through the medium of the Hebrew tongue. His address in English to the congregation, was most admirable, affectionate,

[1] Letter to Dr. Hanna in Miss. Herald of Irish Pres. Church, vol. i. p. 77.

[2] We were almost sorry to notice a change made in the names of the converts on the occasion of this baptism. Eliezer was transmogrified into Christian Lazarus, and among the others we got a Paul and a Simon Peter. Such a change is quite unnecessary,—is calculated to beget improper views of the ordinance of baptism,—and is felt by the unconverted Jews to be an insult. It is evident from the sixteenth chapter of the epistle to the Romans, that the early converts retained their original names, even when they were derived from those of the heathen gods.

and appropriate. Mr. Young, the English consul, was present, no uninterested spectator of the scene. Mr. Ewald, who had been very useful in the instruction of the catechumens, preached in German in the afternoon. When the services were over, we informed some of the Rabbis of the town, with whom we were acquainted, of what had taken place. The feelings which they evinced were of a very mixed character. They alleged that the Jewish community was well quit of the "apostates," and ascribed their change entirely to worldly motives. When we told them that charges of this kind were more easily made than substantiated, they maintained that Mammon was the ruling principle of *all* the converts, and that they had observed that the dress and mode of living of all the new Nazarenes seemed quite extravagant when compared with what they were when they were Jews. We begged them not to form uncharitable judgments, and suggested to them that the change which they said they noticed, might be the result of an improvement of character, and of moral, social, and industrious habits. Both converts and missionaries must reckon upon misunderstandings and misrepresentations, whilst they must exercise themselves to have always a conscience void of offence towards God and towards man.

Having mentioned the English Episcopal mission to Jerusalem, I may give below a brief view of its history from one of the reports of the London Missionary Society for Propagating Christianity among the Jews.[1] We experienced, I

[1] "Your society's attention was directed to the importance of missionary labour among the Jews in the land of their forefathers, in the year 1820. The Rev. Mr. Tschoudi, a Swiss minister, was in that year sent out to inquire into the state of the Jews in those parts, and to circulate the Scriptures among them. In 1823, that devoted and zealous friend of Israel, the late Rev. Lewis Way, proceeded thither with the same object in view, on which mission he was accompanied by the Rev. W. B. Lewis. The reports they made of the state of the country, induced the Committee to resolve upon making Jerusalem a permanent station. . . .

am bound to say for ourselves, great kindness at the hands of all its members. The lamented Bishop Alexander, dur-

Your Committee also entered into connexion with the Rev. Joseph Wolff, who in 1822 had proceeded on a missionary journey to the East, and met with a most gratifying reception among his brethren, both in the Holy City and the towns of Palestine. In 1824, Dr. Dalton was sent out as a medical missionary to the Holy City, and laboured indefatigably, in the midst of great trials, to promote the objects of the mission; but . . . . it pleased the Lord to remove him by death from the scene of his labours, on January 25, 1826. Only a few days previously, he had been joined by Mr. Nicolayson, whom the Committee had appointed his fellow-labourer, and who arrived in the Holy City on January 8, 1826. . . . He (Mr. N.) found it necessary to leave Jerusalem, but kept up an active intercourse with the Jews, first at Beyrout, and subsequently at Safet, until political events compelled him for a time to withdraw from Syria in 1827. After an interval of zealous labours in Egypt, Tripoli, Tunis, Algiers, and Malta, Mr. Nicolayson was enabled in the autumn of 1833 to return, and finally settle at Jerusalem. . . . . .

"Your Committee, feeling the importance of making some more decided effort on behalf of God's ancient people at Jerusalem, determined to erect a Christian church in the Holy City, and at length found it necessary to invite Mr. N. to come over to England, to confer with them on the measures to be taken. He arrived in this country in November 1836. After having received episcopal ordination, Mr. Nicolayson returned to the Holy City in July 1837, and continued to labour alone, until July 1838, when he was joined by two converted Israelites, whom your Committee sent out to strengthen the mission there.

"The necessities of the poor suffering Jews in the Holy City, led soon after to the appointment of Mr. Gertsmann, a surgeon, who, accompanied by Mr. Bergheim, as his assistant, arrived in December 1838, and entered on the discharge of his important duties as a medical missionary. . . . . Mr. G.'s usefulness was, however, interrupted by a severe illness, which compelled him to leave Jerusalem. . . .

"The commencement of hostilities in Syria soon after, interfered with the progress of the mission, and the building of the church at Jerusalem; and all your missionaries left, with the exception of the Rev. J. Nicolayson, who remained to continue his ministerial labours among the converts, and inquirers connected with the mission, and to attend to the interests of the Society, during the crisis. . . .

"The way was thus prepared for re-establishing, under Divine Providence, the mission, on a more efficient footing, and especially for that 'important and Church-historical event,' —the appointment of a Protestant bishop, to watch over its interests. . . . . Mr. Ewald and Dr. MacGowan accompanied Bishop Alexander to the Holy City, whither Mr. Nicolayson and Mr. Bergheim had already preceded them. It was on January 21, 1842, that they reached their destination."—Jewish Intelligence, 1844, pp. 203-205.

ing both our visits, gave us a most fraternal and hospitable reception, and impressed us deeply with the simplicity and sincerity of his piety, and his devotedness to the cause of the mission, not only as taking a lively interest in the labours of the brethren placed under his charge, but as availing himself of every opportunity afforded to him of personally declaring the truth as it is in Jesus to the Jews with whom he was able to hold intercourse. He had been about a year and a half settled in the place, affording, with his amiable family, to the ascetic and monastic prelates of the East, an exemplification of domestic happiness, and peace, and purity, after which they would do well to aspire. Mr. Nicolayson had been, first and last, a considerable number of years in the place, both without and with the orders of Episcopacy; and, though a Gentile, he has become well skilled in the various departments of Jewish literature. Much of the superintendence of the secular affairs of the mission had devolved upon him. The Rev. Mr. Ewald, who had laboured for some time in the north of Africa, had accompanied the bishop to the Holy Land, and was extremely active in the discharge of the appropriate duties of a missionary. Dr. Macgowan, who had also come with the bishop to the country, was at the head of the medical department of the mission; and by his professional skill, general learning, great prudence, and Christian zeal and devotedness, he was producing the most salutary effects among the Jews. Mr. Calman, a pious and intelligent convert, though not an agent of the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews, was affording it his effective co-operation. About twenty individuals altogether had been introduced into the Church by baptism, and a few converts had joined the mission from other places. One of the usual services for their benefit on the Lord's day, was conducted through the medium of German, another through that of English, and a third through

the Hebrew. Several individuals were encouraged regularly to attend the last-mentioned service, who, on account of their entire ignorance, or very partial knowledge, of the language of the ancient Jews, could derive little or no profit from it, and who consequently were in danger of viewing it solely in connexion with superstitious associations. We noticed the substitution of אֲדֹנָי for יְהוָה, in the readings of the liturgy, according to the custom of the Jewish synagogue. The Rev. George Williams, who was engaged for some time as chaplain to Bishop Alexander, seems to consider this custom as having the tendency to countenance Jewish superstition;[1] and perhaps he is correct in this opinion, though it must be remembered that in the passages quoted from the Old Testament in the New, "Jehovah" is uniformly rendered by *Κύριος*, or Lord, the Greek equivalent of אֲדֹנָי.

I cannot in a more satisfactory manner bring to the notice of my readers, the views of the founders of the "Bishopric of the United Church of England and Ireland at Jerusalem," the practical working of which we noticed when at the Holy City, than to quote the greater part of the "Statement of Proceedings" relating to its establishment, "published by authority," at the close of 1841.

"An Act was passed in the last session of Parliament, (5 Victoria, cap. 6,) empowering the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, assisted by other Bishops, to consecrate British subjects, or the subjects or citizens of any foreign kingdom or state, to be Bishops in any foreign country, and, within certain limits, to exercise spiritual jurisdiction over the ministers of British congregations of the United Church of England and Ireland, and over such other Protestant congregations as may be desirous of placing themselves under the authority of such Bishops. . . .

"The appointment of a Bishop for Jerusalem was proposed by his Majesty the King of Prussia, who made it the subject of a special mission to the Queen of England, and of a particular communication to the Archbishop of Canterbury. In making this proposal, his Majesty had in view not only the great advantages to be derived from its adoption, with reference to the conversion of the Jews; but also the spiritual superintendence and care of such of his own subjects as

[1] Williams' Holy City, p. 478.

might be disposed to take up their abode in Palestine, and to join themselves to the Church so formed at Jerusalem. . . .

"In order to obviate the difficulty which might be occasioned by the want of an endowment for the bishopric, his Majesty undertook to make at once the munificent donation of fifteen thousand pounds towards that object, the annual interest of which, amounting to six hundred pounds, is to be paid yearly in advance, till the capital sum (together with that which is to be raised by subscription for the purpose of completing the Bishop's annual income of twelve hundred pounds,) can be advantageously invested in lands situate in Palestine.

"The immediate objects for which this bishopric has been founded will appear from the following statement. Its ultimate results cannot be with certainty predicted; but we may reasonably hope that, under the Divine blessing, it may lead the way to an essential unity of discipline, as well as of doctrine, between our own Church and the less perfectly constituted of the Protestant Churches of Europe, and that, too, not by the way of Rome; while it may be the means of establishing relations of amity between the United Church of England and Ireland and the ancient Churches of the East, strengthening them against the encroachments of the See of Rome, and preparing the way for their purification, in some cases from serious errors, in others from those imperfections which now materially impede their efficiency as witnesses and dispensers of Gospel truth and grace. In the meantime, the spectacle of a Church, freed from those errors and imperfections, planted in the Holy City, and holding a pure faith in the unity of the Spirit and in the bond of peace, will naturally attract the notice of the Jewish nation throughout the world; and will centralize, as it were, the desultory efforts which are making for their conversion. . . . .

"While the Church of Rome is continually, and at this very moment, labouring to pervert the members of the Eastern Churches, and to bring them under the dominion of the Pope, sparing no arts nor intrigues, hesitating at no misrepresentations, sowing dissension and disorder amongst an ill-informed people, and asserting that jurisdiction over them which the ancient Churches of the East have always strenuously resisted, the two great Protestant Powers of Europe will have planted a Church in the midst of them, the Bishop of which is specially charged not to entrench upon the spiritual rights and liberties of those Churches, but to confine himself to the care of those over whom *they* cannot rightfully claim any jurisdiction; and to maintain with them a friendly intercourse of good offices; assisting them, so far as they may desire such assistance, in the work of Christian education; and presenting to their observation, but not forcing upon their acceptance, the pattern of a Church essentially scriptural in doctrine, and apostolical in discipline.

"The Bishop of the United Church of England and Ireland at Jerusalem is to be nominated alternately by the Crowns of England and Prussia, the Archbishop having the absolute right of veto, with respect to those nominated by the Prussian Crown.

"The Bishop will be subject to the Archbishop of Canterbury as his Metropolitan, until the local circumstances of his bishopric shall be such as to make it expedient, in the opinion of the Bishops of that United Church, to establish some other relation.

"His spiritual jurisdiction will extend over the English clergy and congregations, and over those who may join his church and place themselves under

his Episcopal authority in Palestine, and, for the present, in the rest of Syria, in Chaldea, Egypt, and Abyssinia; such jurisdiction being exercised, as nearly as may be, according to the laws, canons, and customs of the Church of England; the Bishop having power to frame, with the consent of the Metropolitan, particular rules and orders for the peculiar wants of his people. His chief missionary care will be directed to the conversion of the Jews, to their protection, and to their useful employment.

"He will establish and maintain, as far as in him lies, relations of Christian charity with other Churches represented at Jerusalem, and in particular with the orthodox Greek Church; taking special care to convince them, that the Church of England does not wish to disturb, or divide, or interfere with them; but that she is ready, in the spirit of Christian love, to render them such offices of friendship as they may be willing to receive.

"A College is to be established at Jerusalem, under the Bishop, whose Chaplain will be its first Principal. Its primary object will be, the education of Jewish converts: but the Bishop will be authorized to receive into it Druzes and other Gentile converts: and if the funds of the College should be sufficient, Oriental Christians may be admitted: but clerical members of the orthodox Greek Church will be received into the College, only with the express consent of their spiritual superiors, and for a subsidiary purpose. . . . .

"Congregations, consisting of Protestants of the German tongue, residing within the limits of the Bishop's jurisdiction, and willing to submit to it, will be under the care of German clergymen ordained by him for that purpose; who will officiate in the German language, according to the forms of their national liturgy, compiled from the ancient liturgies, agreeing in all points of doctrine with the liturgy of the English Church, and sanctioned by the Bishop with consent of the Metropolitan, for the special use of those congregations; such liturgy to be used in the German language only. Germans, intended for the charge of such congregations, are to be ordained according to the ritual of the English Church, and to sign the Articles of that Church; and, in order that they may not be disqualified by the laws of Germany from officiating to German congregations, they are, before ordination, to exhibit to the Bishop, a certificate of their having subscribed, before some competent authority, the Confession of Augsburg.

"The rite of Confirmation will be administered by the Bishop to the catechumens of the German congregations, according to the form used in the English Church."

To the document from which I have made the preceding quotation is appended the following "Letter Commendatory from the most Rev. the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury," &c.

> "To the Right Reverend our Brothers in Christ, the Prelates and Bishops of the Ancient and Apostolic Churches in Syria, and the Countries adjacent, greeting in the Lord:

"We, William, by Divine Providence, Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England and Metropolitan, most earnestly commend to your brotherly

love the Right Rev. Michael Solomon Alexander, Doctor in Divinity, whom we, being well assured of his learning and piety, have consecrated to the office of a Bishop of the United Church of England and Ireland, according to the ordinances of our Holy and Apostolic Church, and, having obtained the consent of our Sovereign Lady the Queen, have sent out to Jerusalem, with authority to exercise spiritual jurisdiction over the Clergy and Congregations of our Church, which are now, or which hereafter may be, established in the countries above mentioned. And in order to prevent any misunderstanding in regard to this our purpose, we think it right to make known to you, that we have charged the said Bishop our Brother, not to intermeddle in any way with the jurisdiction of the Prelates or other Ecclesiastical Dignitaries bearing rule in the Churches of the East; but to show them due reverence and honour; and to be ready, on all occasions, and by all the means in his power, to promote a mutual interchange of respect, courtesy, and kindness. We have good reason to believe that our Brother is willing, and will feel himself in conscience bound, to follow these our instructions; and we beseech you, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, to receive him as a Brother, and to assist him, as opportunity may offer, with your good offices.

"We trust that your Holinesses will accept this communication as a testimony of our respect and affection, and of our hearty desire to renew that amicable intercourse with the ancient Churches of the East, which has been suspended for ages, and which, if restored, may have the effect, with the blessing of God, of putting an end to divisions which have brought the most grievous calamities on the Church of Christ.

"In this hope, and with sentiments of the highest respect for your Holinesses, we have affixed our archiepiscopal seal to this letter, written with our own hand at our Palace of Lambeth, on the twenty-third day of November, in the year of our Lord 1841."

The motives which led his Prussian Majesty to propose the foundation of the bishopric, and so liberally to extend to it his support, were, I doubt not, of the purest and most exalted kind. His benevolence and beneficence in the case, as far as the cause of evangelical missions is concerned, have had no parallel since the days of the Royal Danish Mission to Tranquebar, in India, in which the sovereigns both of Denmark and England took the greatest interest. The Chevalier Bünsen, to whom the cause of Protestantism and evangelical religion have long been under the mightiest obligations, was the honoured instrument of forwarding the negotiations in England for carrying his Majesty's proposals into effect. The response which they met from our country, was all that could be expected, though not perhaps altogether what might

have been desired. A united organization, with a kind of subordination of the church of the German tongue to that of England, seems, from the preceding documents, to have been agreed upon; while a simple scheme of a peaceful co-operation between the two churches, each preserving its own organic constitution, as well as doctrine, but harmonizing with the other in its missionary operations and plans of procedure, might have been preferable, and, in the long run, most satisfactory to all concerned. The German Church, at the time of our visit to Jerusalem, had no representation there, except in the simple attendance of the Prussian consul at the Anglican services; and I have been informed by individuals of no insignificant standing in that church, that it is not to be expected that it will enter into any association with a sister church, however highly respected it may be, which implies a disparagement of the commission which it gives to its own ministers. In the spirit of its great Reformation, it holds that it is the Redeemer himself who, through his Word and Spirit, imparts the faith and love, and zeal and ability, and holy desire, which constitute the divine call to the ministerial office; and that all that the church can do in the work of ordination, is simply to recognise these qualifications in those in whom they appear to exist,—to bind over, by solemn engagement, those holding them to ministerial fidelity,—to commend them to the divine blessing,—and to grant them facilities for orderly service within the sphere of their labours. In regard to its licentiates and ministers, it views them, consequently, as far as spiritual authority is concerned, as on an equal footing, to say the least, with those of other Christian communities; and while cultivating feelings of charity to churches holding views of ecclesiastical polity different from its own, it cannot consistently or comfortably concur in any arrangements which imply that its own office-bearers have an inferior scriptural standing. It remains

to be seen, then, in what manner, and in what form, it can, *as a church*, subordinately unite with the bishopric at Jerusalem.

That bishopric, from all that I could observe of it at its seat, or can learn of it in this country, I am disposed to view, ecclesiastically, simply as an institution of the Church of England, liberally patronized and supported, however, by the King of Prussia. No catholic-minded Christian, taking this view of it, whatever his opinions of church government may be, can fail to wish it the most abundant success. We were happy to observe that both it and the mission to the Jews, which is associated with it, presented, in their main features, to the natives of the East, a decidedly Protestant and Evangelical aspect. I mention this our opinion with the more readiness, that I know that many sincere-minded Christians, both in England and Scotland, have been offended by the "letter commendatory" which the bishop Alexander took with him to the eastern prelates; and because, making every allowance for the motives by which that letter was dictated, we fully sympathized with the Rev. Mr. Herschell, whom we met at Jerusalem, who, after quoting it in full, as I have done, exclaims with indignation, "All this to these reverend impostors,—to these 'Holinesses,' who set fire to a few ounces of alcohol, and then solemnly thank God for having sent a miraculous flame down from heaven!"[1] The greatest stumbling-blocks in the way of the conversion both of Jews and Muhammadans in the East, are the idolatry and superstition of the eastern churches; and the profession of absolute fraternization with these churches on the part of that of England, could not but be highly detrimental to both classes of these unbelievers, to whose notice it was brought by the extensive circulation of the Arabic translation of the letter in

[1] Herschell's Visit to My Fatherland, p. 183.

which it was made. That profession of fraternization was not, and could not, be reciprocated to any considerable extent by the Greek Church, which admits neither the baptism nor the orders of the Church of England, nor of any Protestant church, Episcopal or not; and on its authorities Bishop Alexander, while doing nothing unduly to provoke their hostility, or to violate the laws of humane courtesy was not lavishing his caresses; while, by his example and doctrine, and the simplicity of the forms of worship observed by him and his clergy, he was teaching them, as was expected by the founders of the mission, most important lessons. I am not aware that he was disposed to prevent any Christian native of the East, who might be disposed to leave his own church from motives of conscience, from enjoying the benefits of the purer doctrine and fellowship of the Church of England.[1] His bishopric and mission, we noticed, were meeting with no favour from individuals holding views congenial either with those of Rome, or Byzantium, or "Oxford;" and we heard him

[1] Since this sheet was in type, I have noticed in the "Jewish Intelligence" for July 1845, an extract from a letter of the Rev. W. D. Veitch, the bishop's chaplain, who has proceeded to Jerusalem since my visit to the place, bearing on the matter above alluded to. "Some Greeks," it is said, "did apply to the bishop for admission into the English Church, or, as they expressed it, 'to be made Inglese.' . . . The applicants were not refused, but advised, as the bishop had not the means of doing for them what they required,—to return home, and quietly await the result of a careful consideration of their case. . . . The bishop was by no means satisfied that the application for admission to communion was the result of spiritual light only, and that political motives had nothing to do with it; but even had there been very satisfactory evidence of pure spiritual desire, for escape from a corrupt and superstitious communion, and for admission into a church possessing the truth, and offering a pure spiritual worship, the form of receiving the applicants into communion, would have been a mere mockery, and provocative of persecution, unless it had been possible to supply them with pastors; this they requested, but this, of course, the bishop had not, at present, the means of granting." Considering the character of the Greek Church, and the perils of these inquirers, I cannot but wish that the bishop had made some immediate effort to get them placed under evangelical teaching.

with his own lips express abhorrence of these views, and of whatever is derogatory to that righteousness of God which is by faith, and the effectual operation of the Holy Spirit, in renewing and sanctifying the souls of men. His successor, Gobat, an able, and long-tried, and devoted servant of the Lord, will, I doubt not, prove a similar friend and supporter of evangelical truth.

What the influence of the judgment which Mr. Graham and myself formed of the character of the Episcopal mission at Jerusalem was, on our choice of a station for the Presbyterian mission to the Jews in the Holy Land, will appear from another part of this work.

On the Sabbath on which we observed the baptism of the four Jews, to which I have alluded, Mr. Graham and I took part in the dispensation of the Lord's supper in the house of the Rev. G. B. Whiting, of the American Mission to the Eastern Churches. Though the company of Christian brethren and sisters present with us was but small, our enjoyment of the ordinance was not limited. The associations of the place—an upper room in Jerusalem, the very city in which the ordinance was first instituted, and in which the wondrous work was accomplished which it commemorates, tended to solemnize our feelings. Mr. Whiting was absent from Jerusalem during my first visit to the place; but I had great pleasure in at last meeting him in the Holy City. I had had some correspondence with him in early life, when he, as the secretary of the Students' Missionary Society at the Princeton Theological Seminary, and I, as the corresponding office-bearer of the Society in the University of Edinburgh, were led to hold epistolary communication with one another in behalf of the institutions with which we were connected; but at that time we had little expectation of our meeting together on the mission-field in the distant east. He and Mr. Lanneau, whom I had the pleasure of also seeing before

leaving Syria, were associated together in missionary labour among the Christians resident at Jerusalem, and the numerous pilgrims who resort thither from all parts of the Levant; and admirable representatives they were of the spirit of Bible Christianity to those to whom they were sent. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions had had agents almost constantly in Jerusalem from the year 1821, when the Rev. Mr. Parsons entered it to make it his residence. Its mission there, however, is now suspended *pro tempore*, its agents having removed to the Lebanon, where doors of special usefulness seem to be opened up to them. It is to be hoped that ere long it will be resumed; for though the powerful monastic influence at Jerusalem forms a great obstacle in the way of its successful operations, it is of very great importance that the corrupted Christians of Syria, and the adjoining countries, should have the pure gospel of Christ not only exhibited to their view but proclaimed to them in a lively manner, both by speech and writing, in that centre of influence both for good and evil.

On Monday the 21st of May, the Rev. R. H. Herschell, and John Fuller Maitland, Esq., joined Mr. Graham and myself on an excursion to Bethlehem and Már Sábá. On leaving Jerusalem we resolved to trace the aqueduct leading from Solomon's pools, from its entrance into Mount Zion to the former of these places; and this we were able to do without much difficulty, though we diverged from it for a little for the inspection of Rachel's tomb.[1] Its course, to the south-west, is very serpentine, owing to the form of the valleys and strata over which it passes. We were particularly anxious to observe its workmanship, which in several places we noticed to be very strong and substantial, independently

[1] See vol. i. p. 400

of Saracenic and Turkish repairs, and very ancient.[1] It also rises and falls, as we had formerly noticed, according to the natural level of the ground over which it passes, and, consequently, philosophically speaking, was much superior to the Roman and other aqueducts which we had noticed on raised arches at Tyre, Cæsarea, and other places.

We found the door of the diminutive mosk over Rachel's tomb, which is generally shut, off its hinges; and we, consequently, entered the sanctum. The erection over the grave is in the form of a Muhammadan bier. The mosk and the tomb differ from the figure in the Cippi Hebraici of Hottinger; and they have, probably, frequently been changed.[2]

I have already taken sufficient notice of Bethlehem and its ecclesiastical establishments.[3]

The ride between Bethlehem and Már Sábá, which occupied us about two hours and a half, is not particularly interesting. After leaving the cultivated fields of the former place, we came to a rough plateau of chalk, in which very little vegetation was apparent. About a couple of miles before coming to the convent, we came upon the Wádí er-Ráhib, the continuation of the Kidron, which is fearfully desolate and romantic, affording, in some places, striking sections of hundreds of the cretaceous strata. Its course is very irregular. We found in it, as I have already mentioned, some families of the Wubar or Shaphan, as on the occasion of my first visit to Már Sábá.[4]

At Már Sábá, Mr. Graham and I staid till we obtained some refreshment from the monks. We there had the pleasure of meeting two American gentlemen, one of whom was

[1] It was of the character which I have already noticed, in connexion with the part of it on the northern bank of the Valley of Hinnom.—See vol. i. p. 399.

[2] For some historical notices of Rachel's tomb, see vol. i. pp. 400-401.

[3] Vol. i. pp. 390-398.

[4] See above, pp. 28, 29.

the Chargé d'Affaires from Naples, and the other the Consul from Constantinople, who had made arrangements to accompany Messrs. Herschell and Maitland to the Dead Sea. Mr. Graham and I returned the same evening to Jerusalem, which we reached just as the gates were about to be shut for the night. A few minutes later and we should have been obliged to lodge outside the walls of the city.

Before finally leaving Jerusalem, Mr. Graham and I had several interviews with the Jews, both at their synagogues and private apartments. When I said to one of their most respected rabbis, that Mr. Graham intended to settle in the country, to seek the welfare of Israel, he at once said, "Then your choice must lie between Jerusalem and Damascus—no other town is at all suitable for you, either as a place of residence or a field of labour." We found the "Voice of Jacob," the able Jewish periodical, published in London, a great favourite with the English Jews of the place. They seemed to lament much the death of Rabbi Herschell, which was brought to their notice in a number of the work to which they directed our attention. Rabbi David, the son of Rabbi Herschell, a very modest and kind person, told us that he had some idea of proceeding to England to inquire after his father's affairs. The number of Jews from England resident in Jerusalem is very small. Rabbi Hannoch from the West Indies, is well acquainted with our language, and has seen a great deal of the world. He spoke in high terms of the services of Dr. Macgowan to the Jewish community, and said that they would not be overlooked by his kindred, even though Sir Moses Montefiore had kindly sent Dr. Frankel, a competent surgeon, to their assistance. He presented me with an interesting Jewish plan of the site of the temple.

Turkish Ladies.

CHAPTER XXI.

SECOND JOURNEY FROM JERUSALEM TO SAFED.

In two preceding Chapters,[1] I have conducted my reader over most of the country through which I am now about to convey him. I shall consequently carry him from the Holy City to Safed, on my way to the ancient capital of Syria, *per saltum et volatum*, noticing with particularity only various digressions which we made from our road, both to the right and left, for the inspection of interesting localities which I had not formerly visited, and relating the more remarkable incidents of our travel.

We finally left Jerusalem on Tuesday the 23d of May. Sending our servants and luggage in advance, we emerged

[1] Chapters xv. and xvi.

from the city at the gate of St. Stephen, that we might have another opportunity of tracing the walls round to that of Damascus. It was only near the latter point that we observed anything in them particularly interesting; and what we did there see worthy of notice, was merely the remains of ancient masonry.[1]

We left the Damascus Gate at noon. On passing the "Tombs of the Kings," we spent a considerable time in the superfluous work of measuring them, and forming of them a plan.[2]

From the summits of Scopus, with Jerusalem in sight for the last time, we prayed that the hour of its renewed deliverance and bliss may speedily arrive. Our withdrawal from the affecting scene which it presented to our view, as far as our feelings were concerned, was exactly similar to our approach to its borders. Seeking the good of the ancient children of Jerusalem, scattered throughout the world, we remembered them especially in our supplications, and that not without hope.

> "Yet he at length (time to himself best known)
> Remembering Abraham, by some wondrous call,
> May bring them back repentant and sincere,
> And at their passing cleave the Assyrian flood,
> While to their native land with joy they haste,—
> As the Red Sea and Jordan once he cleft:
> When to the promised land their fathers passed:
> To his due time and providence I leave them."—MILTON.

We did not quit the usual Nábulus road till we came to el-Bírah or Beeroth. At this place we stopped to procure a guide, and to examine the ruins, some of which I had noticed on the former occasion. The khán is large, and might be easily put into a state of repair. The foundations of the village, the population of which may consist of 600 or 700 souls, have an appearance of antiquity. The ruins of the church

[1] See vol. i. p. 421. [2] For their description, &c., see vol. i. pp. 426-430.

show that it must have been a substantial building. The native who conveyed us to it, gave it the name of Deir or Convent; and it is not improbable that it may have been connected with some such institution.

In half an hour after leaving el-Bírah, we were at Beitín or BETHEL.[1] Dr. Robinson took forty-five minutes to perform the journey reversely; but he seems to have kept more in the Wádí,—lying between the two places for the greater part of the way,—than we did. Before arriving at the ruins, we passed some caves in the rock, which afford shelter to the shepherds.

The ruins of Bethel principally lie at the extremity of a low ridge, with a slight shelving on each side of it, and surrounded by higher ground. They consist of numerous foundations, and broken walls of no great height, and loose stones, some of which are of a considerable size. Among the enclosures may be the remains of churches or public buildings.[2] A large tank, about 100 paces by 75, is close to the site. It is constructed in the regular Indian fashion, with its *band* or principal dam of large stones on the south, and with walls, on the two sides joining to this. It seems to have been fed, partly from the elevated ground contiguous to it, and partly from springs in its bottom. East of the ruins which I have noticed, and about a quarter of a mile distant from them, is the Burj Beitín, or "Tower of Beitín," at which also there are the remains of a Greek Church.

[1] Beit is the equivalent of Beth, and the final *n* of *l*. Most of the actual *changes* of letters in the transference from Hebrew into Arabic, occur, as in other languages, in the *l*, *m*, *n*, and *r*.

[2] Dr. Robinson, who is more confident that he made out what some of the ruins are than we were, says, "On the highest part towards the N.N.W. are the remains of a square tower; and near the southern point the walls of a Greek church, standing within the foundations of a much larger and earlier edifice, built of large stones, part of which have been used for erecting the later structure. The broken walls of several other churches are also to be distinguished."—Biblical Res. vol. ii. p. 127.

South of this, about the same distance from it, are the remains of another church. "But seek not Bethel, nor enter into Gilgal, and pass not to Beersheba, for Gilgal shall surely go into captivity, and Bethel shall come to nought."[1]

Mr. Nicolayson, with Mr. Elliott, visited these ruins in 1836;[2] Beitín or Beitíl (as it is denominated by some of the Christians in its neighbourhood) having been brought to the notice of the missionaries of Jerusalem by some of the Christians of the contiguous villages. There can be no doubt, from their position and name, that they occupy the site of the ancient Bethel, which was on the original borders of the tribes of Benjamin and Ephraim. Bethel is mentioned by Josephus as one of the cities of Judah, whose walls had been demolished, and which were refortified by the cruel Bacchides with strong walls and towers.[3] It is noticed by Jerome as a small village twelve Roman miles from Jerusalem, on the left of the road from Neapolis, the present Nábulus,—a distance wonderfully corresponding with that of these ruins.[4] The Bourdeaux pilgrim, A.D. 333, places it at twenty-eight miles from Neapolis, on the left of the road to Jerusalem, giving it the name of Bethar, and associating it with its Scripture references.[5] No description is given of it by the writers of the Crusades. "During the following centuries," says Dr. Robinson, "Bethel was sought for near to Sichem." This opinion requires qualification. Breydenbach, to whom

[1] Amos v. 5.

[2] Jewish Intelligence, 1837, p. 37; Elliott's Travels, vol. ii. p. 411.

[3] Joseph. Antiq., xiii. 1. 3.

[4] Under Aggai [Ai] Eusebius and Jerome say:—"Aggai, ad occidentalem plagam vergit Bethelis, non multum ab ea distans. Sita est autem Bethel, euntibus Æliam de Neapoli in læva parte viæ duodecimo circiter milliario ab Ælia: et usque hodie parvus licet vicus ostenditur: [sed et ecclesia ædificata est ubi dormivit Jacob pergens Mesopotamiam. Unde et ipsi loco BETHEL, id est domus Dei, nomen imposuit.] Aggai vero vix parvæ ruinæ resident: et locus tantummodo monstratur."—Hieron. de Sit. et Nom. loc. Heb., *sub Aggai*.

When at Bethel, we looked for some site for Ai, but, as might be expected from the preceding statement, without success.

[5] Itin. Hierosol. in Wesseling, p. 588.

he refers in support of it, while he mentions a *mount* called Bethel, near Sichem, gives the town of Bethel its true position.[1] Nicole le Huen, speaks of the Mount of Bethel, the fertility of which he notices, as "near to Jerusalem."[2] Eugesippus and others, it is true, placed it near Sichem.[3] It appears from the prolix article of Quaresmius on Bethel, that some contended that there were two places of the name.[4] Its actual situation seems to have been lost sight of for many years.

The Scriptural associations of Bethel are both delightful and painful. Shaded by a pastoral tent, on the heights between it and Hai to the east, we call with the father of the faithful on the name of the Lord.[5] Interested and solemnized by the glorious vision of Jacob, we say of it, "This is none other but the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven;"[6] and with the same patriarch we there make an altar unto God, who answered us in the day of our distress. We find it, after the death of Joshua, fall, through the righteous vengeance of God on its immoral inhabitants, into the hands of the house of Joseph.[7] We visit it with the devout and upright Samuel in his annual circuit of judgment.[8] We

[1] Breydenbach thus expresses his notions of various sites in this neighbourhood, starting from Gilgal:—"De Galgale loco de quo dictus est supra tribus leucis de fonte Helisei tantundem contra aquilonem in montanis a latere aquilonari Quarentene, est Hay civitas quam expugnavit Josue rege interfecto, ut dicitur Josue vi. De Hay ad unam leucam fere contra aquilonem sed aliquantulum declinando ad occidentem est Bethel civitas que quondam Lusa dicebatur, in tribu Benjamin. . . . De Bethel ad unam leucam contra aquilonem versus Rama, que de Sylo dicitur, est palma Delbore uxoris Lapidoth, que judicavit Israel, et Barach misit ad pugnandum contra Zizaram in monte Thabor. (Judicum iiii.) De Bethel ad duas leucas de Hierusalem tribus non longe a Rama Benjamin est Anatoth viculus sacerdotum modicus, a quo Jeremias propheta extitit oriundus."—Breydenbach, fol. 33.

[2] Le Grant Voyage de Hierusalem, feuill. 36.

[3] Euges. in Leon Allat. Sym. p. 111.

[4] Eluc. Ter. Sanct. tom. ii. pp. 788-796.

[5] Gen. xii. 8; xiii. 3.

[6] Gen. xxviii. 17; xxxv. 3.

[7] Judg. i. 25. [8] 1 Sam. vii. 16.

see Jeroboam planting there one of his abominable calves to tempt Israel to sin,[1] and there signally punished by God.[2] Our spirit is relieved, when its idolatrous establishment is totally destroyed by Josiah, the regal reformer of the Jewish nation.[3]

At Bethel we repeated the beautiful paraphrase,

> "O God of Bethel! by whose hand
> Thy people still are fed," &c.

And ere many hours had passed, we felt our peculiar need of the "covering wings" of our covenant God, to which it so touchingly alludes. We had given orders to our servants to have our tents pitched for us at the Ain Yebrúd, a pleasant village with a fountain about forty minutes to the north of Beitín, on the eastern road to Nábulus. When at the dusk, we arrived at the place where we hoped to have rested for the night, we received the unpleasant information that our auxiliaries,—not considering the place safe for our lodgement, on account of the bad character of the people,—had proceeded onwards, imagining all the while, in their ignorance of our plans for the day, that we were close upon their heels. Away they had gone, we knew not whither, and nothing was left to us but to do the best we could to hunt after them. From the Ain Yebrúd we struck across to Yebrúd itself, which, in passing, I would say, is a very thriving village; but no tidings there could we get of the fugitives. Darkness had now settled down upon us; but the place of our rest was still unfound. Dismounting from our horses, lest we should fall and injure ourselves among the roughnesses of the broken way, we dragged them along. We had some hopes of finding the delinquents at the Ain el-Haramíyah, the "fount of the blackguards or robbers," about three miles farther to the north; but they were not there.

[1] 1 Kings xii. 29, &c. [2] 1 Kings xiii. 4, &c. [3] 2 Kings xxiii. 15.

A light at Sinjil, four miles beyond this village, kindled our expectations; but they were again disappointed. But farther than this village, neither man nor beast, after our unwonted toil, was able to move.

The light which we had noticed on our approach to Sinjil, proceeded from a large fire blazing in the midst of the village, around which we found seated a band of surly-looking Arabs, three Turkish soldiers of cavalry, and a Jew from Jerusalem. They were somewhat astonished at our appearing among them about ten o'clock at night, a late hour in these parts of the world; but we thought it best to be sparing at first of explanations. At length we found an opportunity of telling the soldiers, that we had fallen behind our servants and tents, and that we should be glad to remain under their protection till the morning. They readily promised to do what they could in our behalf; but they told us, at the same time, that we were not in the best company. We stretched ourselves on the ground, with our feet to the fire, and with our heads upon a stone, or what else we could find, for a pillow; but their perpetual talk and unceasing tricks prevented us from getting any repose. One of the Turks happened to be a ventriloquist, and he kept the whole company in roars of laughter with his imitation of the action and cries of different birds and beasts. Sometimes he would give us the impression that a cock was crowing in the fire, that a horse was funking behind us, or a dog barking at our ears, or a camel chewing the cud, and performing its abominable deglutition to absolute choking, right under our noses. The Jew, in particular, he assailed to his utter torment. The cravings of hunger, meanwhile, were becoming somewhat keen in our case; for we had tasted nothing since breakfast. We arose and confessed our wants; and the Turks, to their credit be it spoken, gave us access to their tin canisters. We found in them some mutton which had been boiled in

milk; but we could get no bread. We were thankful for the cheer which was afforded to us; and on mentioning this to our hosts, they declared that we were indebted for it to the kindness which the English had shown to the Sultán! This intercommuning of Christians with Muslims, however, the villagers could not tolerate; and one of their number, a grisly dirty lubbard, called out to the soldiers, "What kind of Muhammadans are you? These are Nazarenes, no better than swine, and yet you allow them to plunge their snouts into your dish!" One of our number found some stirrings of spirit within him; and he sprang forward to him and said, "Certainly, we *are* Nazarenes." The blusterer got quite frightened, though there was no intention to injure a hair of his head; and he slunk away like a dog, growling as he went. His companions followed him, and we were left with the Turks, who told us that they apprehended that some evil would befall us ere the morning, as the Arab cultivators of this part of the country were notorious for their mischief, and were loud in their threats. We were very much disposed to agree with them in opinion.

24th May.—"Discretion is the best part of valour." At two o'clock in the morning, we got astir with the Turks, and taking hold of our horses, we led them out of the village as quietly as possible. Not a single individual at that hour seemed to be on the watch for us, and we met with no impediment on our departure. We had a most unpleasant trudge of it in the dark, till we came to the Khán Lebbán, which we reached at the break of day. Here we found the lost tents, with our servants in great concern for our long absence. As there was a guard at the khán, we considered ourselves safe for the present; and, after thanking God for his renewed mercies, we lay down upon our mats. We slept till ten o'clock, having given orders, that on no account we should be disturbed till that hour.

By eleven o'clock we had breakfasted, and felt ourselves prepared for the usual business of the day. We were in an interesting locality, close on the ancient village of Lebonah, now Lebbán; and we knew that SHILOH was not far distant. The position of this place, where the ark of the tabernacle so long rested, is very precisely laid down in Scripture. It is "on the north side of Bethel, on the east side of the highway that goeth up from Bethel to Shechem, and on the south of Lebonah."[1] One of the guards at the khán, after adjusting his matchlock, promised to conduct us to the ruins of Seilún, which are now its representative. He took us in a curved line round the end of the hill, which we had descended from Sinjil, on the borders of a fertile and well-cultivated valley, running down from the east and south, a continuation of the beautiful little plain lying before the Khán Lebbán. We passed through some of the fields of barley and wheat fast getting into the full ear. When we got out of sight of the khán, another Arab, carrying a musket, joined himself to our party; and he had the politeness to inform us, that unless we gave him bakshish to a satisfactory amount, he would not allow us to proceed to the place which we had in view. We put him off with a promise, and he accompanied us to the ruins, which we reached in about forty-five minutes after we had left our tents. They appeared to us to be situated a little further to the south than they are placed in Dr. Robinson's carefully constructed map, but exactly at such a point relative to Lebonah, as the exigencies of the passage which I have quoted above from Judges seem to demand. Eusebius and Jerome speak of it as "Selo in the tribe of Ephraim, and as twelve miles distant from Neapolis in the district of Acrabittena;"[2] and this is a tolerable approximation to a right statement of its

[1] Judges xxi. 19.

[2] Onomast. sub Selo.

distance from the place mentioned, if Shechem stood, as is generally supposed, somewhat nearer Jacob's well than the present Nábulus. Bonifacius, who wrote about the middle of the sixteenth century, as quoted by Quaresmius, seems to have been aware of its right position with regard to the Khán Lebbán, and mentions that an altar and a ruined church were there seen.[1] Though it was sometimes heard of by late travellers, it does not seem to have been visited by any author for several centuries, till its inspection by Dr. Robinson and Mr. Smith.

The ruins are more extensive than we expected to find them. Most of them are on a rising ground, surrounded, however, by higher hills. Though of ancient material,—large hewn stones and fragments of pillars,—they are principally, as mentioned by Dr. Robinson, those of a comparatively modern village. Among them there is an old arched building called the Mazárah, with two pillars in the middle, and having a recess like that of a mosk. It has a large Sindián oak growing before the door. About two bowshots from these ruins, and on another elevation, we observed a pyramidal-looking building,—for so it appeared at a distance,—and we went across to inspect it. It was called by our guides, and a party of natives which we found cooking at it, not the "Mosk of Seilún," as it is denominated by Dr. Robinson,[2] but the جَامِع السِّيتِّين Jámà es-Sittín, or "Mosk of the Sixty." Its pyramidal appearance is owing to some buttresses which have been erected to keep the proper walls

[1] "Pater Bonifacius loquens de itinere quod conficiunt peregrini eundo ex Jerusalem Sichem, situm Silo simul descripsit, dicens: 'Hinc (id est ex Elbir, sive Machmas) ad quindecim milliaria descendens in quamdam vallem, ubi magnum diversorium invenies, et extra fores illius fontem aquæ vivæ, præbentem transeuntibus refrigerium. Ad dexteram haud longe est Silo, ubi Israël olim adorabat; et Arca Domini multo tempore stetit. Altare et ecclesia diruta conspiciuntur.' Hæc ille."—Elucidat. Ter. Sanct. lib. vii. cap. 4.

[2] Biblical Researches, vol. iii. p. 86

of the building from falling. These walls are nearly four feet thick. They enclose an area of twenty by fourteen yards, according to our notes.[1] We were inclined to think the erection one of great antiquity. On the lintel above the door there is a figure of a jar, which we copied, like the manna pot which we see on the Jewish coins of "Simeon the Just." It is associated with circular wreaths of flowers, as at the Tombs of the Kings, and, if we mistook not, with some indistinct traces of an inscription. Several pillars are lying in the interior, with Corinthian capitals near them. Perhaps these ruins are those which Bonifacius, in a note quoted above, supposes to have belonged to a church. The Shiloh of the Israelites was early visited by the judgments of God. "But go ye now to my place which was in Shiloh, where I set my name at the first, and see what I did to it for the wickedness of my people Israel."[2] Josephus mentions the place only in connexion with the events referred to in Scripture. He gives it the names of Σηλὼ, Σιλὼ, Σιλοῦν, and Σηλὼν.[3] The two latter are like the full Hebrew form preserved in the word שׁלנני Shilonite.[4] In the days of Jerome, only "small vestiges of its ruins, and the foundations of an altar, remained."[5] It was by a strange inattention to the Scriptural intimation of the position of the place, that by some it was supposed to be situated on the heights of Nabí Samwíl, near Jerusalem.[6]

Before leaving the Khán Lebbán, we made a sketch map of the part of the country where we were, according to the

[1] Dr. Robinson makes it only twenty-eight feet square inside. Ut sup. p. 85.

[2] Jer. vii. 12.

[3] See Hudson's Josephus Antiq., pp. 198, 199, 361, &c. For other forms of the name, in Hebrew, Arabic, &c., see Winer's Biblische Realwörterbuch, under Silo.

[4] 1 Kings xi. 29.

[5] Hieron. com. in Sephen. i. 14; Epitaph. Paulæ., Rob. Bib. Res. vol. iii. p. 88.

[6] Asher's Benjamin of Tudela, vol. i. p. 78. Adrichom. Theatr. Terræ Sanctæ, p. 30

materials which we had for the purpose of comparing it with our personal observations. Much, we observed, yet remains to be done to obtain a correct delineation of this most interesting of all lands.

Our servants reached Nábulus before us. They gave notice to the Samaritans of our expected arrival; and Jacob, the hero who had descended into Jacob's well for us during my first visit,[1] came out to meet us, riding upon a pony. He informed us, that the declaration of his intention to go to Britain with me, had raised such a squall in the small tub of his community, as had nearly blown the bottom out of it; and that he had been obliged to forego his purpose. We made a moving appeal to him about the disappointment which I feared I should experience, particularly in reference to procuring, through his means, a copy of the Pentateuch and other Samaritan manuscripts. From his reply we judged that some plan had been formed by some individual or other of the Samaritans, as far as possible to meet my wishes.

We met with a very kind reception from our old friend Salá-man, who said that he had been long on the look-out for my return. Most of the information, respecting the Samaritans, which we obtained from him on this and the following day, I have already laid before my readers.[2]

25th May.—Before the break of day, we heard some patting at our window in our room in the Samaritan's house. To our inquiry, "What is that?" we got the joyful response, "Books, books!" I was immediately astir; and by the help of Deiri, I purchased from a Samaritan, whose name I promised not to mention, a bundle of manuscripts, containing some documents mostly entirely novel to Europeans,—the greater part of the Samaritan liturgy, two Ketuboth,—a

[1] See above, p. 54, &c.

[2] See above, pp. 45-79.

fac-simile, transcript, and translation of one of which are elsewhere given,—and specimens of Samaritan caligraphy. We did not much stickle about the price, particularly as the vender declared that he must fly from the place before the morning light, lest if seen near us, he should fall under the suspicions of the high-priest, who is determined to keep all the Samaritan writings to his own community.

Mr. Graham this morning ascended to the top of Mount Gerizim; but as I was satisfied with the view which I had formerly had from that interesting locality, and as the injury which my knee had received on Mount Carmel, had not been bettered by our pedestrian achievements of the night of the 23d, I did not accompany him. He was highly gratified by his excursion.

In the course of the day the priest admitted us into the synagogue, where we had a great deal of interesting conversation with him and his people. He showed us many of his manuscripts, but he positively declined to allow Mr. Graham a sight of the old copy of the Pentateuch which I have already noticed.[1] I revised with him a scheme, which I had made out from my notes of my first visit to his mansion, for explaining the Samaritan method of reading Hebrew.

Seven Jews came together to visit us, on a special errand; and they were received respectfully and kindly by the Samaritan priest, who was present with us, and who treated them to coffee. They lodged a serious complaint with us about the murder of one of their brethren by a Turk, a few days ago, and begged us to solicit the Governor of Nábulus to execute justice in the lamentable case, which was to them an occasion of great terror. Their story was as follows:—A Muslim dervish came to buy some tobacco from a Jewish lad, named Isaac Satalium. When Isaac asked the price of

[1] See above, p. 78.

the tobacco, the dervish said, "Open your hand, and take the money."—"I wont do that," said Isaac; "put it down upon the box as usual, that I may see it." Abu Phinehas, another Jew of thirty-two years of age, who was present, expressed his concurrence in the wish of his co-religionist, and said, "Why do you mock the lad?" The dervish became enraged, and said, "I shall show you that," and went away and brought a Turkish soldier, who fired a double-barrelled pistol upon him, as he rose to go home. The two balls entered near his heart. They were extracted; but three days afterwards he died. This was on the 22d of this month. The criminal took refuge with a Muhammadan, named Ibráhím Beg, who refused to surrender him to the Wakíl of the Governor of Nábulus. It was feared that the government was about to connive at his escape from punishment, though a representation of the case had been made to Jerusalem. We were anxiously solicited to go to ask the Governor of Nábulus to do his duty, as all the Jews of the place were in the greatest terror about the security of their lives.

This was the second case of an atrocious treatment of the Jews by the Turks which had been brought to our notice since our leaving Beirút. The other was at 'Akká, where, in the house of the English vice-consul, Mr. Finzi, himself an Israelite, we saw a Jew whose arm was most dreadfully wounded by the stroke of a sword, because he did not instantly dismount, when ordered, and give up his ass to a soldier of the Sulṭán. We expressed our horror at such conduct, and our willingness to do every thing that might be expedient to prevent its recurrence. We suggested to our poor friends, however, that they might be punished for mentioning their complaints to us, the subjects of a foreign power, and begged them to consider the possible effects of our visit to the governor before urging us to make it. "We cannot be in worse circum-

stances than we are," they replied; "do go and implore justice in our behalf."

We were obedient to this requisition, and to the governor's public office we went, where we found him engaged in business with several Turks and Arabs, the latter of whom he was examining through an interpreter. He ordered pipes and coffee to be given to us; and, as soon as he was at leisure, he listened to our representations. He put several questions to us and the Jews who had accompanied us, and he asked an explanation of our interference. We could only justify ourselves on grounds of humanity, and because we had some interest in the case of the relatives of the youth who had been killed, one of whom, an uncle, resided in India. He seemed satisfied with our statement, and he declared that he should see that the laws of the Sultán in the painful case should take their fullest effect. He was extremely anxious indeed, to gain our good opinion; and he told us to command his services if he could do anything to make us comfortable during our stay at Nábulus. To show that we were disposed to be on good terms with him, we asked a couple of janissaries to conduct us through the town, and show us its lions. Our request was immediately granted.

We begged our new guides and informants to take us through the best of the gardens; and this they did with perfect readiness. These gardens, which lie principally along the flank of Gerizim, are most beautiful. They are more remarkable, however, for their trees than their flowers and pot vegetables. We got an abundant supply in them of oranges and limes. The apricots, quinces, plums, and pomegranates, were not yet quite ripe.

When passing through the town, we asked the janissaries to take us into the ancient church of Nábulus, which has for ages been used as a mosk, and tried our best powers of persuasion upon them, to effect our object, using the promise of

a *bakshish* as the climax of our eloquence on the occasion. They were our humble servants; and clearing the way with their staves and switches, they introduced us into this venerable building, to the great horror of the Mullâhs and Muslims who were the spectators of our intrusion. Its courts, so far as we know, had not been trodden by Christian feet for centuries. We had little time given to us to look around us. The only thing that struck us as peculiar in the interior was a couple of rows of rude granite pillars. In the building, as seen from the streets, there is a window highly ornamented.

After our walk we visited the Jews at their quarter, where we had with them a good deal of interesting religious conversation. Our interference in their behalf seemed to have made upon them a good impression.

26th May.—Our march to-day extended from Nâbulus, which we left a quarter before seven in the morning, to Jenín, and that entirely by a route over which I have already conducted my readers.[1] On drawing near to Samaria, we noticed the applicability both to it and to Shechem, and their contiguous lands, of the words of Hosea, "Ephraim, as I saw Tyrus, is planted in a pleasant place."[2] When we observed the isolated eminence which it formerly covered, surrounded by its deep valleys, we could understand the proneness of the Israelites, against which the prophet complains, to trust in "the mountain of Samaria."[3] The fields, among which we were passing, were "white to harvest."[4] As the reapers are in no danger of being overtaken by the winter in these parts, and do not anticipate such a change of the weather in summer as will seriously injure their crops, they are not hurried in the work of cutting them down, as in more northern regions. The whole crops in sight sometimes appear ready for the sickle.

[1] See above, pp. 79-85.
[2] Hosea ix. 13.
[3] Amos vi. 1.
[4] John iv. 35.

At Sebastíyah, we examined the western colonnade, containing most remarkable and extensive remains of a series of pillars in two rows, many of which are overthrown, and all of which are entirely without their capitals. The height of the shafts is sixteen feet, and their average diameter twenty inches. They have stood at a distance of eight feet from one another. The space between the two lines of the pillars, we found to be twenty-two horse paces, for we did not dismount to make a more accurate measurement of them, and their length eleven hundred and seventy-two. Seventy pillars only are now standing; but being on the same terrace and level, and otherwise in the same relative position to one another, it is evident that they must have belonged to the same erection. It must have been one, consequently, of great dimensions. From fragments of volutes, which we observed in the locality, we concluded that it must have been of the Ionic order of architecture. I have little doubt that it is the sacred place alluded to by Josephus in his account of the decoration and rebuilding of Samaria by Herod the Great.[1] Not a single monument of Samaria, known to be connected with the kings of Israel, whose capital it was from the days of Omri till the carrying away of the tribes by Shal-

[1] "When he went to fortify Samaria, he brought along with him thither a colony of those who had been of use to him in the war, and of the neighbours, partly from a desire to build a temple there, and partly because formerly it had been too little celebrated, but chiefly because he wished a place of security for himself and a monument of his munificence; and having changed its name, he called it Sebaste; and he divided the neighbouring territory, which was the richest of that region, among the colonists, that they might be comfortable, immediately on their arrival. He also surrounded the city with a strong wall, making use of the steepness of the place, to add to its strength. In compass it was not so great as it had formerly been; but it was so great that it yielded in no respect to the most famous cities; for it was twenty stadia in circumference. Within, and in the middle of it, he left a sacred inclosure, of three half stadia, adorning it with all sorts of things; and in it he built a temple, remarkable principally for its magnitude and beauty. He also adorned every part of the city."—Joseph. Antiq. lib. xv. 8, 5.

manezar, or with the foreigners introduced by the king of Assyria, who ultimately received their denomination from it, or the district in which it is situated, is now known to remain. "What is the transgression of Jacob? is it not Samaria? ... Therefore I will make Samaria as an heap of the field, and as plantings of a vineyard: and I will pour down the stones thereof into the valley, and I will discover the foundations thereof."[1] Ages ago was this prophecy fulfilled.[2]

On our way to Jenín, we observed that the ground over which we passed was quite suitable for carriages, and in this respect unlike the greater part of the country of Judah. The "chariot" was the vain confidence of old for Ephraim, and the horse for Jerusalem.[3] It is very probable that we went to the entrance of the great valley by the same road reversely by which Jehu went in his chariot from Jezreel to Samaria.[4]

On coming into the valley of Esdraelon, and turning eastward to Jenín, we noticed the resemblance of the soil to the black cotton districts of India. We terminated our journey for the day at half-past five in the evening, and pitched our tents in a field on the N.E. of the town, and near its lovely gardens. A short time after we were encamped, we observed a troop of Badawín, coming in our direction at their fullest speed, with their muskets and spears pointed, as if they were going to make a charge in the day of battle. As they approached us, they gave a tremendous hurrah, and then fired their pieces over our tents, into which we betook ourselves to escape their notice. They called out for a contribution; but we did not deign to return them an answer. They then moved on to the town, where they picketted their steeds for the night. What their object was in the demon-

[1] Micah i. 5, 6.

[2] For the early notices of Samaria, see Relandi Palæstina, pp. 979-982; and for some of a later date, Robinson's Biblical Researches, vol. iii. pp. 146-149.

[3] Zech. ix. 10.

[4] 2 Kings x. 11, 12.

stration which they made, we did not learn. One of them next morning broke into the gardens near us, and stole some vegetables before our eyes. For this theft he was tremendously scolded by a woman who witnessed it.

27th May.—We ascended, before breakfast, some rocks about a bowshot to the east of Jenín. We observed distinctly from them the ridge on the western side of the great plain, which I have already noticed.[1] It seems highest towards the north. The most northern point of Carmel bore from us N.N.W., the village of Wazar N.E., and the Walí on the summits of Jebel Dahí N. by E.

The gardens on the north of Jenín seem as if they had been only lately laid out. The hedge by which they are surrounded is of cactus; but it has yet attained to no great height. They contain some beautiful specimens of an ornamental tree called Sífar, like the weeping-willow.

We left Jenín on our way to Nazareth at seven in the morning, passing along the valley of Esdraelon by the eastern road. We arrived at Zerâín or Jezreel at half-past nine. We rode round the town in search of the sarcophagi which are said to be found in its neighbourhood, and altogether we found eleven of them, entire or in fragments, a number greater than we expected. They are doubtless of great antiquity, and may even be Israelitish. Among the ruins we observed many dark basaltic stones, showing us that a rock different in character from that to which we have been accustomed in this country, must be in the neighbourhood. The valley to the north of Jezreel has a regular slope to the Jordan, and is itself considerably lower than the great plain. Several founts and small streams, generating much verdure and fertility, are apparent throughout it. We breakfasted at the well to the north of the village, from which it is supplied

[1] See above, p. 238.

with water. There is another well among the ruins of the town itself, but it is now dry.

We ascended the tower which I formerly noticed. The cultivation of the great plain appeared to me to-day more limited than it did on the occasion of my first visit. A considerable part of it is lying fallow, or is covered with weeds, yet, considering the sparseness of its population, I am disposed to apply to the grain which actually appears, the language of Madam de Stael, when, speaking of Kiew in Russia, she says, "Vous voyez de grandes plaines de blé qui semblent cultivées par des mains invisible, tant les habitations et les habitants sont rares."[1]

On proceeding up the valley which slopes to the Jordan, on the track which leads to el-Fúlah, we observed that much of the rock exposed to view is of compact black basalt, or of basaltic tufa. It is from it, doubtless, that part of the building material of Zeràín has been procured. It is the basis of the great plain onwards to the Mezràah, even to the hills of Nazareth. It seems to cross over to Tiberias between Mount Hermon and Jebel Dahí. It is owing to its debris, and the mixture of alluvial matter, that the soil of the great valley is so excellent, compared with much in its neighbourhood, and in many parts so well adapted to the raising of cotton.

We got to Nazareth in good time to-day, and renewed our acquaintance with the monks at the convent, who gave us permission again to occupy the casa nuova. The superior seemed to be in high spirits, when we communicated to him the news of the world without. The fraternity of monks everywhere may adopt the language of a Trappist father to the distinguished lady from whose writings I have just made a quotation: "Nous sommes des poltrons, qui nous sommes retirés dans une fortresse, parce que nous ne nous sentions pas le courage de nous battre en plaine."[2]

[1] Dix Années d'Exil., p. 284. [2] Dix Années d'Exil., p. 241.

Sabbath, 28th May.—To-day, we rested in the town of Nazareth.

29th May.—We left Nazareth twenty minutes before six in the morning, and in three hours we reached the top of Mount Tabor. The view from this commanding height, owing to the mists, was not so extensive to-day as on the former occasion.

We breakfasted at the Khán es-Súḳ; and I had there a second opportunity of attending the weekly Badawín fair. Instead of going to Tiberias by Lúbíyah, which occurs on the usual route, we went by Kafr Sabt, a village consisting only of a few houses, but having traces of old foundations. It stands on the margin of a considerable valley, called Wádí Bessúm, which, owing to the character of the ground, we had not particularly marked when on Mount Tabor, and which was not represented on our map. This ravine is very deep. There is a gradual slope on each side of it, except near the middle, where there is a considerable precipice. It runs E. and S.E., and probably joins the Wádí el-Fajah, which runs down to the Jordan, a little to the south of the lake of Tiberias. We kept along its southern side for some time after leaving Kafr Sabt, and then we crossed it in a north-easterly direction.

We visited the hot-baths of Tiberias before entering the town; but after my former experience of their exhausting effects, we preferred taking a swim in the cool and limpid lake, to writhing and twisting ourselves in their ebullient tank.

Mr. Ḥaiim, the Jew, was happy to receive us as his guests in Tiberias. His good wife, Rachel, again produced her plate. A muslim, who happened to see it displayed upon the table, walked deliberately in, and, before our eyes, helped himself to a silver salt-cellar, with which he absconded. This case of theft went before the Aga; but while we remained

at the place no satisfaction was obtained, though the culprit was identified.

30th May.—In the morning we paid a visit to the chief Rabbi of the Sephardim Jews, who received us, as before, with much kindness. He introduced us to some of the female members of his family, good-looking and sagacious matrons, and to a number of Rabbis, whom he called together to see us. We had a good deal of interesting conversation with the company, both secular and sacred. We showed the Rabbis our Samaritan manuscripts; and we were gratified to find that one of their number, distinguished for his learning, was able to read them. After leaving them, we went to the synagogue of the Khasidim, the clamorous worship of which I have already described.

In the course of the forenoon we proceeded along the western side of the lake. Near Majdel we observed a number of huts made of dried reeds, unlike any which we had seen elsewhere in the country. We dismounted at them, and entered into conversation with some of their inmates, or rather owners, for they were working in the plots of ground contiguous to them. We found that they were gypsies; and on my addressing them in one or two of the dialects of the north-west of India, they declared to me, through the same media, that I was one of their brethren. When I answered them in the negative, they cast their eyes on Dhanjibhái, and said, "Then, he is a Nawar." They set us down at once as friends, and called to their companions at a little distance to join our company. We sat with them for half-an-hour, the greater part of which I spent in writing down a list of some of their words. These, with others which I acquired elsewhere, I give in another part of this work. The Indian scholar will at once admit that the gypsies must have originally come from the banks of the Indus. When we told them that their language is still there current, and that their

ancestors must have come from that locality, they gave us implicit credit, though they had no distinct traditions of the fact. In the valley of Gennesareth they have been settled for years, though hitherto they have not been brought to notice, or observed by any travellers in these parts. They act as tinkers and musicians, having some rude instruments of their own, as well as cultivators. They also make fans and large wooden needles for sale. They say that there are many persons of their kin in Syria, but only forty or fifty near Tiberias. They are all Muhammadans.

Taking leave of our cousins the gypsies, we determined to do what we could to reach the excavations called the Kalàt Ibn Màán, which, though remarkably curious, have very seldom been visited.[1] We rounded the hill at the base of which Majdel stands, turning to the left, and going up the Wádí Ḥamám. A guide whom we had got at Tiberias, who pretended to be acquainted with the position of the caves, told us about a quarter of an hour after we had left the margin of the lake, that we must ascend the steep sides of the Wádí Ḥamám to the precipitous scarps above it, at which, he said, we should find a road which leads to them. We followed his directions; but when we got to the face of the rock, we found no road, while, owing to the steepness of the ascent which we had made, both horses and riders were in a dangerous position. Mr. Graham, Dhanjibhái, and I, threw ourselves off the necks of our horses, keeping their heads uppermost till we could devise some method of getting them relieved from the position in which we had placed them. Our Arab teacher, Nasíf, in dismounting, overturned his animal; and down it slid and rolled to his great consternation. Luckily it was but little injured by its new method of travelling. We kept slanting along the heights, till we were relieved from all anxiety.

[1] See above, p. 138.

Continuing up the Wádí Ḥamám for about twenty minutes, we saw the caves in the clefts of the rocks on each side of the valley. We ascended first to those on the south. They are accurately described by Burckhardt to the extent that he speaks of them :—"In the calcareous mountain are many natural caverns which have been united together by passages cut in the rock, and enlarged in order to render them more commodious for habitation ; walls have also been built across the natural openings, so that no person could enter them except through the narrow communicating passages ; and wherever the nature of the almost perpendicular cliff permitted it, small bastions were built, to defend the entrance of the castle, which has thus been rendered almost impregnable. The perpendicular cliff forms its protection above, and the access from below is by a narrow path, so steep as not to allow of a horse mounting it. In the midst of the caverns several deep cisterns have been hewn. The whole might afford refuge to about six hundred men, but the walls are now much damaged. The place was probably the work of some powerful robber, about the time of the Crusades ; a few vaults of communication, with pointed arches, denote Gothic architecture." [1] In supplementing this notice, I may say, that the rocks in which the caves occur are quite precipitous. The excavations rise only to about a third of the whole height. The slope between them and the Wádí Ḥamám is very steep. There are also excavations and natural caves on the northern side of the Wádí, which, as far as I am aware, have not been noticed. They are nearly opposite the fort, now referred to. Some of them are of a large size, and they add considerably to the romance of the locality. What are called the Horns of Ḥaṭṭín are merely a continuation of the rocks of the Wádí Ḥamám. Though the walls and buttresses of the Kalât are

[1] Burckhardt's Travels in Syria, p. 331.

doubtless comparatively modern, the remarkable natural caves of this place could not be overlooked in times of antiquity. Irbid, the name of an ancient site on the ground immediately above them, having been identified as a corruption of an Arbela, it could not escape notice that they are the Caves of Arbela, mentioned by Josephus, as those from which Herod the Great dispossessed most formidable bands of robbers after his taking of Sepphoris, and connected with which he himself built walls.[1] Reland, and others since his day, have suggested the idea that this Arbela is probably the BETH-ARBEL of Hosea x. 4.[2]

Descending the Wádí Ḥamám, we arrived again at the margin of the plain of Gennesareth, now called el-Ghawein, or the Little Ghor. We kept along its western side till we

[1] Jos. Antiq. xiv. 15. 4-5; Bell. Jud. i. 16. 2-4; ii. 20, 6; Vit. 37. Dr. Robinson, who did not visit the caves, adverts to their historical connections, vol. iii. p. 280, &c. The first suggestion of the identity of Irbid with Arbela, he says, he believes, was made by the reviewer of Raumer's Palästina in the "Gelehrte Anzeigen" of Munich, Nov. 1836, p. 870. seq. Raumer in his supplement to his excellent work, says, "What Robinson says of Arbela is, according to the review in the Munich Anzeigen."—Beiträge zur Biblischen Geographie, p. 19. The data for fixing the situation of Arbela are well collected by Reland, (p. 575); and they perfectly agree with the site in this locality. Rabbi Petachia speaks of Arbel as being in the Upper Galilee. Tour du Monde in Nouv. Journ. Asiatique, Nov. 1831.

Josephus, when referring to the caves, says:—"Now, these caves were among broken rocks, and inaccessible on all sides, and are only to be ascended by narrow and winding pathways. The rock in front of them, extended itself into very deep valleys, with a perpendicular and craggy declivity, in such a manner that the king was in doubt what he should do on account of the difficulty of the place; but at length he fell upon a very dangerous stratagem; for he let down the most hardy of his men in chests to the entrance of the caves."—Joseph. Bell. Jud. lib. i. 16. 4.

What Dr. Robinson says of the identity of the names Arbela and Irbid, will be assented to by all who have paid any degree of attention to the permutation of letters in oriental words. "Irbid is apparently a corruption of Irbil, the proper Arabic form for Arbela; for although this change of *l* into *d*, is very uncommon, yet the same name Irbid is found also in a large village in the region east of the Jordan, where we know there was another Arbela."—Bib. Res. vol. iii. pp. 281, 282.

[2] Reland, ut sup.

came to the ruins called Abu Shúshah. From this place we began the ascent to Ṣafed, keeping to the east of the Wádí Rabadíyah. Our road up the margin of this deep and romantic ravine was principally over basaltic rocks, here overlying the chalk, of many strata of which, of a straw-yellow colour, we had continuous sections in the Wádí for several miles. Our path was one of considerable difficulty.

> "These high wild hills, and rough uneven ways,
> Draw out our miles, and make them wearisome."

Darkness had settled down upon us before we arrived at Ṣafed. Our old friend Rabbi Samuel, with whom we expected to lodge, having just had a birth in his family, was unable to receive us; but he procured accommodation for us in the house of another Jew, Shem Thov. A great many of the Jews of Ṣafed we found absent at Meirún, celebrating the festival of the thirty-third of the Omer or sheaf.[1] Multitudes of Jews from Tiberias, Sidon, Damascus, and other places, were congregated at that place, at the tombs of the Rabbis.

31st May.—This morning we found it necessary to despatch Dhanjibhái on urgent private business to Beirút. The service which we found it necessary to require of him, considering the wildness of part of the country over which he had to pass, was one of no small difficulty, but it was undertaken by the ardent and affectionate youth with less hesitation than it was proposed to him, even though we could furnish him with no other guide or attendant but his own horse-keeper. We advised him to be directed by circumstances in the choice of his route; but we recommended him to include, on his way to Tyre, the village of el-Jish, the Giscala of Josephus, Ḳáná, the KANAH of Asher,[2] and the remark-

[1] See Lev. xxiii. 10, etc.

[2] See above, p. 230.

able sarcophagus at the foot of the hills on the east of the plain of Tyre, called Ḳabr Heirán, or the reputed "tomb of Heiram," the friend of Solomon. We put into his hands Mr. Bonar's Narrative of an Enquiry of a Mission to the Jews. It notices more, perhaps, of the villages that occur on this line, and more of the general aspect of the country in which they are situated, though not with much claim to geographical precision, than Dr. Robinson's work, which in general is very copious in its details.[1]

At midday Mr. Graham and I set out for Meirún, distant about two hours from Ṣafed, that we might see what the Jews were doing at the tombs. On our way thither, we met great numbers of them returning to their homes, who told us that the festivities had been concluded on the preceding day. Among these persons, was the chief Rabbi of the Sephardim Jews of Ṣafed. Though he was labouring under indisposition, he kindly offered to go with us to Meirún, to explain the antiquities of the place, and we gave our consent. He took us, in the first instance, to the remains of the ancient synagogue. Its southern wall is still, to a good extent, standing. The stones of which it is constructed are large, being about four feet six inches long, by two feet seven inches deep. Its doors are worthy of notice. The height of the larger one is nine feet eight inches, and the breadth five feet seven inches. The door-posts are of a single stone of the height now mentioned, and two feet in width, and a little more in depth. The lintel above is of one stone, extending beyond the posts about a couple of feet. The rock has been levelled to form the floor of the synagogue; and it overlooks a precipice on its northern side. The erection was first made, the Rabbi said, fifty years after the destruc-

[1] Dr. Robinson explains the comparative meagreness of his work referring to this track, by his having erroneously supposed that it must have been repeatedly described.—Vol. iii. p. 365.

tion of Jerusalem; and it was standing in the days of Maimonides.[1]

Near the synagogue is the tomb of Rabbi Jochanan Sandelar. It is in a cave, over which there is a plain erection, with a small pillar with a stone basin at the top, in which oil had been burned the day before our visit.

There is a considerable enclosure for tombs and apartments at the chief place of pilgrimage, the key of which the Rabbi had in his possession. He opened it, and showed us a small oratory used during the days of the festival. At one end of the room is the tomb of Rabbi Simeon ben Yochai, the reputed author of the Zohar, and at the other of his son Rabbi Eleazar. At the left hand as we enter is the tomb of Rabbi Aba Saba. There are three pillars upon it for the burning of oil.

The tombs of Rabbi Hillel, and "thirty-six of his pupils," are in a large excavation. It is of this place that Messrs. Bonar and M'Cheyne correctly say, "A little lower down the hill we entered a large cave having seven vaults hewn out in it, containing many places for dead bodies, all empty. At the entrance lay four singularly carved stones, probably intended for lids of the sarcophagi."[2] Benjamin of Tudela notices the tombs of Hillel and Shamai, and twenty of their disciples, as being in a cave near Merun or Maron, as he calls Meirún, and also those of Rabbi Benjamin ben Jephet, and

[1] It is of this ruined synagogue that Messrs. Bonar and M'Cheyne say:—"But the most remarkable object is a beautiful gateway, like the one we saw at Kefr-birhom. The carving appeared to be after the same pattern. The stones are very large; and the whole space occupied by the edifice can be accurately traced by the large foundation-stones that are distinctly visible. A pillar, said to belong to this building, lay among the ruins in the village."—Narrative of a Mission of Enquiry to the Jews, pp. 375, 376.

[2] Narrative of a Mission to the Jews, p. 376.—This supposition about the lids of the sarcophagi, is confirmed by a passage in the Jichus ha-Aboth, in which it is mentioned, that each of their coffins, in the form of a water trough, was covered by a single stone.—Hotting. Cip. Heb. p. 69.

of Rabbi Judah ben Beterah.[1] Rabbi Petachia, who wrote in the same century, speaks of the tombs of the same Rabbis being in the "Lower Galilee," and recites, in connexion with them, an absurd legend of a large vase which was supernaturally filled with water on the approach of a pious worshipper, and, vice versa, found empty on the approach of one of a different character.[2] Neither of these writers mentions the tomb of Rabbi Simeon ben Jochai; but this may be owing to some aversion to the Cabala. It is mentioned in the Jichus ha-Aboth. As both Rabbi Hillel and his contemporary Shammai, were doctors of the great synagogue, the Jews must suppose Meirún to be a place of great antiquity. The Jews of Ṣafed say that it is the Shimron-meron of Joshua xii. 20; which is not mentioned in any other part of the Bible, and for fixing which there are no Scriptural data.[3] Meirún is mentioned in the Talmud.[4]

The chief Rabbi returned with us to Ṣafed. We respected his age, kindness, and sincerity, but we could scarcely maintain our gravity as he jogged along with us, riding upon an ass, with his bed and bed-clothes as a saddle, and with pots, pans, and pitchers, protruding from two immense bags on each side of him. Near the village Ain Zeitún, "the Fount of the Olives," he pointed out to us the tomb of Rabbi Benjamin ben Jephet. This is another of the sepulchres in this neighbourhood visited by the Jewish pilgrims. He took us to his house, where he treated us most hospitably. His establishment is remarkably clean and neat. Though an old man himself, he has a young and active wife, who manages his household affairs. We presented him with a copy of

[1] Asher's Benjamin, vol. i. p. 82, and מד (45.)

[2] Tour du Monde in Nouv. Journ. Asiatique, Nov. 1831, p. 392.

[3] Reland, (p. 991,) says that Shimron-Meron is perhaps the Shimron of Josh. xix. 15; but the Talmudical writers identify this Shimron with Simonias. Compare Reland, p. 1017.

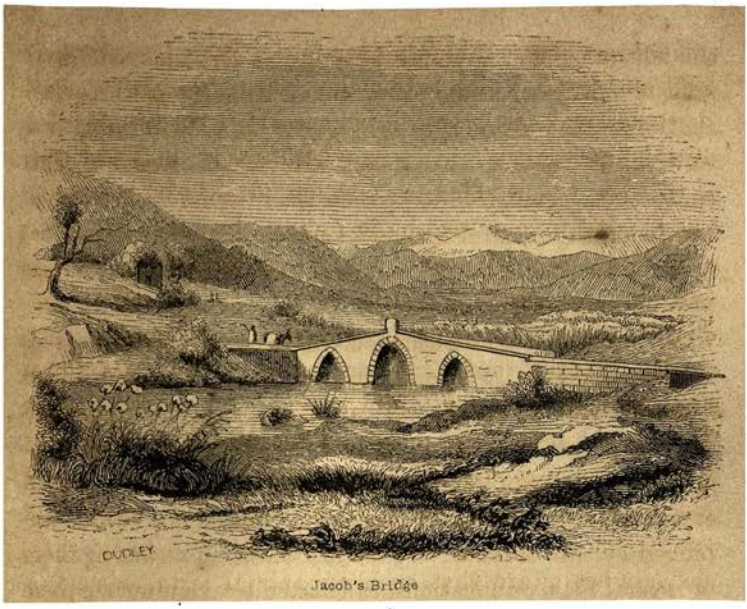
[4] See Reland. Palest. sub Gusch Chalab, p. 817.

the address of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland to the Jews, and recommended it to his particular attention. He introduced us to a Jew from Beirút, who had come up to Ṣafed in search of a wife for his nephew. This considerate agent told us that he had been unsuccessful in procuring the needful for his friend, as 200 gházis were demanded for a daughter; but he hoped to get one at Tiberias at a cheaper rate.

From the Rabbi's house we went to one of the synagogues of the Khasidim, where we found about forty individuals assembled for worship. Their proceedings were most affecting, and exactly like those which I have already described as seen at Tiberias.[1] On dismissing, they walked extremely slowly to their homes, according to the rule approved by the Talmud. We made a distribution among them of several little publications, calculated to excite among them a spirit of inquiry, and to direct their minds to Him of whom Moses and the prophets wrote.

Our host, Shem Thov, on our return to his house, gave us most affecting accounts of the absolutely heathen-ceremonies observed by the Jews at the festival at the tombs which had just closed, without at all seeing their import. He told us that the most valuable clothes are burned in the oil basins to the manes of the deceased rabbis, in fulfilment of vows made, and in anticipation of favours desired. From all that I have seen or read of traditional Rabbinism, I have no hesitation in saying, that it is as great a corruption of real Judaism as Paganism is of the patriarchal faith, and Popery of Christianity.

[1] See above, p. 133.



Jacob's Bridge

CHAPTER XXII.

FROM SAFED TO DAMASCUS—TOWN AND PASHALIK OF DAMASCUS.

THE route embraced in the first part of this Chapter, though not an unusual one for travellers, has been but seldom and sparingly described. My notes I consequently submit to the reader without abridgment, regretting, at the same time, that they are not more copious.

1st June, 1843.—We left Ṣafed at six o'clock, A.M., and reached Jacob's Bridge,—or rather the Bridge of Jacob's Daughters, for its Arabic name is Jisr Benát Yáḳúb,—at ten. The road, after winding down the north-east portion of the hill on which Ṣafed stands, strikes across the Sahil eṭ-Ṭúleh, or "Long Plain," lying between the lake Merom and that of Tiberias, in the direction of E.N.E. This plain is of excellent

soil, a deep black mould formed from the debris of the basaltic rocks and dykes, which here make their appearance, running in a north and north-west direction. It is partly under cultivation, and partly lying waste, with a most luxurious crop of thistles, yellow, blue, and violet. It has no villages or houses; but we observed in it several clusters of tents and reed huts, especially near the margin of the lake Ḥúleh.

When we were a few yards distant from Jacob's Bridge, we saw the Turkish guards pointing their guns to some object across the Jordan. It proved to be an animal a little larger than a cat. They did not succeed in shooting it. We thought it some species of viverra; but they gave it the name of *Sammúr*, which is commonly applied to the sable, the mustela Scythica. It has probably received this name from the value which may be attached to its skin. We were not aware that such an animal is to be found in the country.

These guards, who have their station-house on the west side of the bridge, strongly exhorted us not to persist in our journey to Damascus. The road thither, they said, was most unsafe. The Anazah Badawín,—the most powerful confederation of the Badawín of the Syrian desert,—had come up, in search of pasturage, to the very flanks of Jebel esh-Sheikh. They were numerous as the locusts; and they were devouring and destroying all before them. Several parties had been robbed and ill-treated by them between the bridge and Damascus. Our servants joined their remonstrances to those of the Turks; but as we had urgent business at Damascus, and had not time to reach it by the road from Ḥásbeiyá, we resolved, in dependence on the Divine protection, to keep to the course which we had chosen.

Our cavalcade halted at the bridge for an hour and a half, near a ruined Khán at its eastern end. While our breakfast was preparing, we bathed and swam in the Jordan, and

wrote down a few notes connected with the locality in which we were. The bed of the river is unequal in depth, varying from two to six or seven feet; but, at this season of the year, we observed but little appearance of a ford to give rise to the imagination, that Jacob past the Jordan at this place on his way from Padan-aram.[1] The stream is rather rapid, and it seems plentifully stocked with fishes. It is thirty-four yards wide. Numerous reeds, rushes, canes, thorns, oleanders, and other plants, line its banks below and above the bridge. We noticed the papyrus, which is also seen on the banks of some of the rivers running into the Mediterranean on the western coast. The bridge has three pointed arches. By some mistake, Burckhardt says it has four. The matter would not be worth mentioning, had not certain parties, manufacturing their accounts more from his notes than their own observations, repeated his error. Even Dr. Robinson has tripped at this *pons asinorum;* but his excuse is, that the bridge was invisible, while, from the heights near Ṣafed, by the aid of a telescope, he was exercising his visual organs on the Khán on the left bank of the river.[2] Cotovicus says of the bridge in his day, "tribus innititur arcubus,"[3] and Thevenot, "ce pont est soûtenu de trois arcades."[4] As it now stands, it is well represented by Bernatz,[5] whose view of it, in a reduced form, is given at the head of this Chapter. There is a curious Arabic inscription at its centre, by which it is made to tender its own acknowledgments to Jezzár Páshá of Akká, of whose territories the Jordan formed the eastern boundary. It runs somewhat in this style:—"I, this bridge, complained of the destruction of my foundation to the Wazír the Butcher. He built me and increased me. . . . He wishes a reward;

[1] It was over the ford Jabbok that Jacob past on his return from Mesopotamia, previous to his meeting Esau.—Gen. xxxii. 22.

[2] Bib. Res. vol. iii. p. 368.

[3] Cotovivi Itin. Hierosol. p. 361.

[4] Voyage de Levant, tom. ii. p. 686.

[5] Bilder aus dem Heilegen Lande. See also 'Ali Bey's Travels, vol. ii. p. 261.

may God increase his reward." The bridge, like the contiguous buildings, is principally of basaltic stone. The bed of the river is low, compared with the surrounding country, but, according to Schubert, 350 Paris feet above the level of the sea.[1] The banks, the average height of which may be about 200 feet, slope irregularly down to it, leaving a small margin, where is the covert of reeds and bushes already noticed. The banks appear highest to the south of the bridge. The location of the bridge seemed to be tolerably correct in Dr. Robinson's map. It is of importance to notice this fact, as we have had no regular survey of this part of the country.

We started from the Jisr at half-past eleven o'clock. We met, on leaving it, some natives, who expressed to us as great fears of the Anazah as the Turks had done. Our servants were much disposed to hang back; but they were obliged to follow their masters. When we got to the top of the left bank of the Jordan, we found that it was considerably higher than that on the right. We had here a good view of the lake of Tiberias, and of the plain of Baṭîḥah at its north-east corner. The country over which the road to Damascus goes in advance, is undulating, and has remarkably fine pasturage. Black basaltic stones and boulders appear here and there. Great quantities of trees and bushes, principally oak, are growing on both sides of the road. To the high ground extending on the east of the Jordan, between Bániás and the Sherîâh el-Mandhûr, a native gave the general name of Jebel-Jaulán. In the name Jaulán is recognized the Hebrew GOLAN of the tribe of Manasseh,[2] which gave rise to the provincial name of Gaulonitis. Our friend probably extended the district too far to the north. The country east of Jacob's Bridge, for some considerable distance, is in the modern dis-

[1] Reise in das Morgenland, drit. band p. 259.—This author makes the top of the bridge 28 feet higher.

[2] Deut. iv. 43; Josh. xx. 8; xxi. 27; 1 Chron. vi. 71.

trict of Kaneitarah. The modern Jaulán lies to its south. It does not extend beyond the el-Mandhúr.

At one o'clock, we arrived at some ruins called Nawáran, where we stopped to take the bearings of the eastern side of the lake of Tiberias, which we found running nearly from north to south. Nawáran is given by Von Schubert at 2800 Paris feet above the level of the sea.[1] Here we came first in contact with immense herds of camels, belonging to the Anazah Badawín. They extended to the east and south-east of us as far as the eye could reach. We passed, at the same place, some Turkman tents, the owners of which told us that they had got very unwelcome visitors in their neighbourhood; and we agreed with them in opinion. Mr. Graham and I rode up alone to some of the Anazah, whom we saw to the right of the road, and gave them our salutations. We asked the name of their sheikh, and they told us his pedigree for some half-score of generations. When we inquired about his present location, they said it was at the other end of the camp, three days' journey distant. We told them that we were English travellers; but they maintained that our beards intimated that we were Turks. This we denied, referring them to our servants, who were coming up, and who confirmed our testimony. They gave us to wit that we might proceed safely on our journey,—a piece of intelligence which we were happy to receive, though we were not altogether able to give it implicit credence. Two or three of them rode alongside of us for some distance, making many impudent inquiries at us, and wishing us to purchase some ancient gold pieces, which they said they had had long in their possession. We studied all due reserve with them, and they left us to pursue our way. We continued to pass many of

[1] Reise in Morgenland, drit. band, p. 264.

their clansmen in charge of the innumerable camels browsing about in all directions.[1]

At ten minutes past three, we arrived at the Tell el-Ḥanzír, or the "Hillock of the Hog." Here Mount Tabor bore S.W.; and the two remarkable conical hills which we had noticed at Ṣafed, W. There has been a very gradual swell of the country to this place, but not distinguished by any thing

[1] "The *Aenezes*" ['Anazah] says Burckhardt, "are the most powerful Arab nation in the vicinity of Syria, and, if we add to them their brethren in Nedjd, may be reckoned one of the most considerable bodies of Bedouins in the Arabian deserts. The Aenezes who live in the northern part of Arabia, generally take up their winter quarters in the *Hammad* desert, or the plain between the *Hauran* and *Heet*, a position on the Euphrates. The Hammad is without any springs; but in winter time the water collects there in deep grounds, and the shrubs and plants of the desert afford pasture to the Arabs' cattle. The Aenezes have likewise been known to pass the Euphrates and encamp in Irak Arabi, and near Baghdad. In spring they approach the frontiers of Syria, and form a line of encampment extending from near Aleppo to eight days' journey to the south of Damascus. Their principal residence, however, during that time, is the Hauran and its neighbourhood, where they encamp near and among the villages; while in the more northern country, towards Homs and Hamah, they mostly keep at a certain distance from the inhabited grounds. In these parts they spend the whole summer seeking pasture and water, purchase in autumn their winter provision of wheat and barley, and return after the first rains into the interior of the desert.

"Their great strength has enabled them to levy a yearly tribute on most of the villages near the eastern limits of Syria. It is above fifteen years since all the Aenezes have been converted to the Wahaby faith.

"The profits which they derived from the pilgrim caravans to Mekka, have, until now, kept them on good terms with the Turkish governors, and even induced them to withhold the customary tribute paid to the Wahaby chief. But it is to be presumed, that if the Hadj do not soon regain its ancient splendour, they will again become tributary to the Wahaby, and, in company with him, hereafter lay waste the open country of Syria. The northern Aenezes, of whom alone I speak here, are divided into four principal bodies. . . . From some Damascus pedlars who had passed their whole lives among the Bedouins, I learned particulars which induce me to state the force of the Aeneze tribes above-mentioned (their brethren in Nedjd not included) at about 10,000 horsemen, and perhaps 90,000 or 100,000 camel riders, a number rather over than under-rated. The whole northern Aeneze nation may be estimated at from 300,000 to 350,000 souls, spread over a country of at least 40,000 square miles."—Burckhardt's Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys, vol. i. pp. 2, 3, 4.

like a distinct range of hills running south from Mount Hermon, as represented in our map. A little beyond the Tell el-Ḥanzír, there commences a great level plain, the rock being still of basalt. About half-an-hour from Nawáran, we passed the Tell Yúsif, lying a little to the north-east of it. We arrived at Ḳaneiṭarah, our resting-place for the night, at a quarter past six. The village is now in ruins. We found at it a small encampment of local Arabs, who cultivate a few plots of ground of the best soil, and who rear cattle, of a diminutive breed and dark colour. Some of these people gave us a cordial welcome. They told us that they durst not cheep at present. The Páshá of Damascus could give them no protection against the myriads of the Anazah who had come up from the Baḥr el-Frát, or the Euphrates. The tents of the Anazah were pitched in hundreds in our neighbourhood. The arrival of the Franks excited the curiosity of the female members of their community, and some of them rode past our tent-doors, seated on camels with their husbands, to get a peep at us. When the sun went down, and they began to cook their supper, hundreds of fires were kindled, which shed their light around us for miles.

Ḳaneiṭarah is reckoned by Von Schubert to be 2850 feet above the level of the sea. The rise to it from Nawáran is consequently but small; and Jebel Ḥeish, the southern prolongation of Mount Hermon, is rather an elevated plateau than a mountainous ridge. The town is now overthrown, and so is its Khán, mentioned by Burckhardt. More ancient ruins are on the north side of the modern site, which this traveller speaks of as "the remains of a small ancient city, perhaps *Canatha*."[1] D'Anville and others associate Canatha, which was one of the ten cities of the Decapolis, with the same site.[2] Josephus speaks of a Canatha being in Cœlesyria; but he

[1] Travels in Syria, p. 313. See also, p. 287.

[2] D'Anville's Ancient Geography, p. 430.

was either misled as to its situation, or used the word Cœlesyria in an extended sense.[1] On the latter supposition, it is more probable that Ḳaneiṭarah is the site of his Canatha, than Ḳanawát near Buṣrah,—to be afterwards mentioned,—which seems to agree with the position of the Canatha of Eusebius.[2]

2d June.—In order to avoid a display of our cooking vessels before the Anazah in front of us, we breakfasted before setting out on our march for the day. We got in motion at twenty minutes to nine o'clock, and we were at the ruins of Ḳareimbah at half-past ten. Here Náámán, a village with a mosk, bore E.S.E.; Tell Nábah, very near to us, S.E.; Tell Ḥárah, S.E. by S.; and Tell Yúsif, S.W. by W. These hills are generally shaped like the frustra of cones, standing upon the plateau like inverted tea-cups upon a table. We were struck here, as elsewhere, with the wondrous facility with which a shepherd managed his flock. His sheep knew his voice, and they followed him.[3] We noticed him "going before them," and them coming after him in rank and file. On his uttering a peculiar cry, they scampered off to the watering-place; and he had only to raise his voice again, to recall them to the pastures. The goats were not so obedient, and they were sure to be in the rear. Yet he had command of them also.

Our road to-day was very stony throughout, and large spherical pieces of basalt seemed scattered about in all directions. Our march was partly through the Ḳaneiṭarah district, and partly through the north-western part of the province called Jeidúr, the representative of the ancient ITURÆA. The part of the latter through which we passed, from the river Maghaníyah, is called the Naḳḳar Sásá. We got to Sásá, our resting-place, at four o'clock. The camels of the Anazah

[1] Joseph. Antiq. lib. xv. 5, 1; Bell. Jud. lib. i. 19, 2.

[2] See onwards, p. 360.

[3] John x. 27.

ceased only four miles to the west of this place, extending from Nawáran to that point. We calculated that altogether we could not have passed fewer than 35,000 animals. We could not look upon them, without having recalled to our remembrance the passage of Isaiah, "The multitude of camels shall cover thee, the dromedaries of Midian and Ephah; all they from Sheba shall come; they shall bring gold and incense; and they shall shew forth the praises of the Lord."[1] Of the arrival of this happy and blessed day, there are as yet no signs, so far as the children of the desert, with whom at present I have associated it, are concerned. They are in a state of great ignorance; and year after year are they extending their territory. Violence follows their march. Of the latter fact, we found an illustration at the Khán of Sásá. We saw there a company of travellers, whom they had robbed of their goods in broad daylight, waiting for some assistance from Damascus, if it could be obtained. The manner in which the villains proceeded to effect their purpose, is worthy of notice. Finding the travellers coming from Damascus, on their way to Hebron, they thus accosted them:—"You have come from the city; but we dwell in the wilderness. You must have something good with you. Have the goodness to treat us to breakfast." The travellers were of course obedient; and they made ready what they had with them for their unwelcome guests. On seeing that nothing but coffee and bread was produced, the Anazah said, "Pretty fellows that you are! You are mocking us. These are your good things! Where is your sugar? Where are your sweet-meats? We shall teach you better manners." On this they began to beat the travellers. When they made some resistance in self-defence, the Anazah said, "Now, we shall punish you, by lightening the burden of your camels. You blackguards, begone!" Seizing their goods, which it

[1] Isaiah lx. 6.

was their object to acquire at the very beginning, they made off with them to their encampment. The travellers had no expectation of recovering their property, but they had sent information of their loss to the Páshá of Damascus.

At the Khán of Sásà, a large square enclosure still available to the merchant, we met with a Kurd. I had been long anxious to get a few specimens of the words of the language spoken by this tribe, to see, on the one hand, to what extent the mountains between Persia and Turkey have preserved any of the Zand and Pahliví words, which are not now current in the towns of Persia, and to what extent they have introduced vocables into their own language from their Turkish neighbours; and we induced him to answer any questions which we proposed. Of the words, chiefly nouns, which we collected from his lips, the great majority are pure Persian. Some are Persian slightly softened, in accommodation to the organic powers of a rude people. A very few indeed are Turkish and Arabic. None I could recognise as derived either from the Zand or Pahliví, except through the medium of the common Persian.

The following bearings we took from Sásà:—Tell Yúsif, W.S.W., highest point of Jebel esh-Sheikh here visible, N.W., but not that which we had formerly seen from the west of the Jordan.

3d June.—We left Sásà this morning at a quarter before nine o'clock. The road to Damascus leads along the stream of Sásà, called the Seibaráni, for a considerable way. The course of the river is rather notable in a geological point of view. The basaltic and cretaceous rocks meet at it on the same level. The first of these forms its right bank, and the second its left. The basalt ceases where the Damascus road leaves it. This stream is supposed by some to be the Abana of Naaman the Syrian; but as it flows to the east, some eight or ten miles south of Damascus, while there are

other streams which combinedly water the city itself, I do not think it likely that it is one of the celebrated "rivers of Damascus,"[1] which were the pride of the captain of the host of the king of Syria. The stream which we take to be Abana, will afterwards fall to be noticed.

The road to Damascus leads over nearly level ground; but a range of hills lies at no great distance from it to the left, as represented on the map. The crops in the fields on each side of us were not very luxuriant, except where irrigation has been resorted to. They are much better in other parts of the Ghúṭah. We passed several bands of people engaged in cutting barley and wheat. There was always a race from them to our company, that they might offer a handful to our horses, and receive some trifling acknowledgment. This kindness to, and familiarity with, Europeans in these parts, is somewhat pleasing. It is, however, no novelty in Syria. The district of the Wádí el-Ajam lay to our left hand.

We arrived at the commencement of the far-famed gardens of Damascus, near the village of Dáreiyá, at a quarter to three, at the first gate of the city at half-past three, and at the house of our host, Abu Ḥarúf, "the Father of the Lamb," in the middle of the Christian quarter, at four o'clock. The gardens, or rather orchards, by which the city is surrounded on all sides, are well watered by streams from the Baradá, conducted artificially through them[2] on their way to the Baḥairat el-Merj, or "Lake of the Meadows," about two hours distant from the city to the east. They

[1] 2 Kings v. 12.

[2] The following divisions of the Baradá were mentioned to us as watering the city and gardens:—Baradá, Ṭaurá, Bániás, Kanawát, en-Nakb, Al'amíyá, Rajíy'ah, es-Sab'ah, Azád, Má el-Jarádín, Nahr el-Kaṭá, Má el-Fár, Nahr Dumar, and Nahr el-Hamíl. This list may be compared with that in the "Excerptum ex ibn ol-Wardi," published by Reiske, as a supplement to the Tab. Syr. of Abulfeda. See p. 174.

contain many flowering, and ornamental, and forest trees; but the fruit-bearing are predominant. Among the latter, according to an Arabic list which was furnished us by a native Christian, are the quince, apple, apricot, almond, peach, plum, fig, mulberry, white and red pear, pomegranate, walnut, olive, jujubes, orange, lemon, citron, vine, olive, hazelnut, pistachio, and prune. The pot vegetables which are raised below these trees, are quite the same as those mentioned by Dr. Russell in connexion with the gardens of Aleppo.[1] The produce of the gardens is abundant and very cheap, as we had occasion to observe ere we were long in the town; and much of it is exported to distant places. The walls of the gardens are of clay hardened in the sun, the bricks being each about a yard square, and formed *in situ*, by the filling up of the clay within two boards placed parallel to one another, as the building proceeds. Many of the houses are of the same material externally, and consequently mean enough in their appearance. The streets are paved with basalt, generally in three divisions, that in the middle, devoted to cattle and riders, being the lowest, and of the same size as the other two. The people were perfectly civil as we entered the town, and passed through some of the bázárs. None of them seemed the least annoyed that we kept our seats on our horses. It was otherwise a few years ago, when all Christians were obliged, either to walk on foot through the city, or to bestride asses. Ibráhím Pásha, when in occupation of the place, was highly useful in teaching his Muslim brethren good manners.

Among the bázárs we took a walk in the evening, as we did not fail afterwards to do at other times. They are among the greatest curiosities of the place. They are generally covered or uncovered arcades, with a row of shops

[1] Natural History of Aleppo, vol. i. p. 74, et seq. Much of what Dr. Russell says of the orchards of Aleppo is quite applicable to those of Damascus.

on each side, separated from one another by wooden partitions, open in front, and capable of being closed with wooden panniers. There is a separate bázár for almost every commodity exposed for sale,—for all kinds of eatables and drinkables, chewables, blastables, and smellables; for all sorts of apparel; and for personal, domestic, professional, civil, and military instruments and implements of convenience, amusement, offence, defence, and destruction; for accoutrements for asses, horses, and camels; and for fittings and furniture for doors, windows, and apartments of houses, kháns and cafés. Their possessors are both Christians and Muhammadans. They sit more than stand in their shops, making a long stretch of hand to help their customers. They have an air of gravity, dignity, and politeness about them, which show both their self-command and their desire to please. In the actual matter of sale, they make their demands, in the first instance, as far as possible above the price, and the first offer is as far as possible below it; and before the seller and buyer can come to terms, there is much speaking, arguing, protesting, and often swearing. These bázárs scarcely form such a Babel, however, as those of India. They are patrolled by multitudes of confectioners, and dealers in ices and cooled sherbet, whose readiness to accommodate all purchasers, shows that there is little in the place corresponding with the distinction of caste in India.

The costume of the men on the streets is rich and varied. It is, however, almost all Syrian or Arabian; the quota of Turkish habiliments found in Cairo being greatly wanting. Great numbers of pleasure-hunters are at all times found lounging in the cafés, drawing their pipes and hubble-bubbles, sipping coffee, swallowing sherbet, sucking sweatmeats, bolting fruits, and, above all, talking scandal. Some of these cafés are in the most frequented streets; and some of them, tolerably good imitations of rustic bowers, are in the gardens,

where abundance of shade and verdure, and artificial waterfalls, and playing fountains, conspire to enhance the luxuries which they afford. Some of them are connected with the baths of the town, in which men, maids, and matrons, too indolent to perform their own ablutions, or unwilling to forego the privileges which they enjoyed in the baby's nursery, suffer themselves to be stripped, stewed, sponged, soaped, sudded, soused, scrubbed, scraped, and swaddled, by the hands of the most pitiable of menials.

The houses of Damascus, generally speaking, are nothing else externally but cottages of clay, through which, as in the land of Job, the thieves may dig in the dark.[1] They are of this material, we had no doubt, as being much cooler in the hot season than they would be if of stone. The rains of winter, when followed by frost, as is sometimes seen, must be very injurious to them, and lead those of them which are not well bound together, to fall into crumbs. The aspect of their interior differs *in toto* from that of the exterior. Many of them may be considered as so many miniature oriental palaces. They are of a quadrangular form, enclosing a court paved with marble, ornamented with beautiful trees and flowering bushes, and having copious fountains playing in the centre. The lower rooms on each side of the court are raised above its area, open in front, covered with carpets, and seated with diwáns in the eastern fashion. Their roofs are highly ornamented with figures of flowers and inscriptions, and a variety of Arabesque devices.

Sabbath, 4th June.—We spent the greater part of the day in our lodgings, but we had Divine service at the residence of the British consul. Mr. Graham conducted the devotional exercises; and I preached from John iii. 16. Colonel Rose, H.B.M.'s consul-general for Syria; Mr. Wood, the consul for Damascus; Captain Walpole, R.N., commanding the Vernon,

[1] Job xxiv. 16.

now at Beirût; Mr. and Lady Louisa Tennyson, on their travels in the east; and several others of our countrymen were present. We had sent a note to Mr. Wood, proposing our meeting together, and he very readily entered into our views. This was probably the first occasion of worship being conducted in this ancient city by Presbyterian ministers of Scotland and Ireland.

5th June.—We rode on donkeys,—stouter and more unmanageable they proved to be than those of Egypt,—to the hill overhanging Ṣâlḥeiyah, one of the principal suburbs, about two miles distant from the city. From this place the finest view of Damascus is obtained. The town lies embosomed in its orchards, principally S.W. and N.E. Lord Lindsay paints the scene with a single stroke of his brush. "Oh, how lovely! the city with her picturesque minarets, sailing like a fleet through a sea of verdure."[1] It is fabled of Muḥammad, that when he looked to it, he exclaimed, "Man can have only one paradise; I shall not enter this below, lest I should have none above." The gardens are most luxuriant; so much so indeed, that it may be said, that they are overstocked with trees. The different shades of green,—emerald, grass, and olive,—in the centre of the scene, contrast most strikingly with the chalky snows of the desert hills and plains which appear on the outline of the horizon. Many of the gardens have their distinctive Arabic names, some of which our guides repeated to us. Their fertility, nay, their very existence, is owing to the Baradá, which, divided into many streamlets, meanders among them as well as supplies the city. The water-courses, too, have their peculiar appellations. Some of them are appropriate enough; but others, "the water of the rats," the "rill of the cats," whatever be their character in this respect, are not of the most elegant kind.

[1] Lord Lindsay's Letters, vol. ii. p. 181.

Our principal inquiries at Damascus were to be directed to the Jews, among whom we had begun to think it exceedingly probable, that the United Presbyterian Mission of the Church of Scotland and the Irish Presbyterian Church, would be established.

The following are the memoranda of our intercourse with them.

6th June.—Mr. Graham and I visited the house of the chief Rabbi, Ḥaiim Maimon Tobhi. He has been eighteen years resident at Damascus, but is a native of Gibraltar. He had obtained, he said, an English passport, entitling him to British protection, from Lord Palmerston; and he had been elected to office on account of the privilege which he thus enjoyed, it having been conceived by the Jews, that the name of an English subject, borne by him, would give weight to his dealings with the Turkish government. He spoke warmly of the friendship which he enjoyed with our consul, who is on terms of familiar intercourse with the Jews more than with any other class of the inhabitants of Damascus. The Rabbi's lady took a most intelligent part with us in the conversation in which we engaged; and she sat opposite to us on the diwán smoking her nárjíl, apparently with great satisfaction, but studying, at the same time, to guide the inhalations and expectorations with as much female grace as circumstances admitted. From what I noticed in her case, I should not recommend the fair daughters of Europe to seek the proficiency at which she had attained in the art of fumery. One of the first subjects to which the party directed our attention, was the murder of the Capuchin monk Tomaso, and his servant Ibráhím. The Rabbi said that the padre was extremely beloved by the Jews, on account of the medical services which he was in the habit of rendering them, particularly in the vaccination of their children, and that it was altogether impossible that the Jews

could have done him any harm. The affair of his reputed destruction by their community, he attributed to a conspiracy of the native Christians, who were jealous and envious of the influence which the Jews had long had in the administration of the government of Damascus, and their success in mercantile transactions. The narration of the whole story, he said, would take five days. To give us an idea of the means resorted to by the Egyptian government to extort evidence, he mentioned that about fifty Jewish infants were seized and imprisoned, that the natural affection and fears of their mothers might lead them to criminate parties in order to get them relieved.

This Rabbi informed us, that the Jews of Damascus, with the exception of one or two families, belong to the Sephardim; and that they are almost all natives of the place, except a few individuals from Antioch, Aleppo, and Baghdád, and four families which hold English passports, and ten or twelve who have French and Austrian passports. Jobar, where the cave of Elijah is still shown, he said, is now a place of pilgrimage with the Jews, and his wife had visited it a few days ago.[1] He also stated that most of the Jews of Damas-

[1] "There are a few villages," says Dr. Bowring, "such as that of Djobar, near Damascus, (close to Elijah's cave,) in which the Rabbi told me the population consisted of 1000 persons, and that they were all of them Hebrews."—Report on Syria, p. 7.

Doubting the correctness of this statement, and perceiving its entire opposition to the information which I received at Damascus, I lately wrote to my friend, Mr. Graham, directing to it his attention. His reply I subjoin:—

"The village of Jobar is half an hour [to the N.E.] from Damascus, and contains three or four thousand inhabitants, all Muslims, with the exception of a single Jewish family, who live in, and take care of, their synagogue there. This synagogue is dedicated to Elijah, and built over a cave, which tradition makes the hiding-place of the prophet in the time of his sufferings and persecutions. The village, the people, the synagogue, and the family that inhabit it, are wretched and miserable in the extreme. On festival days many of the Damascus Jews assemble there for worship; and in the heats of summer, Jobar is a pleasant evening excursion for those whom the love of health, or pleasure, or iniquity, lures from the burning atmosphere of the city. They often remain there during

cus go on a pilgrimage to the four holy cities at least once in their life; and that 300 of them had lately started for Hebron. When Mordecai, our India Jewish companion, mentioned that Mr. Graham would likely take up his abode in Damascus, he readily said, that he would be happy indeed if this were the case, and that to no individual were the Jews of Damascus more indebted than to a missionary, Mr. Peretz, who had visited them when the late calamity came upon them, and who had done all in his power to vindicate them in the eyes of Ibráhím Páshá's government, and to secure for them a merciful treatment. When I told the lady that Mr. Graham had an עזר, a help-meet for him, in this country, and that she must take care of her when she might arrive in Damascus, she seemed much pleased and said, "That I shall do; our houses shall be one." We promised to give a Hebrew Bible to the Rabbi's son, a lively little boy named Isaac.

The Rabbi having kindly offered to act as our guide in the Jewish quarter, took us to see the two most considerable of the ten synagogues of the place. They are plain buildings, quite destitute of all ornament, but better lighted than any other places of Jewish worship which I have seen in the East. I expected something finer at Damascus. The synagogue of Aleppo is the great boast of the Jews of Syria, both for grandeur and antiquity. It is celebrated also as containing a copy of the law, which the Rabbis represent to have been written before the destruction of the temple of Jerusalem, as it contains a prayer for its preservation, and which is so highly valued by the Jews that deputations of their body have been sent from Europe to consult it. For none of the manuscripts in the synagogues of

the night; and, it is surmised, without much advantage to their morality. I had intended to spend a month or two in Jobar with my family during the intense heat, but was prevented by the above-mentioned apprehension. I thought that nobody but Lamartine, who sticks at nothing, could assert that there were a thousand of Jews in Jobar."

Damascus, can the claim of high antiquity be urged. They seem to be mostly in the style of hand-writing known among the Jews as the Babelí, or Babylonian, and have originally come from Baghdád.

From the synagogues we proceeded, under the direction of our kind guide, to the Jewish Madrissehs or Colleges. The school-rooms are good, but almost entirely destitute of furniture. They are so crowded with boys, about 500 altogether being present, that Mordecai compared them to a pen of wild goats. The Scriptures, especially the Pentateuch and Talmudical extracts, are the only books used. A single volume, as before the invention of printing, served a whole class; and each of the pupils approached the master to read a few sentences in turn, or each handed the book to his neighbour, after he had done. Various implements of coercion and correction, in the form of cudgels and whips, were shown to us as the source of the scholastic order which was supposed to prevail, but rather difficult to perceive. While we were examining the boys on the Old Testament history, we heard some of the spectators and auditors say to one another, "Are these gentlemen really Nazarenes?" The Jews of the East, who know the historical parts of their scriptures well, have a deep impression of the scanty acquirements of the Christians in biblical knowledge. Bad as the Rabbis are, and highly as they have exalted the doctrines and traditions of men, they have not interdicted the use of the Scriptures by the Jewish laity, as the Papists have done. I saw none of the children in the schools engaged in learning to write Arabic, yet many of the Jews of Damascus learn to do so, probably in their own houses, and at the shops and public offices; and considerable numbers of them are engaged as clerks and accountants in the service of the government.[1]

[1] "As to the state of Hebrew education," says Dr. Bowring, "there are for the Jewish youth in Damascus ten schools [classes,] in which they

The Rabbi, on leaving us, committed us to the care of a Jew, who showed us a good deal of the "Jewish quarter." The houses are not so much crowded together, and mean in their appearance, as those occupying the corresponding locality in other eastern cities. Many of them are most splendid within, and have fine open courts, with fountains playing before them, and surrounded by beautiful flowering shrubs. The population of the Jews seems to be increasing, for several families at present rent houses on the outskirts of the Christian and Muhammadan quarters. The bigotry of the place must be on the decline, otherwise they could not enjoy this liberty.

On the second day of our excursions among the Jews, we visited one of the princely mansions of the Farhis, the richest bankers and merchants in Damascus.[1] In the first of them, we took our seats in the library, which we were anxious to inspect, and to which, though it is private property, the proprietor allows his brethren to have free access, for purposes of study. It contains, I should think, nearly the whole body of Jewish literature, except some of the additions which have been made to it in Europe, within the last quarter of a century. The volumes, as is usually the case in Jewish book-stores, were almost all plainly or shabbily bound. The

learn Hebrew reading and writing; in each of them there are twenty-five to sixty scholars. The total number [in 1888] is 430 male scholars, of from three to thirteen years. They pay according to their ages from three to five piastres per week. When they attain the latter age they quit school, and betake themselves to the different trades and professions."—Report on Syria, p. 106.

[1] "As a class, the Jewish foreign merchants of Damascus are the most wealthy. There are twenty-four Hebrew houses occupied in foreign trade, and their capital is estimated at from 16 to 18 million piastres, making an average of from £6000 to £7000 sterling each. Among them are no less than nine houses whose capitals vary from one million to one and a half million of piastres. The two most opulent are believed to be Mourad Farhi and [Raphael] Nassim Farhi, whose wealth in trade exceeds one and a half millions each. Most of the Jewish foreign houses trade with Great Britain."—Bowring's Report on Syria, p. 94.

four chief rabbis of the congregation, and a few other respectable persons, waited upon us at this place, and heartily welcomed us to Damascus. They seemed much interested in the account which I gave them of the Bene-Israel of Bombay, whose letters of introduction I had brought with me, and of my journey from Egypt to Mount Sinai and Mount Hor. We endeavoured to show them that the prophecies respecting the desolations of Edom, which I had witnessed at Petra and other places, had been remarkably fulfilled; but we observed that they had but a scanty knowledge of the prophetical books, as is too much the case with the Jewish body throughout the world. When I asked them what bird the קָאַת, (cormorant,) mentioned in the thirty-fourth chapter of Isaiah, is, they consulted their books, and said, It is the Arabic Ḳuḳ, and receives its Hebrew name from its vomiting. The קִפּוֹד, translated bittern in the English version, they stated at first to be the Arabic Ḳanfadh, the porcupine, or hedgehog; but on observing the context of the passage in which it occurs, they remarked that it must be a *bird*, which they could not identify. Finding that we had availed ourselves of the privilege of catechizing them, they proceeded to ask us if the English, in their multifarious travels in all lands, had not yet arrived at the river Sabbation. When we told them that no such stream had been discovered, though European travellers had traversed almost every part of the East, they declared their firm belief in its existence, and expressed the hope that it may soon be found. Josephus, according to the existing manuscripts of his history of the Jewish war, makes the Sabbatic river stop during six days of the week, and flow on the seventh.[1] Pliny makes it rest on the seventh, as do the Rabbis.[2] Both Josephus and Pliny make this river, probably some periodical fount,

[1] Jos. Bell. Jud. lib. vii. 5, 1.

[2] "In Judæa rivus Sabbatis omnibus siccatur."—Plin. Nat. His. lib. xxx. 2.

to be proximate to or within Judea ;[1] but the Jews have long removed it much further to the east. A letter which I have just received from the Holy Land, gives the information that the Jews of Jerusalem have lately sent forth a deputation in search of it, and their captive brethren, who are imagined to live and reign in its contiguous territories.

At this conference we received additional information respecting the Jews of Damascus. They are supposed to amount to 5000 souls. They are by profession, principally bankers, money-changers, merchants, shopkeepers, pedlars, dysters, bakers, butchers, and clerks. The Arab language is universally understood and used by them in business. They use the Arabic character and language in their dealings with the Musalmáns ; but among themselves they write the Arabic in the script Hebrew character. The number of Rabbis of the first class is ten ; but some other persons who have no authority in the congregation, are also denominated Rabbi. There are four or five private libraries similar to that in which we were seated. Public worship is not daily performed in the synagogues as in the holy cities ; and the individuals who resort to them for private prayer, regulate their own devotions, extending or contracting them as they find convenient. Nothing very interesting in an antiquarian point of view has been lately discovered at Damascus ; but Mr. Farren, the British consul-general, took with him to England a "stone found near Damascus, but originally from the west of the Jordan, containing an inscription of the age of Joshua the son of Nun !" Of this reputed relic of olden times, we have heard nothing. The Jews of Aleppo are somewhat more numerous than those of Damascus, amounting to about 6000 souls.

When we had finished our conference with the learned

[1] Josephus, who makes Titus visit it, places it between Arcæa, in the territories of Agrippa, and Raphanea. —Ut sup.

Rabbis, we were introduced to the female members of the household. They seemed to be perfectly at their ease when we were presented to them, and deported themselves with a dignity and grace which would have done credit to the nobility of Europe. The younger ladies, though destitute of the rosy tints of the daughters of England, were certainly not behind them in the delicacy and softness of their features and beauty of countenance, while they excelled them in symmetry of form, and carriage of person. They were richly dressed. Their turbans were very elegantly set, and adorned with strings and pendants of pearls. They had a moderate quantity of other ornaments,—ear-rings, anklets, bracelets, and so forth. Their hair was spread over their shoulders, and plaited into an artificial braid, with camel's hair superadded. Their gowns were in the form of a pelisse, with open breast and pendant sleeves, and supported by a silken girdle, or sash, or shawl. The head-dress of an elderly maiden, I cannot otherwise describe than by saying, it formed a "round tire like the moon."[1] This elderly mother in Israel, at the close of our interview with her friends and relatives, formed our guide through the different portions and apartments of the mansion. It has two square courts, with a splendid suite of rooms on each side, mostly open to the front. The floor of these rooms was covered with rich oriental carpets, and at the extremity of them were elevated diwáns, which formed almost the only furniture,—chairs and tables being entirely wanting. The ceilings were wrought in plaster of Paris, and mosaic and carved wood, exhibiting every variety of line and colour, intermixed with gilding. Several of them on the ground-floor had fountains playing in reservoirs of a smaller size than those in the courts without. Some of them were shaded in front

[1] Isaiah iii. 18.

by orange, citron, and lime trees. A more pleasant eastern residence, in the interior of a city, I have never beheld.

On leaving this abode of the merchant prince of Damascus, we visited a Jew who was anxious to see the strangers from India, where some of his relatives at present reside. His wife, two of her sisters, and a little daughter, sat with us during our interview, and, like the chief Rabbi's lady, they expressed a great desire for the arrival of Mrs. Graham in Damascus. The seclusion of the Jewish females here, is by no means so rigid as we had been led to expect.

On the 8th of June we visited the mansion of Raphael, the chief of the Farhis. On our arrival we were received by a Jew, who humbly described himself to us as "the worthless Jacob Peretz," a quondam tutor to the children of the great man, and who, in acknowledgment of his services, is, with his whole family, retained as part of his household, which, he informed us, consists of from between sixty to seventy souls. This establishment is even grander than that which we visited yesterday. The roofs and walls of the rooms, which are situated round the court like those already noticed, are gorgeous in a high degree. Mr. Graham expressed his doubts whether those in our own Royal palaces are superior to them. On one of the principal apartments, the following Hebrew inscription, adverting to the magnificence of the place, and invoking the blessing of God on the proprietor, is cut, painted, and gilded in large letters :—

הכם ימין וראה את העשוי יפה בעתו
בן פורת יוסף
הכם ימין וראה את העשוי יפה בעתו
בן פורת יוסף ידי אלקיו עמו
בן פורת עלי עין וראה טוב בתוך אהלו
ידך די ליהוי בסימנא מבא וה עמו
עינא דהוי בבישותא צר העין או יבקע

גדול יהיה כבוד הבית הזה אשר בנה שלמה
אך טוב לישראל פאר הדנר והדרו שר וגדול
הת חיים וחסדי בישראל גדול שמו
בן אחים יפריא שר צבאות ישראל
פרחי שושנים איש איש על מקומו
יחדיו יהיו קמים גם בניהם עדי עד
ישאו ברכה מאת ה תפארה לשאר עמו

יבנה לך בית נאמן גם עד זקנה ושיבה — אלקא דמאיר יהיה באורו ומנן בערו
בנין כשחילי וחים לא תאחר לשלמה — כי ירבה לצליח אנה אדרוש מעמו
סביב גפל שולחניך איש על דגלו — המאיר לארץ רוח הבריות נומה המנו
וראה בנים לבניך יראי ה׳ וחוסי שמו — גם ברוך יהיה דבר יום ביומו
עיניו ותחזנה משרים תחנים מן המנין — זך וישר ודף צדקה וחסד ימצא חיים
נטיעות דומות לשרשם כדמותו כצלמו — הון ועושר בביתו ויאמר ה׳ לשלמה

Look on the right hand, and see what is done goodly in its season;
——————————Joseph is a fruitful bough.
Look on the right hand, and behold what is done goodly in its season;
Joseph is a fruitful bough: his God be with him.
A fruitful bough by a well; see the good things in his tent.
May it be the will of the Lord that it be under a good sign—and that the Lord be with him.
If an eye beholds it, the evil eye is confounded in shame;
Great shall be the glory of this house, which Solomon built.
But prosperity to Israel (is he), the glory of this generation, its ornament, a prince, and a great one;
Learned in the law of life and grace, in Israel his name is great.
Amongst his brethren may he bring forth fruit, he the prince of the hosts of Israel,
As blossoms of lilies, every one in his place.
May they be united, standing together, even his sons for ever;
Take a blessing from the Lord, praise from the remnant of his people.
Let a faithful house be built unto thee, even unto the highest old age;
Children as olive plants may'st thou not refuse unto Solomon,
Round about thy table, each one, in his appointed place [or banner,]
And see the sons of thy sons fearing the Lord, and trusting in his name.
May his eyes behold righteous things, bridegrooms of opulent families,
Plants like unto their root, like his image, like his form.
The Lord, who causes the light to shine, be his assistance, and his shield;
If he prospers much, what shall I ask for him?
Let him who causes the light to shine upon the earth and the spirit of the creatures, be pleased with him;
Also let his work be blessed day by day.
Pure and upright, he is following after righteousness and mercy; may he find life,
Prosperity, and riches, in his house, as the Lord promised unto Solomon.

When we were following out the suggestion here given, by looking to the right hand, and beholding all that is goodly in its season, Jacob told us, in praise of the family whom the Lord had blessed, that the times of the Jews of Damascus under the Farhis, and especially the deceased brother of

his master, were similar to those expected under the Messiah. He then conducted us to the private room of the head of the house, Raphael, the Nási of the Damascus Jews, who was labouring under severe indisposition. The old gentleman welcomed us with affecting kindness. After perusing the letter of introduction which I had brought from Bombay, he saluted us in the oriental fashion, and entreated us to command his assistance and services in any way we could imagine. He appeared very anxious about the poor state of his health, and asked from us that medical advice which we scarcely ventured to give. We had not an opportunity of conversing with him on the topic which was nearest our own hearts, and which would have been most suitable to him as the son of affliction. From his room we went to his library, which, like that of his relative already noticed, is of considerable extent. It is sometimes used as a private synagogue. It contains three beautiful rolls of the law, in the richest silver cases which I have yet seen enshrining the Books of Moses, and a copy of the whole Bible, about 450 years old, most splendidly illuminated and coloured. The latter manuscript is the finest which I have noticed during my residence in the East. It is certainly worth a thousand pounds; but it was procured for a much smaller sum.

The premises of Raphael Farhi are like a little village; and it strikes me that, notwithstanding the deference which is accorded by all their inmates to the patriarch of the family, and the good order which is observed, domestic comfort, in the European sense of the term, must be considerably impeded by the number of persons of different ages moving to and fro in the courts. The ladies themselves made a busy scene of it, trudging along on their high pattens, or calling to one another from one side of the quadrangles to the other. They seemed, however, to cultivate great kindness, as well as volubility of address, when summoning the attention of

their companions. The simple names of Sarah, Rebekah, Miriam, and Esther, fell like music on our ears; and in the persons of those who bore them we saw the forms which our imagination associates with the Hebrew mothers and daughters on whom they were first bestowed. We felt ourselves highly honoured to receive at their hands the usual tokens of modern oriental hospitality.[1]

[1] For the following additional and curious information respecting the Jewish merchants of Damascus, and particularly the Fárhis, I am indebted to my friend Mr. Graham, who has kindly furnished it to me, in reply to queries which I addressed to him since my return to Britain.

"There are four or five extensive Jewish merchants in Damascus, of whom the house of Harari, including three brothers, Aaron, Isaac, and David, and the house of Farhi, of two brothers, are the chief. They are from Aleppo originally, and have been in this city nearly one hundred years. The family of Harun is rich and respectable, and originally from Constantinople. The Shehady family from Lisbon, ranks next to these. Besides the great merchants above-mentioned, there are many shop-keepers; but the mass of the Jews are wretched and miserable in the extreme. The family of Farhi is the most remarkable, in every respect, among the Jews here. The old man whom we visited together, was the head of his house. He is nearly a year dead. Haiim Farhi was the chief minister of the famous, or infamous, Páshá of 'Akka, whose epitaph we deciphered together—Ahmad Jezzár the Butcher, (being of this calling originally,) remembered in the East only for his cruelty, and celebrated in Europe as the first who impeded the progress of Napoleon Bonaparte. Almost every one in his domestic establishment was maimed. Some wanted a hand, some a foot; others mourned over the loss of a toe, a finger, or an ear, according as the rage of the tyrant happened to be directed. Haiim Farhi was an able man, and withal of a fine figure and prepossessing address. He enjoyed the confidence of the Páshá, and grew rich in his employment. One day Ahmad said to him, 'Haiim, you have a fine person, you are very beautiful, you are the most athletic of men; when visitors come, it is you, not me, they admire; every one seems to say how happy is the Páshá to have such a man: Now, because of this I had some thoughts of dismissing you from your office; but my great love to you prevents that; you cannot, however, have any objection to my putting out one of your eyes.' The barber was instantly sent for; and Haiim Farhi lost his eye. He continued in his office, and faithfully discharged its duties, and the Páshá continued to heap favours upon him. The Jew, however, was attentive to his appearance, and dexterously contrived to edge down his turban so skilfully that his visual defect was not much observed. Jezzár noticed this, and said to him one day, 'All I have done has been of no use, you have become as beautiful and as attractive as ever; I must cut off your nose.' The barber was again sent for, and

When Jacob had shown to us all the wonders of his master's residence, he got us to retire to his own apartments, where he discoursed with us on various matters connected with local politics. The disappearance of padre Tomaso and his servant Ibráhím, was of course one of his leading topics. The monk, he said, owed his destruction, real or pretended, to certain parties, who adopted severe measures against the Jews, to prevent suspicions resting upon themselves; for he was beloved alike by Jews and Christians.[1] The Jewish popu-

Haiim lost his nose. He still continued in the service of the Páshá, and discharged his duties faithfully, and even presided over the obsequies of his tyrannical benefactor. 'Abdallah, equally cruel, and more ignorant, succeeded Aḥmad, and he ended the honours and misfortunes of Haiim by cutting off his head, and casting him into the sea. These facts I had both from the Jews and the British consul of Damascus. Raphael Farhi, the brother of Haiim, was at the same time the principal man in Damascus. The government of the Páshá was entirely conducted by him; and he continued until the Egyptians took the country, and then Ibrahim, the son of Muḥammad 'Ali, dismissed him."

In a later communication, Mr. Graham adds:—"Concerning the family of Farhi, I gave you some particulars formerly. Saul Farhi was the root and fountain of the family's greatness. He was the principal man with the Páshá of Damascus for a long time. It was his administration of affairs, which his youngest son, the old man Raphael, whom we visited together, compared to the times of the Messiah. Saul had five sons; the eldest was the Páshá of 'Akká, honoured for a time, then mutilated, and at last killed, as I wrote you formerly. His name was Haiim. The second was Nahman, the third Joseph, and the fourth Moses. These died in this city ten or twelve years ago, by the course of nature, or the diseases of the country. The youngest son of Saul was Raphael, whom you saw, who raised himself in his bed like an ancient patriarch, to hear that we were visiting his brethren to seek their good. He died about a year and a-half ago."

[1] As the question of the murder of the monk Tomaso, is still forced, particularly by the inhabitants of the monasteries, on the attention of travellers in the East, I would beg to call attention to the satisfactory explanation of it, as far as the Jewish community is concerned, which is given by the learned Dr. Loewe in his preface (pp. 7-10) to his translation of the curious work, Effés Dammim, published in London in 1841. The following is an extract from this document:—"When it became known that the priest Thomaso had mysteriously disappeared, seven individuals were charged with having decoyed him into their power, and with having murdered him amongst them. It was positively asserted that these seven had been seen altogether in the afternoon of the day of his disappearance, in the house of David Harari.

lation of Damascus, he considered to be on the increase, as some families, as I have already noticed, were residing in the Christian quarter for want of room in that of the Jews. Many persons who get tired of the sacred places of Judea, he said, come to Damascus to engage in business. The only Hebrew book of travel particularly noticing the city to which he could refer

One of the seven, however, offered to produce, as evidence to disprove this, two persons, one a Mohammadan and the other a Christian, who were sitting with him in his own house all that day, and the greater portion of the ensuing evening. A child of his had just died, and, according to the precepts of the Jewish law, he was compelled to remain in his house during seven days from its decease in a state of mourning: that day was one included in the seven, and these persons came to condole with him on his loss.... This man was instantly put to the torture; and though they were all subjected to the most horrible appliances that the human mind can conceive, yet the mode of torture used with him took effect so speedily, that he died before any of his friends could have any chance of putting forward the witnesses referred to....

"There was another remarkable circumstance, which shows how determinedly the charge was carried over every impediment that truth and justice opposed to it. Three ministers of the Jewish congregation were, at the outset of the calumnious report, commanded by the governor to discover the criminals; these three straightway repaired to the synagogue, and having summoned all their brethren who had come into their presence, made a proclamation, that if any Jew knew aught that might lead to the detection of the criminals, he should instantly communicate it to them, under pain of excommunication. . . . In consequence of this proclamation, a young man, a Jew, who kept a tobacconist's shop in the Mooslemin quarter, just without one of the city gates, came forward and stated, that he had seen the priest and his servant pass by his door at six o'clock on the evening of the day on which he was last seen, which he the more clearly remembered, as he had then solicited them both to purchase toombak of him.

"In the accusation against the seven, it was stated that the priest was last seen at David Harari's house at half-past four. This evidence, then, tended strongly to refute the accusation; but the ill-fated youth was directly arrested as an accomplice, and hurried into eternity simultaneously with the first of the seven.

"Thus the testimony that could not have failed to weigh on the minds of the multitude was entirely suppressed; and the multitude were now induced to raise a clamour against the unfortunate prisoners; and the individuals in office, whose actions can clearly be traced to motives of revengeful jealousy, excited against the most distinguished Jews in Damascus, by certain circumstances which had long since occurred, took shelter under this clamour, and gratified their atrocious malice, not only with impunity as regarded the major part of the inhabitants of the place, but with the approbation due only to a rigid act of justice."

us for information, was the סבוב העולם של רבי פתחיה, "Tour of the World, by Rabbi Petachiah." The account there given of Damascus, of the twelfth century, is very brief. "From Haleb (Aleppo)," the Rabbi says, "he went to Damascus. It is a great town, and the King of Egypt is its governor. There are in it about ten thousand Jews. The chief of their academy is Rabbi Ezra, a person filled with wisdom, for he has been appointed by Rabbi Samuel Halevi, the head of the academy in Babel (Baghdád.) The soil of Damascus is good. [The town] is in the midst of gardens and orchards; and it has large canals and tanks, of which the waters are very excellent. The country abounds in all sorts of fruits and productions, on which account the Ishmaelites say, If the garden of Eden be upon earth it is at Damascus; if it be in heaven, Damascus is its counterpart."[1] Damascus is a great source of proverbial remark among the Arabs, whose muse hopping over the desert, is glad to get a peep at its verdant groves.

On parting with Jacob, we furnished him with copies of the General Assembly's Address to the Jews in Hebrew and Arabic, for himself and friends. Altogether, we distributed about fifty exemplars of that useful pamphlet in Damascus. With a few copies of the Scriptures, they formed almost the only tokens of our regard for the highest interests of the Israelites there which we had it in our power to bestow. We felt comforted in the view of our limited gifts on this occasion to think that Damascus, Providence permitting, would form the head-quarters of the mission which we were seeking to establish. The reasons of the choice which we made of it for a station are stated in a letter which I addressed to Dr. Keith, and which I insert in the general chapter on the Jews in their own land. Mr. Graham, with his family, took up his residence at Damascus on the 15th

[1] See Rabbi Petachiah's Tour du Monde in Nouv. Journ. Asiat. 1831, p. 387.

September 1843; and there, after mastering the Arabic language with unexampled rapidity, he has continued to labour, with apostolic desire and devotedness, both among the Jews and Christians of that ancient city. He was joined by an able and congenial fellow-labourer, the Rev. S. Robson, like himself from Ireland; and he has the assistance of Mr. David Daniel, a converted Israelite, sent out by the Free Church of Scotland.

I have dwelt long on the interesting Jews of Damascus; but I should be inexcusable were I to withhold from my readers the following graphic and felicitous account of a visit to a Jewish marriage in that city, which I have just received from Mr. Graham:—

"Perhaps, my dear brother, you would like to have a description of a Jewish marriage. This day, Mr. Daniel and I attended one; and now, while all is fresh in my mind, I shall give you an exact and particular description of it. The parties were neither of the richest nor the poorest classes, but of the middle grade in society, which, equally removed from the seductions of wealth and the anxieties of poverty, affords in every way the best example of the spirit and habits of a people. The day of the ceremony is not Sabbath but Tuesday and Friday, because on those days in the creation of the world, God *twice* pronounced the work of his hand to be very good. This is the custom; but the ceremony *may* be performed on other days, if the parties find it more convenient. The time of the marriage is generally, indeed I believe always, in the evening or night season.

"These preliminary observations being finished, touch the 'lamp of Alladin,' and be transported, in thought at least, to the ancient city of Damascus, with its mud walls (Lamartine says they are marble! but, according to Dryden, the poets excel in fiction,) and tortuous streets, (one of them is still *called* Straight, Acts ix. 11.) Come now, let us

make our way to the marriage, lest the guests should be assembled, the ceremony ended, and the *doors shut*. This spot where we now stand is the heart of the Muslim quarter of the city. It is by far the best and richest part of Damascus. The streets are wider and cleaner, the houses higher and better built, and the supply of water much more abundant, than in the rest of the city. Judge not, however, from these dull, dun mud walls; within, you would find spacious courts paved with marble, and exquisite fountains of limpid water, and chambers of all sizes with lofty ceilings, and walls done in gold with richest workmanship, might recall the splendours of the Khalífat, or the wealth of old Rome. Mark these various head-dresses. The green turban shows the nobility of the East, the descendants of the prophet. They are often poor, but always respected. When they intend to get drunk with wine, or violate any other of the commands of their prophet, they reverently lay the turban aside till the debauch is ended. These rich *yellow* turbans mark the Muslims generally; and, until lately, no other was permitted to wear them. In Damascus, very few except followers of Muhammad have ventured to wear them; it is otherwise in Beirút, where European influence prevails. These black, *jet black* turbans, (the symbol of sorrow in all lands,) reveal the poor, the persecuted, and the despised Jews,—'tribes of the wandering foot and weary breast.' You cannot mistake these men. Their looks of sorrow, the dark and sparkling eye, the peculiar and indescribable physiognomy, announce the Abrahamic race. They are like men of other times, whom the spirit of all-pervading Providence has sent among us to recall the memory of the past. The Jews, on the whole, are the poorest part of the inhabitants; though a few of their merchants are among the richest. They are more hated and persecuted by the Muslims than any other class. Dogs, and Jews, and swine, are names too good for them. An

old Muslim cursed them in my house, and said they had no religion; they had perverted the religion of Moses; they put Jesus to death; Muḥammad could make nothing of them; they, too, killed seventy of their prophets in one day; God had given them up, and man could not use them too vilely.

"Here we pass to the Christian quarter. It is next in poverty and wretchedness to the Jewish. There may be fifteen thousand Christians in Damascus. These men of the *brown* turban[1] are nearly divided into two equal parts, the *orthodox* and the *Catholic*,—the followers of the Greek patriarch, and the schismatics who have gone over to the Pope. The Papists are, however, the wealthier and more influential party.

"Come along! be not afraid; you will get through; it is only a dead camel; and these black, bloody, voracious dogs, are the scavengers of the city. Everything, save man, lies where it dies. The donkey, or the horse, or the camel, that falls down dead under his master, dies and is abandoned in that very spot, be it in the desert, or the garden, or the crowded street. It is easier to go round it than to remove it; and in a few hours the sun and the dogs have rendered it innocuous. The dogs are considered unclean in the East; and are therefore simply tolerated. Not so cats, which are often favourites. While passing through the gardens at Beirút, with a little dog which the Lieutenant of the Emaghthe had given me, we came to a man sitting under a vine, who saluted us thus,—'May God curse his father, is that a dog or a fox?' They are execrated but not persecuted. In Damascus, the dogs are generally very cowardly; and the lifting of a stone will chase a regiment. Occasionally, however, they venture on

[1] The invidious distinction in the colour of the turbans of Muhammadans, Jews, and Christians, referred to by Mr. Graham, is said to have been first introduced by Muhammad Ibn *K*alawún, the Sultán of Egypt in the eighth century of the Flight.—Lane's Arabian Nights, vol. i. p. 135.

an attack; and one of them the other day cut Mr. Daniel through his boot.

"Stand here a moment, and take a look at these streets before we go into the marriage. How strange, how oriental, how unlike Europe is every thing here! No broad streets, nor wheeled carriages, nor tempting shops, nor glass windows, relieve and gratify the eyes. Nothing here to remind you of Carlisle Bridge or the Clyde! But see, there is a Muslim lord, with his black slaves, carrying his pipes and doing obeisance to their master: there goes the Persian, with his pointed pyramidal cap, to remind you at once of Cyrus, Greek history, and your school-boy days. See the bronzed Arab, the child of the desert, the crafty Greek, (mendax Græcia,) the mercantile Armenian, the degraded Egyptian, the lordly Turk, the crouching Syrian, men from the ends of the earth—the hat, the turban, and the fez cap, and not only of all kinds, but of all degrees, meet here, and mingle in strange confusion. Dogs, donkeys, and mules, horses, camels, and dromedaries, make way for one another. Here is a man with splendid gorgeous apparel, behind him the fakir without a stitch. The shoemaker, the carpenter, the weaver, &c., are plying their different occupations in the open air; and yonder is a butcher killing a sheep in the open street before his door. Nothing is in secret here, except the harem. But what are these white ghastly things, like moving barrels, only a little longer and smaller? These, my dear friend, are the veiled beauties of the East. Judge them not by their appearance in the streets. They are beautiful, nobly dressed, and, when at all educated, intelligent; but that absurd winding-sheet, that conceals all and equalizes all,—and in Egypt especially, where they have holes cut for the mouth and eyes,—not only robs them of all human appearance, but gives them something of the diabolic.

'But let us leave these crowded streets, and go in to the marriage. The guests are assembling rapidly; and as they take their seats round the room, on low diwáns or beds, each is furnished with a pipe,—not the short lilliputian pipe of Europe, but long solemn oriental, whose head and mouth-piece are often several yards asunder. There we are, seated at our ease, smoking, and drinking coffee from small cups like thimbles, and eating citron preserves, talking of the manners and customs of different countries, the present war in India, the victory of Ferozsháh, the ceremony of marriage, and other such topics. This is the time of expectation: The bridegroom and his friends are waiting till the bride hath made herself ready. Compare Ps. cx. 1, with Rev. xix. 7. After a little the deputation from the bride arrived to announce that she was arrayed and ready. Then the bridegroom arose, and threw around him his praying-cloak, which the Jews use in the synagogues; then at the far end of the room the general hum of conversation is interrupted by the voice of prayer from an old man in the Hebrew language. It is the father of our convert Doab, the strictest and most religious of the Damascus Jews. Some of the Jews accompany him with their voices, and others do not; then, after the space of half-an-hour, they all rise and pray, with their faces to Jerusalem; and in this prayer they give three jumps forward at the mention of the three names, degrees, or attributes of God, as an emblem of their desire to approach in life and conduct the character of the Holy One. This being finished, they continue in silent mental prayer, standing for the space of twenty minutes. They then repeat the same prayer with a loud audible voice; and this finishes the services at the bridegroom's house. Everybody now gets on his shoes, or rather slippers, as fast as he can. The feet-dress of a gentleman in Damascus consists of the stocking, which is white, the shoe, or rather foot-glove,

(for sole, heel, and instep are of the same material and consistence,) which is yellow, and the slipper, which is red. This last only is laid aside in entering a room. Getting, therefore, into slippers, the bridal party, headed by the deputation which announced the bride's readiness, depart for her house, for there the marriage is celebrated. Rose-water is sprinkled on hands and handkerchiefs as you leave the house; and the company increases every instant as it proceeds. What sound is that—wild, unearthly, piercing, and awful as it is? It is the sound of the virgins awaking from their slumbers; the midnight cry so interesting to all, 'Behold the bridegroom cometh; go ye out to meet him.' Enter; the court is filled with the beautiful and joyous expectants, who make the welkin resound with the acclamations of gladness and praise. Then we understood the 96th and 98th Psalms, and the hallelujahs of the Apocalypse (19th) over the removal of the prostitute, and the marriage of the faithful bride. Lamps were burning in the court, and candles on each side of the seat appropriated to the bride. Veiled, and glittering with gold and pearls, she is led by two of her companions to the appointed place. A Rabbi then reads or repeats a prayer, drinks a glass of wine in token of that joyous season, and breaks, in the presence of the people, a small china cup, in token of virginitas frangenda, or as others say, to remind them that Jerusalem is in ruins. The bridegroom, standing before the bride, with a common veil thrown over both their heads, takes a ring, and puts it upon her finger, saying, הֲרֵי אַתְּ מְקֻדֶּשֶׁת לִי בְּטַבַּעַת זוֹ כְּדַת מֹשֶׁה וְיִשְׂרָאֵל, 'Behold, thou art sanctified to me by this ring, according to the law of Moses and Israel!' This is the material part of the service. Then the Rabbi lifts the veil, and presents the bridegroom with the end of his handkerchief, which he takes hold of, and promises to fulfil all the duties of a husband. After this, another Rabbi reads a prayer, and drinks a glass of wine,

when the chief Rabbi steps forward and reads the marriage-settlement, dowry, furniture, &c., and with a short benediction, the ceremony is concluded."

With some of the native Christians of Damascus, we had considerable intercourse, as well as with the Jews. A number of this class of individuals called upon us at the house of Abu Ḥarûf, where we lodged, partly attracted by the character which we bore as British missionaries, and partly induced by their wish to effect some petty sale of curiosities or oriental costume. Two young men, who appeared to act on somewhat disinterested principles, were our constant attendants and guides, both in the city and environs; and we felt obliged to them for the information which they communicated, and their kind endeavours to prove useful. They estimated the Christian population of Damascus at about 15,000, stating the particulars as follows:—Greek Catholics, 7250; Orthodox Greeks, 6350; Syrians, 750; Armenians, 300; Maronites, 300; the total being 14,950. This estimate is somewhat in excess of the numbers given in an approximate census which I received from Mr. Consul Wood. He states the Papistical Greeks at 5075, the Orthodox Greeks at 5290, the Syrians at 555, the Armenians at 190, and the Maronites at 290, being a total of 11,310.

The Damascene friends now mentioned, conducted us to the Tarîḳ el-Mastaḳîm, (via recta,) "the street which is called Straight," mentioned in connexion with the conversion of the Apostle Paul, in the ninth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles. It is the most important and capacious street in Damascus, running from east to west, and at present one of the busiest scenes of eastern commerce within the city. The reputed "house of Judas," we here visited. Like not a few of the *loca sancta* of Syria, it is a vault below ground, converted into a small chapel or oratory, now in possession of the Latins. We did not, however, seek for the house of

Ananias, though if we had subjected ourselves to the guidance of the monks, we might have been at no loss to find it. "From the house of Judas," says Marie-Joseph de Geramb, "we went to another in the same street, about forty paces farther, where Ananias the disciple dwelt, and in which, if we may believe tradition, he was buried. Close at hand is a fountain, from which the water used for baptizing the Apostle was brought. This house has been converted into a mosque; we could see only the outside of it."[1] Here there is evidently a little mistake. The narrator of the Acts leads us to believe that Ananias did not live in this part of the town: "The Lord said unto him, Arise, and *go into the street* which is called Straight, and enquire in the house of Judas for one called Saul, of Tarsus."[2] The Tarík el-Mastakím terminates at the eastern gate. The walls are well worth inspection. We had little doubt that, from the foundation to a considerable extent upwards, they are of the highest antiquity, being built of large bevelled stones, similar to those associated elsewhere with Jewish workmanship, and much worn by the weather. It is interesting to observe houses built on parts of them at the present day, as was probably the case when the disciples took Paul by night, and "let him down by the wall in a basket."[3] At no great distance from the gate to

[1] Geramb's Pilgrimage to Palestine, vol. ii. p. 177.

[2] Acts ix. 11.

[3] Acts ix. 25. Since writing the above notice of the antiquity of some parts of the walls of Damascus, I have observed the following reference to it in Addison's Damascus and Palmyra:—"Many of the lower portions of the walls of Damascus are considered to be of great antiquity, and their construction is certainly peculiar. Some of the blocks of stone are perfectly square, others are built in so that their height is greater than their breadth. They measure sometimes from six to eight, or ten feet in height, and from four to six, or eight feet only in width. They are united without cement, and many have Arabic and Saracenic inscriptions upon them. These old stones are pointed out by the inhabitants as remnants of the walls of the city which existed in the patriarchal age. The more modern masonry of small stones of inferior construction, rests upon these large well joined masses."—Addison's Damascus and Palmyra, vol. ii. p. 385.

which I now refer, and which I believe is known by the name of the Gate of Mecca, is a small cave near the Christian part of the public burying-ground, where it is imagined the Apostle concealed himself when he made his escape from his enemies. It is a little excavation in a mass of calcareous conglomerate, elevated above the surface of the surrounding ground. A good many of the Christian tombs in the neighbourhood seem to belong to the Armenians. There is nothing very interesting about the inscriptions which they bear. More remarkable are some of the Musalmán tombs nearer the city. One of these was pointed out to us as that of the first Christian inhabitant of Damascus who embraced the Muhammadan faith. He is a distinguished saint in the eyes of the followers of the false prophet at Shám, the counterpart there of the apostle Paul, for whom, though he is not mentioned by name in the Ḳorán, the Muhammadans of Damascus have a great respect.[1]

There are three Latin monasteries in Damascus, those of the Franciscans, Capuchins, and Lazarists. The first is known by the name Deir el-Franj, and the second by that of the Deir el-Kabúshíyah. The Franciscan monastery is near the house of Judas. It belongs to the Terra Santa establishment. The buildings are pretty extensive, but inferior to those belonging to the fathers at Mount Carmel, Nazareth, and Jerusalem. It contains at present only seven monks, most, or all of whom are Spaniards. One of them, who acted as our cicerone on the occasion of our visit, speaks Latin with tolerable ease. At our particular request he showed us the library. It contains a large number of works

[1] The Apostle Paul is supposed by some Musalmán commentators to be referred to in the chapter of the Korán, entitled, Y. S., where there is an allusion to the "Apostles of Jesus" who went to Antioch. Muhammad's acquaintance with the New Testament was probably very small, or he would not have overlooked a person so conspicuous in its pages as the great Apostle of the Gentiles.

in Arabic and Syriac, in print and manuscript, and a considerable number of grammars and dictionaries in various tongues. I had no idea, till I inspected it, of the extent to which in the East, the Romish Church has used the press in the propagation of its principles. I noted a number of the titles of the books which had been printed under its auspices; but in the Bibliotheca Orientalis of Dr. Zenker, published at Leipzig in 1840, I observe many which did not pass under my eye.[1] Most of them are from the press of the Propaganda at Rome; and a considerable number are from that of the monastery of Már Yohanná on Lebanon. Connected with the Franciscan convent, there is a school containing, when we saw it, about 130 boys, who are instructed in Arabic and Italian. It is at present almost entirely devoted to the education of Christians of the Romish communion. The convent of the Lazarists, (Jesuits under a softened name,) I did not visit. It is comparatively a modern building, having been erected principally by the efforts of the Abbé Poussous, who encountered difficulties in the work, only second to those of Jean Baptiste of Mount Carmel.[2] The Capuchin convent, if I remember correctly, was closed. The father Tomaso, I believe, was its only monk at the time of his death. The principal Roman Catholic churches form part of the monastic buildings. Among the detached churches, belonging to different sects, are the Kenísat Marian, or the Kenísat Adhrá, (the Church of the Virgin,) the old Greek cathedral, as distinguished from that which the members of the Greek Church are now building through Russian liberality, and which is to be dedicated to the Emperor Nicolas; the Kenísat es-Sittah, the Church of the Lady, the cathedral of the Greek-Catholics; the Kenísat Kúzhíyah; the Kenísat Már Músá; and the Kenísat Már Yákúb.

[1] See particularly the Appendix to Zenker's Biblioth. Orient.

[2] Gerambe's Pilgrimage to Palestine, vol. ii. p. 179.

A considerable number of the Christians of Damascus are respectable merchants, or rather shopkeepers. Not a few of them, who have little capital, are engaged as hand-loom weavers. We visited some of their houses, to see the manufacture of the silks for which Damascus is so celebrated.

We could hear nothing of the existence of anything like evangelical views or feelings amongst any of the sects of the Christians of Damascus; but I do not feel warranted, from the slight acquaintance we made of the people, to pronounce a rash judgment on their spiritual state. We distributed some copies of the Arabic Scriptures and religious tracts among them, and recommended them to special notice. It would be well if pious European travellers, who are not missionaries, would follow this example, that the Christians of the East may mark the interest which is felt in their welfare. Mr. Graham, I am happy to say, has had numbers of the different sects in Damascus occasionally attending his ministry, since he began to conduct Divine worship in Arabic on the Lord's-day.

In connexion with this notice of the Christian inhabitants of Damascus, I may here introduce an important document, containing an approximative estimate of the general population of the Páshálik, or rather of such parts of it as still recognise the authority of the Páshá. It was compiled by Mr. Consul Wood, who has a most extensive knowledge of the affairs of the East, and great influence over the several classes of its people, from documents furnished to him, and inquiries instituted by him, since he took up his residence at the capital of Syria, as the worthy successor of Mr. Farren. It conveys much of that information which the traveller desiderates, but which it is so difficult to acquire. It will be observed that the districts which it comprehends are entered in it without reference to their geographical position.

STATISTICAL REPORT OF THE PASHALIK OF DAMASCUS.

Districts or Governorships.	Number of			Divided into Religious Classes.						Orthodox.		Roman Church.					Bishops.		Priests.		Mosques.	Churches.		Convents.	
	Towns.	Villages.	Inhabitants.	Orthodox Muslimáns.	Christians.	Jews.	Druzes.	Métwíleh.	Nasáiryeh or Ansáiryeh.	Greek Church.	Armenians.	Latins.	Maronites.	Greek Catholics.	Armenian Catholics.	Syrians.	Orthodox.	Roman.	Orthodox.	Catholic.	Muslimáns.	Orthodox.	Catholic.	Orthodox.	Catholic.
Damascus,	1	..	111,552	89,500	11,772	5000	500	4,000	150	5,290	190	70	290	5,075	270	555	1	1	20	10	319	2	8	2	7
Homs,	1	78	46,005	38,000	8,010	...	..	..	..	5,503	501	..	..	2,001	..	..	..	..	4	1	18	1	1	..	..
Hamah,	1	400	90,256	58,000	18,256	..	..	..	14,000	14,250	..	..	..	4,000	..	..	1	..	4	1	25	1	1	..	..
Nábulus,	2	225	14,083	11,880	1,006	200†	..	1,000	..	902	..	..	..	101	..	..	..	..	2	1	3	2	1	..	..
Hásbelyá,	1	19	15,970	1,550	6,070	300	4,950	100	..	5,300	..	..	360	390	..	..	..	..	15	5	1	9	5	..	..
Ráshelyá,	1	16	10,798	480	5,318	..	5,000	..	..	4,015	10	..	580	..	..	700	..	..	9	4	1	7	4	..	..
Kaneitarah,	..	64	13,000	12,950	50	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	50	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Hûleh,	..	20	3,430	1,300	100	..	1,680	..	350	100	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Karamún,	..	40	32,626	27,998	4,658	..	..	..	..	1,754	..	..	..	2,622	..	252	1	1	13	15	..	7	12	2	3
Wádi Baradá,	..	49	14,460	11,000	1,670	..	1,790	..	..	1,547	..	..	..	40	..	79	..	..	3	1	..	3	1	..	..
Merj el-Ghútah,	..	83	42,900	42,800	100	..	..	..	..	100	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Wádi el-'Ajam,	..	50	27,902	26,400	902	..	600	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	900	..	..	2	..	..	2	..	..	..
Kíbon,	..	9	7,500	4,500	3,000	..	..	..	..	..	1999	..	..	..	..	996	..	..	1	4	..	1	2	..	1
M'aarat en N'aamán,	1	60	8,000	7,980	20	..	..	..	..	20	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	..	..	..	..
B'aalbek,	..	72	11,000	..	1,500	..	..	9,500	..	249	..	..	250	990	..	..	..	1	1	9	..	1	5	..	1
Baká'a,	..	65	10,300	7,000	3,300	..	..	..	..	50	..	..	..	3,222	..	..	..	..	..	28	2	..	15	..	..
Jeidúr,	..	46	11,000	11,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Haurán,	..	85	28,490	16,980	10,740	..	..	770	..	2,003	..	..	7651	1,072	..	..	..	1	7	7	..	5	6	..	..
Jebel *Haurán*,	..	31	6,400	..	1,400	...	3,500	1,500	..	799	..	..	..	599	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	1	1	..	..
Ardh el-'Ajlún,	..	110	21,140	17,750	390	..	..	3,000	..	278	..	..	..	109	..	..	..	..	2	1	..	..	..	..	..
Total,	8	1522	526,812*	387,068	78,262	5500	18,020	19,870	14,500	42,160	2700	70	9131	20,271	270	3482‡	3	4	84	88	374	42	62	4	12

* The Badawín Arabs, and other wandering tribes, which are very numerous, are not computed in this Report.

† Principally the remnant of the Samaritans.

‡ But this includes both Catholic-Syrians, and the Independent or Orthodox Syrians.

The very considerable population of the town of Damascus will be noticed, amounting to 111,552. No city in the East has maintained its ground as it has done, from generation to generation, from age to age. I am inclined to think, that from the time of Christ, it has been full of people, except when destroyed by Timur the Tartar, in the year 1401. Even on that occasion it speedily recovered. De la Brocquiere, in 1432-3, says, "Damascus may contain, as I have heard, one hundred thousand souls."[1]

The "Ghûtah"[2] is the Plain of Damascus, comprehending the celebrated gardens and orchards. Abulfeda classes it among the four terrestrial paradises, the other three being the strath (shàb) of Bawwán [in Persia,] the Nahr el-Aballat, and the Soghd of Samarḳand; and gives to it the palm for its superiority.[3]

The "Màarat en-Nàamán," "Karamun," and "el-Ḳábun," have been sometimes included in the páshálik of Aleppo.[4] Of the first of these places, Abulfeda, quoting Azízí, says, that it is a celebrated city, rich in its population and cattle, and supplied with water from wells.[5]

Hamah is well known as the ancient Epiphania.[6] It is of more importance to notice it as the HAMATH so often mentioned in Scripture in connexion with the northern boundary of the territory allotted to the tribes. Abulfeda recognises it as "an ancient city mentioned in the books of the Israelites," and correctly describes its situation on the banks of the Orontes, and its other geographical peculiarities. Its neighbourhood is remarkably fertile, though by no means

[1] Travels of Bertrandon de la Brocquiere, p. 112.

[2] غوطة terra molior, *pec.* aquis irrigua et arboribus consita regio, *pec.* quæ Damasci est, quin et ipsa Damascus. *Kámus*—Freytag. Lex. Arab.

[3] Abulfed. Tab. Syr. (ed. Reiske), p. 100.

[4] See Berghaus's Map.

[5] Abulfed. Tab. Syr., p. 112.

[6] See Hadrian. Reland. Palestin., p. 119.

so well cultivated as it ought to be. The best account of it in modern times is that given by Burckhardt.[1] The Rev. Eli Smith gives an accurate and valuable Arabic list of many of its villages, as well as of those in other parts of the Holy Land.[2]

The district of Ḥoms, the ancient Emessa, lies to the south of Ḥamah. It is watered by the el-Aṣí, or Orontes, and is exceedingly fertile. The accounts given of it by Burckhardt, are the most interesting which we have. In the list of its villages is that of RIBLAH, mentioned in 2d Kings xxiii. 33, still bearing its ancient name. Between Ḥoms and Damascus, a little to the east of the usual caravan route, is Ṣadad, the ZEDAD mentioned in connexion with the north-eastern boundary of the Holy Land in Ezek. xlvii. 15. This place was visited by Wood and Dawkins on their journey between Palmyra and Baalbek.[3] Four days east of Damascus is Palmyra, the present Tadmur, and the scriptural "TADMOR in the wilderness,"[4] the splendid ruins of which are so well worthy of being visited. In what present political division of Damascus the two places last mentioned are, I do not know. The Rev. Eli Smith says, that Ṣadad "contains the largest number of Syrians of any place of Syria;" and I presume, looking to Mr. Wood's table in connexion with this fact, that it is reckoned as belonging to el-Ḳâbun. In the latter district, the authority of the Arabs is now supreme. Near ed-Deir, on the Euphrates, is Raḥabah, the "REHOBOTH by the river," of Genesis xxxvi. 37.[5]

[1] Burckhardt's Travels in Syria, p. 145, etc.

[2] Robinson's Bib. Res., vol. iii. Appendix, p. 177.

[3] Ruins of Palmyra and Baalbec, p. 54.

[4] 2d Chron. viii. 4.

[5] Mr. W. Ainsworth, in his interesting "Researches in Assyria, Babylonia, and Chaldea," (p. 100,) confounds this Rehoboth with the Rehoboth built by Asshur, mentioned in Gen. x. 11. See on the two cities, Bochart. Geograph. Sac., lib. iv. cap. xxi., and Rosenmüller's Biblical Geography, Morren's Translation, vol. ii. pp. 126 and 243.

My readers have already accompanied me to the districts of the "Ḥúleh" and "Ḥásbeiyá," the latter of which is closely associated with that of "Rásheiyá;" and, in this Chapter, they have passed with me through those of "Ḳaneiṭarah" and "Jeidúr," and "Wádí el-Ajam." They will afterwards be called upon to tend us through those of the "Wádí Baradá," "Jebel esh-Sharkíyah," and Báalbek, and to take a glance at the Bakáà from the heights of the Anti-Lebanon and Lebanon.

The "Ḥaurán" is mentioned in Ezekiel,[1] in connexion with the eastern boundary of the land of Israel. It is the later Auranitis. It is divided into three districts, en-Naḳrah, el-Lejáh, and el-Jebel, the latter of which, it will be observed from Mr. Wood's table, is recognised as at present a distinct political division. En-Naḳrah is the most productive district. El-Lejáh is covered with a stony soil, and with heaps of rocks, interspersed with small patches of meadow. El-Jebel, according to its name, is nearly entirely mountainous. Eshmeskin is the present capital of the Ḥaurán. The whole province is full of ruined villages, built almost entirely of hewn stone of the time of the Romans. Burckhardt visited it towards the end of 1810, and in the beginning of 1812, and made in it discoveries of great importance, which render his Travels in Syria the most valuable of his works. Among the ancient sites within its borders which have been identified, are those of Edrei, one of the cities of Og, King of Bashan,[2] now called Edhrà, the ruins of which are between three and four miles in circumference;[3] of Ashtarah, or Ashtaroth, mentioned in Joshua in connexion with the preceding, the discovery of which, by Captain

[1] Ezek. xlvii. 18.

[2] Josh. xiii. 30. The Bashan of Scripture was much larger than the small district of Bathaníyah, east of the Haurán. Golan, the present Jaulán, is mentioned as in Bashan, in Josh. xx. 8, etc. Even Abulfeda (Tab. Syr., p. 89,) makes Edhr'a the capital of Bathaníyah.

[3] Burckhardt's Trav. in Syr., p. 57.

Newbold, has just been intimated to the public as this sheet passes through the press;[1] of Busrah, the BOSTRA of the Greeks and Romans, and the capital of Arabia Provincia, though not the Bozrah of Edom,[2] the ruins of which are very

[1] "Tel 'Ashtereh is a large mound, partly natural, partly artificial, in the midst of a vast plain, at the distance of 2 h. 25 m. ordinary travelling, [seven and a half miles,] nearly S.S.W. from Nawa, between it and Mezárib, from which latter place it bears W. 34° N., and is about 1 h. 35 m. distant, [five miles.] It lies about 1¾ h. from Adhr'aát, [vulgo, Dr'aá,] the ancient Adraa, or Edrei, a little to the right of a line drawn from that place to Abil, (Abila;) a position which nearly coincides with that assigned by Eusebius to Ashtaroth, which, he says, is six miles from Adraa, lying between it and Abila, and twenty-five miles from Bostra.

"The circumference of Tel 'Ashtereh is more than half a mile, and its height from 50 to 100 feet. Its base is formed of trap-rock, and its upper part is covered with a peculiar dark ash-coloured soil, mingled with stones and fragments of ancient pottery, such as are invariably found on sites of the most ancient places in Syria. . . . Near the base of this hill, ancient foundations of massive stones, hewn and unhewn, can be distinctly traced.

"In the soil of the surrounding plain, numerous fragments of stone and pottery show that it is the site of an ancient town, of which this Tel or mound was once probably the Acropolis. Its summit presents an irregular surface, now partly occupied by stone inclosures, thrown up by the Arabs to form sheep-folds. From the base of the mound there gush forth copious and never-failing springs of excellent water, which form a small reedy pool and marsh, affording an ample supply for very large flocks and herds. In July 1846, there were upwards of 20,000 camels, and more than 50,000 goats, grazing there; as the fine pastures of the surrounding plain attract immense numbers of the 'Anezeh Arabs thither during the summer months. Upwards of 10,000 of them then lay encamped round the base of the mound, and between it and Nawa."—Journal of the Royal Geog. Soc., vol. xvi. pp. 332, 333.

[2] See Rob. Bib. Res., vol. ii. p. 570. Mr. Eli Smith, on inserting in his lists the village of Umm el-Jamál the greater, which lies a few miles to the south-east of Busrah, says, that it is perhaps the BETH-GAMUL of Jeremiah xlviii. 23. Rob. Bib. Res., vol. iii. p. 153.

This supposition does not appear to me to possess much weight. Beth-Gamul is mentioned by Jeremiah in connexion with the Moabites, who were settled immediately to the north of the Edomites, and east of the southern portion of the Dead Sea.

If, in opposition to the conclusion to be drawn from this fact, it be urged that "Bozrah" is mentioned, also in connexion with the Moabites, I would say that this Bozrah is probably not the Bostra of the Greeks and Romans, and the Busrah of the Haurán, but the southern Bozrah, ordinarily possessed by the Edomites,—the present Buseirah,—which may have fallen temporarily into the possession of the Moabites, their neighbours.

considerable;[1] of KENATH of Numbers xxxii. 42, probably Canatha, one of the ten cities of the Decapolis, which is placed by Eusebius in the Trachonitis, near Bostra, the remains of which are also considerable;[2] and of Shaḳá, probably, as suggested by Mr. E. Smith, the Saccæa of Ptolemy.[3] East of Jebel Ḥaurán is the minor district of Bathaníyah, perhaps a portion of the scripture Bashan.[4]

The "Ardh el-'Ajlún" is the district south of Jaulán, and west of the Ḥaurán. From the view we had of it from different heights west of the Jordan, I can easily understand the accounts which are given of its pastoral beauty and fertility. I am rather surprised that among the various identifications which have been made of late years, both of the towns and districts of the Holy Land, the etymological fact seems to have been overlooked, that the Ardh el-'Ajlún (ارض العجلون) is simply the corresponding Arabic of the Hebrew אֶרֶץ אֶגְלוֹן, "the land of EGLON," without the change of a single letter.[5] I am somewhat inclined to associate it with the memory of "Eglon the King of Moab," to whom the Israelites were subservient for eighteen years. If my reader hesitate to go along with me in this supposition, on the ground that the Moabites were a little to the south of this territory, I would submit to his inspection the shadow of another idea. The Hebrew Eglon means, etymologically, a "little calf;" and the district of 'Ajlún, undoubtedly a portion of the scriptural Bashan, may have got its denomination from the ruminants of that territory, to which proverbial reference is made in Scripture.[6] Of ancient sites in this territory, lying

[1] Burckhardt's Trav. in Syria, pp. 226-236.

[2] Burckhardt's Travels in Syria, p. 83. Euseb. Onomast. sub. See on this town, Reland. Palæst., p. 681.

[3] Rob. Bib. Res., vol. iii. ap. p. 157.

[4] See note by Mr. E. Smith, *ut sup.* pp. 158, 159.

[5] The Ardh el-'Ajlún, I need scarcely remark, is not to be confounded with the Eglon in the plains of Judah, the present 'Ajlán.

[6] Ps. xxii. 12; Ezek. xxxix. 18; Amos iv. 1, etc.

between the Yarmúk and the Zerḳá or Jabbok, its northern and southern boundaries, we have a considerable number brought to notice. One hour and a half to the north-east of Hebras, the capital of the minor district of Káfárat, we have, according to Burckhardt, "the ruins of Abil, the ancient ABILA, one of the towns of the Decapolis."[1] Umm Keis is GADARA, another town of the Decapolis, and the capital of the "country of the GADARENES."[2] Irbid is ARBELA beyond Jordan. Jerásh, the ruins of which are supposed by some not to fall short of those of Palmyra, is GERASA of the Decapolis. Rajeb is ARGOB, (*Παγαβά.*) Kafr Bíl, heard of by Mr. Eli Smith, may be PELLA; and Maḥanah, MAHANAIM;[3] and Amatah, AMATHUS.

In which of Mr. Wood's divisions of the Páshálik of Damascus the important province of "El-Belḳá,"—extending between the Zerḳá and the Maujib,—is situated, I do not know.[4] The influence of the Páshá within its borders is feeble indeed. I cannot better, and in briefer space, secure the object which I have in view in noticing it, than by quoting an extract of a letter addressed by Burckhardt to his constituents, the Committee of the Association for promoting the discovery of the interior parts of Africa.—"After eight hours' march from Nazareth, we descended into the valley of the Jordan, called El-Ghor, near Bysan, (Beisán,) (SCYTHOPOLIS;) crossed the river, and continued along its verdant banks for about ten hours, until we reached the river Zerka, (Jabbok,) near the place where it empties itself into the Jordan. Turning then to our left, we ascended the eastern chain,

[1] Burckhardt's Travels in Syria, p. 269. Mr. E. Smith thinks that Burckhardt's Abil may be the village Yebla. Rob. Bib. Res., vol. iii. ap. 168.

[2] Luke viii. 37.

[3] Rob. Bib. Res., vol. iii. ap. pp. 165, 166.

[4] Of the Belḳá, Abulfeda says, "It is one of the districts of the Sharát, a fertile country, with Hesban as its metropolis." This [the HESHBON of Scripture] is a small town seated in a valley. He mentions its fertility. He says also, "the Belḳá stretches to the Ghor or plain of Zaghar [ZOAR]." —Abulfed. Tab. Syr., p. 11.

formerly part of the district of Balka, and arrived at Szalt, two long days' journey from Nazareth. The inhabitants of Szalt are entirely independent of the Turkish government; they cultivate the ground for a considerable distance round their habitations, and part of them live the whole year round in tents, to watch their harvest and to pasture their cattle. Many ruined places and mountains in the district of Balka preserve the names of the Old Testament, and elucidate the topography of the provinces that fell to the share of the tribes of Gad and Reuben. Szalt is at present the only inhabited place in the Balka, but numerous Arab tribes pasture there their camels and sheep. I visited from thence the ruins of Aman or Philadelphia, five hours and a half distant from Szalt. They are situated in a valley on both sides of a rivulet, which empties itself into the Zerka. A large amphitheatre is the most remarkable of these ruins, which are much decayed, and in every respect inferior to those of Djerash.[1] The want of communication between Szalt and the southern countries, delayed my departure for upwards of a week; I found at last a guide, and we reached Kerek in two days and a half, after having passed the deep beds of the torrents el-Wale and el-Modjeb, which I suppose to be the Nahaliel and Arnon. The Modjeb divides the district of Balka from that of Kerek, as it formerly divided the Moabites from the Amorites. The ruins of ELEALE, HESBON, MEON, MEDABA, DIBON, AROER, all situated on the north side of the Arnon, still subsist to illustrate the history of the Bene-Israel. To the south of the wild torrent Modjeb, I found the considerable ruins of RABBAT[H] MOAB, and, three hours distant from them, the town of Kerek, [KIR-MOAB,] situated at about twelve hours' distance to the east

[1] 'Ammán is the AMMON of Scripture. Abulfeda says, "It is an ancient city, which was destroyed before Islám. It is often mentioned in the Annals of the Israelites." Tab. Syr., p. 91.

of the southern extremity of the Dead Sea."[1] To this has to be added GILEAD, or Jelád, the name both of a village and a mountain north of Ṣalt. The journey of Burckhardt, above summarily alluded to, is particularly described in his Travels in Syria. The works of Irby and Mangles, Buckingham,[2] Lord Lindsay, and others, throw further light on the districts through which he passed, in the southern portion of the country east of the Jordan.

The pretensions of the Páshá of Damascus extend through the land of Edom to the 'Aḳabah esh-Shamíyah, or the Syrian 'Akabah, on the Ḥaj Route, even though from the districts comprehended in this country, he obtains neither revenue nor reverence. But such notices as these cannot be further extended in this place.

Before leaving Damascus, Mr. Graham and I endeavoured to ride round the WALLS of the city, properly so called. The time occupied by us was an hour and twenty minutes. The suburbs approach so near to the walls in many places, that no intermediate passage is practicable. Several of the larger mosks we noticed as we passed. We should have been glad to enter that which was formerly the church of St. John the Baptist, and which is much noticed in Muhammadan history, but we were not permitted.

Near the eastern gate, we found the Baghdád caravan arriving, and unloading on the contiguous plain. It consisted of not fewer than 4500 camels, loaded principally with spices, tobacco, and a variety of Indian goods, a great part of which were consigned to the Jewish merchants, who, with their scribes, were standing ready to take an account of them. It put the whole town into a state of excitement, of which, I am free to confess, we experienced a full share. The noise and confusion caused by the numerous sons of the desert,

[1] Life of Burckhardt, prefixed to his Travels in Nubia, p. xlviii.

[2] Travels among the Arab Tribes.

unloading their jaded animals, and resigning their charge, surpass all description. Some of them were the very types of the Badawín, fierce as those whose hands are against every man, and armed from thigh to throat, and from hand to head. Dhanjibhái, who had fallen into their company, on his return from Beirút, when they were a little distant from the town, was wellnigh frightened at their appearance. I purchased from one of them a small piece of rope of camel's hair to bind on my Kufíyah, or head-napkin, to complete my Arab dress. In seeking to get myself accommodated in this respect, we observed that the crania of these Badawín are considerably smaller than those of Europeans.

The caravan route from Damascus to Baghdád, is not in the straight line through the desert, in which a sufficient supply of water and food for the number of men and beasts forming it is not procurable; but it extends from Damascus to Palmyra. From the latter place it strikes east till it joins the caravan route from Aleppo, along which it afterwards proceeds south-east, considerably to the westward of the Euphrates.

Damascus is the head-quarters, or rather the principal rendezvous, of the Badawín of the Syrian desert, to which they resort for the supply of many of their wants, especially in regard to accoutrements and apparel, and for entering into engagements for the conveyance of merchandise, and the conducting of pilgrims to Medina and Mecca, the holy cities of the Muslims. It is much to be desired, on this account, that it were indeed a centre from which the light of divine truth might radiate far and near among the long-benighted and neglected children of the wilderness. Were its Christianity what it should be, it would doubtless prove a blessing to their numerous tribes, and to the Muhammadan world in general a most salutary power, both attractive and aggressive, —attractive by its heavenly light, and purity, and peace,

and aggressive by its godly zeal, and compassion, and enterprize. At present it is both inactive and repulsive. It makes no effort for the instruction and recovery of the lost; while, by its superstition and idolatry, it confirms the Muslims in their conceit of the superiority of their creed and conduct. True, it has intolerance to deal with on the part both of the multitude and their rulers; but living Christianity, through the blessing of Him who has on his vesture and on his thigh a name written, "King of Kings, and Lord of Lords," has had its triumphs over intolerance in the ages that are past, and will yet have them in the time that is to come. The sword of Muḥammad was not permitted to be drawn against the Christianity of the East till it had become degenerate; and when the Christianity of that quarter of the world ceases to be degenerate, the sword of Muḥammad, though it may make great havoc for a season, will undoubtedly soon be sheathed, never more to be taken from the scabbard. The eyes of the whole Muslim world are towards Damascus; and what is transacted there is noted in many lands. It is not merely its natural beauty, but its varied associations and eventful history, which give rise to this regard.

The views which are formed by the Muhammadans of Damascus and of Syria in general, are extravagant and romantic to a wonderful extent. A few sentences illustrative of them, may be here introduced from Jelál ed-Dín's History of Jerusalem:—

"As to Syria, all learned men fully agree that it is the most eminent of regions, after Mecca and Medina. One, in his work, 'The Privileges and Desirable Gifts of Islám,' says, 'We have appointed the people of Syria to be blessed unto the end of time. We have made it the abode of prophets, and apostles, and saviours, and its shores are full of elect angels. The Lord of the universe is her surety and pledge, and hath granted unto her people the right of superiority, so that her confines shall receive no injury unto the day of judgment. It is the tending point of believers, the refuge of fugitives, especially Damascus. This possesses a sure stability, a peculiar consecration, as all agree. Hither

descended Jesus, son of Maria, to magnify the faith, to aid the Unitarians. Within its watered land is the tent (Fostát) of Moslems, annexed (to its other good gifts.) God hath, of his bounty, blessed the coasts and the surface of Syria, by flowing rivers and fountains of water, in the midst of houses and temples; and on its surface hath he given to grow grains, and fruits, and flowers, and hath made it the beloved Magazine of Adorers, the Market of the Cream of Piety. With regard to the traditions of the Prophet respecting Syria, offerers of prayer are best in Syria. Then the frontier-land next in sanctity is Irák, and then Yemen . . . . A man also said, I would go forth; for I desire to visit the most surpassing place in the site of God. So said the Prophet, That is Syria; for all the blessings taken from other lands are added unto Syria. All the earth shall be destroyed forty years before Syria is destroyed. . . . . Also the Prophet said, Let there be frontier garrisons, to guard Syria, and Yemen, and Irák; for God recognises the inhabitants thereof as his primary people. Syria is for you; but if you dislike Syria, then Yemen. From her streams let each quench his thirst; for God pledges himself for Syria and her people. . . . John, son of Job, and Zaid, son of Thabat, were once collecting and transcribing the Korán into tablets, when the Prophet said, 'Happy Syria! for the angels of the merciful hover around you. They overshadow your city, Damascus, all the night, and at the dawn they place divisions and battalions, with standards and ensigns, by its gates, and then ascend, praying, O God! diminish their sick and cleanse their mud!' Again, 'All good things are divided into ten parts,—a tithe is given to the other parts of the world, the other nine portions to Syria. All evil things are in like manner divided. One is apportioned unto Syria; the rest to the other parts of the world.' . . . This was reported as from the Prophet, when all were cavilling at Moáwiyah, except Syria, which had made peace with him. Syria, the people thereof, their wives and children, constitute the great outworks and guard of the continent. They are the firm constant warriors in the path of God. They are to be preferred as the corner turrets and outworks of a city, or the picket-guards and frontier positions on the enemy's borders. When Syria is destroyed, no good shall remain unto my people. Syria is God's whip, wherewith he punishes those of his creatures he willeth to punish. The people of Syria are God's sword of swords, to punish the rebellious of the earth. Syria is my quiver, (says God); and when I am wrathful with the people, from that quiver, I shoot my arrows. . . Syria and her people were chosen by God to dwell and lodge within. God hath blessed all its contents and surface; nor shall one place be particularly set apart or inclosed, more than another. Syria is to be common to all in its whole extent unto its frontiers. Such is the tutelary guardianship and care bestowed upon Syria. Also all good men and witnesses, both ancient and modern, prove by their arguments that Damascus is the best province of Syria, and the king of Damascus the most choice of the kings of Islám. One proof that Damascus is the most glorious city in the land of Syria, next unto the Holy Abode, is to be found in the fact, that herein are very many offerings presented, and a constant circulation of good deeds; also, because the mosk is so great, that, for the longest night or day, it never wants the sound of the reading of God's book, and the recitation of traditions. Herein are ever to be found the instructors and the instructed."[1]

[1] Jalal-Addin's History of the Temple of Jerusalem, by Reynolds, pp. 396-403.

A hopeful day will it be for Damascus and Syria when this great bulwark of Muhammadan error is seriously assailed by the weapons of the Christian warfare, which are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds. A blessed day will it be for Syria when it will be subjected in reality to the sway of Christ, by his eternal truth and omnipotent Spirit.

In the extract which I have given above from the Muhammadan author, the Arabic name applied to Syria is *Shám*, and to Damascus *Demesk*. To the city, however, the former is often applied, the name of the capital being used for the country. Demesk corresponds with the Hebrew name דַּמֶּשֶׂק, which it bore as a well known place in the days of Abraham.[1] The city is one of the most ancient in the world.[2] The Syrians, of whom it was the capital, being not the least powerful neighbours of the Israelites, are frequently mentioned in sacred Scripture. David resisting them, on account of their succouring Hadadezer of Zobah, with whom he was at war, after a great slaughter, subdued them and made them tributaries.[3] They soon, however, regained their independence, and were more frequently the enemies than the allies of the Israelites. Damascus was taken by Tiglath-pileser, monarch of Assyria, and its inhabitants carried away captive, and added to his kingdom in the reign of Ahaz.[4] It was then, that probably for a season, "it was taken away from being a city," and became "a ruinous heap."[5] In the course of events it revived, and became subject successively to the four great empires of prophecy, the Babylonian, Persian, Grecian, and Roman. It was under the last of these governments, that it became the scene of the conversion,

[1] Gen. xiv. 15; xv. 2.

[2] The Muhammadans hold that it is the oldest. El-Horawí says, "It was built by Demashik, son of Kábí, son of Málell, son of Shám, son of Noah." —See Lee's Translation of Ibn Batuta, p. 28.

[3] 2 Sam. viii. 6-7.

[4] 2 Kings xvi. 9; Is. viii. 4.

[5] Is. xvii. 1.

and first labours, and trials of the Apostle Paul. It was long the glory in the East of the rulers of Byzantium. In the year of Christ 632, Abubekr, the successor of Muḥammad, thus addressed the Arabian tribes:—"This is to acquaint you, that I intend to send the true believers into Syria, to take it out of the hands of the infidels." Guided by their generals,—the cool Abu 'Obeidah, and the bolder Kháled,—they went forth in their victorious career, and in a couple of years they were masters of Syria, ultimately taking Damascus by storm and capitulation. For about a hundred and thirty years, this city was the capital of the Saracenic world,—till about the middle of the eighth century, when the Khalífat was removed to Baghdád. Under the sway of the Khalífs at Baghdád, it occupied the second place in their kingdom. With the transference of power from the Abbasides to the Fatemites, it became subject to the Fatemites of Egypt. In the twelfth century it was taken by the Turks. Timur the Tartar entered it by fraud more than force in 1401. He inspirited his troops to the work of destruction, by calling on them to take vengeance on the Syrians, whose forefathers had approved of the murder of the grandsons of Muḥammad; and "after a period of seven centuries, Damascus was reduced to ashes because a Tartar was moved by religious zeal to avenge the blood of an Arab."[1] The extent to which it had revived in this century under the Turks, I have already incidentally noticed.[2] It was about twenty-years before its close that Jelál ed-Dín bepraised it in the strains which have already been introduced from his pages.[3] It was taken from the Turks for Muḥammad 'Alí of Egypt in 1832, under whom it remained till 1841. It is from first to last a place of such importance, that it merits a distinctive history.

[1] Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, chap. lxv. In chap. li. of this work, there is a very graphic and eloquent account of the first capture of Damascus by the Saracens, founded upon Ockley's History.

[2] See above, p. 357.

[3] See above, pp. 366-367.

Baalbek.

CHAPTER XXIII.

FROM DAMASCUS TO BAALBEK AND TRIPOLI.

9th June 1843.—We left Damascus at nine o'clock, A.M. Our road led us in the first instance to Ṣálḥeiyah, which I have already noticed.[1] At the tomb called Ḳabbet en-Naṣr, overhanging this village, we stopped for a little, to take, what was probably to most of us, a last view of Damascus. The state of the atmosphere was most favourable for our purpose, and we vastly enjoyed the scene of verdure and beauty embowering the town below, contrasting strongly, as it did, with the sterile ridge on the summit of which we here stood. The elevation which we had obtained above the

[1] See above, p. 329.

plain below, was considerable. While Russeger reckons Damascus 2304 Paris feet above the level of the sea, he gives the spot where we were at 2900.[1]

The hill of Ṣálḥeiyah is of the same kind of chalk that we have between the Mount of Olives and the plain of Jericho. The road leading over it to the banks of the Baradá, which it reaches about two hours and a half from Ṣálḥeiyah, though the regular track between Beirút and Damascus, is, like all the rest in the country, rough and uncomfortable. We crossed the Baradá at the Jisr Dummar, near which we met Mr. Consul Moore, on his way from Beirút to Damascus. We then kept winding along the banks of the Baradá, sometimes on one side, and sometimes on the other, amidst interesting scenery, as the ravine through which the river flows is shaded by poplar, mulberry, and other trees, and the outline of the hills on each side of it is very picturesque. Wherever cultivation is practicable in any little valley or gentle slope, it is sure to be exhibited. We passed several villages inhabited by Musalmáns. Near Fíjah, a stream comes down from the left hand, and joins the Baradá, which, I much regret, our arrangements did not permit us to trace to its source, as it is particularly noticed by the Arabian geographers, and as many are of opinion,—I believe warrantably so,—that it is the Abana of Scripture. "The river of Damascus," says Ibn el-Wardí, as quoted by Abulfeda, "rises under a Christian church. Where it first breaks out, it attains to the depth of a cubit, and fills a channel of the same breadth. It then runs through a vale, from which issue many fountains. It then unites with the river which is called Baradá, and joined with it forms one river."[2]

[1] Russeger, Reisen, i. band, p. 757, and corresponding table.

[2] Abulfed. Tab. Syr., p. 15. See also Excerpt. ex Ibn el-Wardi, ibid. (Edit. Reiske, p. 15); and Géographie D'Edrisi, par Jaubert, tom. i. p. 350. Dr. Richardson says, "Figgi is certainly one of the coolest and shortest

At half-past five, after crossing the Baradá upon a bridge with a Saracenic arch, and going through a narrow and most romantic pass, with precipitous rocks on each side of us, marked by cuttings and excavations, we entered the Wádí Baradá, properly so called. A little previous to this, we had come to a fine cascade, the waters of which were dashing over the rocks with great fury, and raising the vapour and spray like smoke. This spot Russeger makes 3346 feet above the level of the sea,[1] so that the Baradá has

rivers in the world; but it did not quite come up to the idea that we had formed of it from the description that we had received, as being well worth a ride of seven hours to see it. It issues from the limestone rock on the left hand side of the road, a deep, rapid stream of about thirty feet wide; it is pure and cold as iced water, and after coursing down a stony and rugged channel for about a hundred yards, falls into the Barrada, where it loses both its name and its beauty." —Richardson's Travels, vol. ii. p. 499.

A friend from India has kindly favoured me with her memoranda of the Fijah, which she visited in the summer of 1846. "Our encampment," she writes, "at the village of Fijah was pleasantly situated in a grove of walnut trees, on a bank slightly rising above the Baradá, which rushed past in a most rapid stream. The Fijah river had its junction with the Baradá a few hundred yards above our encampment. They are distinguished by the white and black rivers, which is clearly marked in their waters—the Baradá being of a whitish hue, said to be sulphureous. The Fijah gushes from the foundations of what has evidently been a temple. My eldest boy bathed in it, entering the water from this spot, but found the stream so rapid he could not attempt to swim. The ruins struck us as a temple which might have been in its splendour in the days of Palmyra and B'aalbek. It is quite a spot to strike the imagination, and where a heathen would delight to honour his gods. The river is probably the shortest in the world, since it only runs in a rapid stream a few hundred yards, when it is lost in the Baradá. Its water is delicious, like iced water in the hottest day."

The Muhammadan writer, quoted above, makes the temple a Christian church; but the Muslims in general do not look beyond their immediate predecessors.

"In the afternoon," my friend continues, "we returned to a village about *half-an-hour distant*, which we had passed in the morning, to visit the remains of an aqueduct which has been cut through the solid mountain, and which tradition asserts carried water all the way to Tadmor. It is ascribed to Solomon or Zenobia. It is a work of immensity, and is still in wonderful preservation. We walked through it with our guide from the village, for a considerable distance, without any appearance of a termination—and the guide asserted it went on to Palmyra."

[1] Russeger, Reisen. i. band. p. 757.

to fall a thousand feet from this before it gets to the level of Damascus. This may give one an idea of the velocity with which it must proceed. Its dashing and noise as it advances, are noticed by Edrisi.[1] We could not help applying to it at several places the language of Sir Walter Scott when, referring to one of the streams of MacIvor's mansion, he speaks of its motions being "rapid and furious, issuing from between precipices, like a maniac from his confinement, all foam and uproar." A similar figure Lord Lindsay uses in reference to the Baradá.[2] The Baradá, the Chrysorrhoas of the Greeks, is generally admitted to be the Pharphar of Scripture; and it strikes me that its rapidity may be referred to as a presumption in favour of this identification, the Arabic equivalent of its name being فرفر *Farfar*, to hasten, as noticed by our lexicographers.

We did not stop to examine the tombs, or aqueducts, or ruins which we observed from the road, at the Súḳ Wádí Baradá, near the entrance of the valley, which have long been supposed to mark the site of an Abila. The kindness of Dr. De-Forrest of the American Mission in Syria, in communicating to Mr. Graham the most important result of his observations at this place, enables me to give compensation to my readers for our lack of service. Dr. De-Forrest passed it in May 1846. "At the village called Súḳ Wádí el-Baradá, and opposite the hill called Nabí Ḥábil (Abel,)[3] we examined inscriptions and tombs, broken columns, &c. The inscriptions are in a road cut through rock high above the present path. They are quite distinct, except a few letters, and run thus:—

[1] Edrisi, par Jaubert, tom. i. p. 350.

[2] "At five hours and three quarters from Damascus, we entered a wild mountain pass, through which the Barrada comes foaming down like a maniac." Lord Lindsay's Letters, vol. ii. p. 183.

[3] The legendary place of the interment of Abel the son of Adam!

I. IMPCAESMAVRELANTONINVS
AUGARMENIACVSET
IMPCAESLAVRELVERUSAVGAR
MENIACVSVIAMFLVMINIS
VIABRVPTAMINTERCISO
MONTERESTITVERVNTPER
IVLVERUMLEGPRPROVINC
SYRETAMICVMSVVM
INPENDIISABILENORVM

II. PROSALVTE
IMPAUGANTO
NINIETVERI
MVOLVSIVS
MAXIMVS
LEGXVIFFOVI
OPERIINSTITVS

"These Cæsars," adds Dr. De-Forrest, "were noble engineers, royal road-makers; but they are gone, and there is a *Rome* in the western part of the state of New York, from which one can ride to *Utica* and *Palmyra*, on a road which, with its iron horse and its post of galvanized wires, would have set agape the *old* Romans, above named Imperial Cæsars."

The larger of these inscriptions contains proof positive of the ruins near the Wádí Súḳ el-Baradá, being those of the Abila ad Libanum, as distinct from that of Perœa, east of the Jordan.

Turning up the ancient itineraries, we find this place rightly entered.

PTOL. GEOG. LIB. V.	ANTON. AUG. ITIN.	HIEROCL. GRAM. SYNEC.
Curvæ ver Syr. civitates hæ.		
Heliopolis, (Ba'albek) 68.40 33.40.	Heliopoli.	ΗΛΙΟΥΠΟΛΙΣ.
Abila, cognomine Lysanii, 68 45, 33 20.	Abila, M. P. XXXVIII.	ΑΒΙΛΑ.
Ganna. *Pal.* Gasana, 69.20 33.26.		
Inna, 68.30 33.0.		
Damascus, 69.0 33.0	Damasco, M. P. XVIII.[1]	ΔΑΜΑΣΚΟΣ.[2]

It will be observed that Ptolemy here distinguishes the Abila as that of Lysanias. In Luke iii. 1, we have mentio of Lysanias the tetrarch of ABILENE.[3]

After nine hours travel from Damascus, we pitched ou

[1] Edit. Wesseling, p. 198.
[2] Ibid., p. 717.
[3] See the article on the different towns of the name of Abila, in R land. Palest., p. 524, *et seq.*

tents for the night a little to the south of the thriving village of Zebedání, the capital of Wádí Baradá. We were in the immediate vicinity of an immense burrow of hamsters, whose motions we watched for some time. Great numbers of them poked their heads out of their holes; but on our making the slightest motion, they were sure to withdraw them. Occasionally we observed them skipping about; but we did not succeed in killing a specimen. The hamster is said to be fierce and fearless; but our observation did not accord with this remark. It is common in Syria.

10th June.—Our encampment last night was at the springs of the Khán Bandúḳ, now a ruin, the highest summit of Jebel esh-Sheikh, or Mount Hermon, bearing S.W. by S. The village of Zebedání, a little in advance, is situated in a most beautiful, and verdant, and well-watered plain, about eight miles by two. A road strikes off from it to the left, which leads to Beirút by way of Zahleh; but we proceeded northward. The plain soon contracted after we passed Zebedání, and we had high mountains on each side of us. We stopped for breakfast, at twenty minutes past nine, at the village Sargháyá, under a wide-spreading walnut-tree. Here the valley was only about a mile broad. A few yards north of the village the water-shed occurs, a stream flowing southward through Wádí Baradá, and another called Ḳaraiyah, flowing first northward, and then escaping to the westward, through a small Wádí, through which it probably communicates with the Litání, or the Beḳáà. In continuation of the valley up which we had come, there is another more extended, called the Wádí Rummání. An hour from Sargháyá, we came to a ruin, consisting of thickish walls, with pillars in front, at a place called Rás er-Rummání. At twenty minutes to one, we were at the termination of Wádí Rummání. At the extremity of the crevasse, the basalt began to make its appearance, breaking through the Jurassic limestone

of Jebel esh-Sharḳíyah, the eastern mountain, or Anti-Lebanon, in a gash of which we now were. Both Wádí Baradá and Wádí Rummání, have at one time been lakes. This is evident from their basin-like form, the scourged wall of rock near the summit of the mountains by which they are bounded on the east and west, and the quantities of calcareous conglomerate apparent on the eminences on their margins. As we had had no previous notion of the existence of Wádí Rummání, I may mention that Jebel esh-Sheikh bore from its extremity S.W. by S. This, when compared with our last observation, shows that, in the interval, we had proceeded due north, according to the compass.

From the termination of Wádí Rummání, our road ran in a more westerly direction, at first through a narrow Wádí, the name of which we did not learn, with the hills rounded off on each side of us; and afterwards, by a very winding course among the mountains of Anti-Lebanon, whose lofty summits were frowning upon us in great grandeur. From the western flanks of these, we had a fine view of Cœlesyria, both of the southern and narrow district of the Beḳáà, and the northern and wider district of Báalbek. In order that our view might be enlarged, we ascended to the highest ground which we could reach, from which the panorama, —including the snow-crowned Jebel esh-Sheikh, or Mount Hermon, towering to the height of 9500 feet above the level of the sea, with a great part of the range of the Anti-Lebanon, and Lebanon itself with its precipitous flanks and whitened summits,—was most interesting, beautiful, sublime, and glorious.

In crossing the western portion of the Anti-Lebanon, we had gone by a path farther north than that which is usually taken. We nevertheless found ourselves approaching Báalbek from the south-east. Some of its cultivated fields rest on sandstone; but their prevailing rock is the dense cre-

taceous upper Jura formation, from which,—exactly similar to that of which the temple of Jerusalem was erected,—the building material of the great temples of Bâalbek was procured. We reached the Rás el-Ain before getting into the town. This is one of the sources of the Litání, or Leontes, the copious and clear stream which issues from it being called the river of Bâalbek. A ruined mosk and church are found at it; and some remains, probably older than either of these erections, which may have belonged to some consecration to the god Pan.[1] Travellers often pitch their tents at this cool and pleasant retreat; but there is reason to believe that it is not the most healthy spot near Bâalbek.

Crossing the stream of Bâalbek, we observed the rock artificially cut to a considerable extent. The road from nearly opposite the Rás el-Ain to the village, or rather to the temples, forms a gently inclined plain, over which, there can be little doubt, quantities of the building material were of old conveyed. A similar road leads from a quarry to the south of the town.

The town of Bâalbek is now almost a complete ruin, with the walls which surrounded it,—of an irregular quadrangle in form,—fallen in many places, and the inhabited abodes being of a most wretched character. Immense quantities of hewn stone and fragments of pillars, both of the common rock of the country, are strewn about in all directions. The eye of the traveller, however, does not rest on their prostration and confusion, and the filth with which they are associated. It sees, standing up in majesty amidst the apocryphal Saracenic and Turkish towers and walls of the fort, the proudest and grandest memorials of human architecture on which it has

[1] Maundrell gives an inscription which he copied from the stone work at the fountain; but it is of Christian times, as is evident from the words ΟCΙΟΥ ΕΠΙCΚΟΠΟΥ, which occur at its close.—Maundrell's Travels, p. 189.

ever rested; and it scans with wonder and astonishment the remains of the temples,—and their courts and colonnades,—of Heliopolis.

Going round part of the enclosures of these celebrated memorials of Roman idolatry, we halted to the south of them, on the banks of the rivulet, where the best view of them could be got from the doors of our tents. Mr. and Lady Louisa Tennyson, and Mr. Hill, whose acquaintance we had the pleasure of making at Damascus, were encamped a few yards distant from us. Lady Louisa was just concluding one of her beautiful sketches of the contiguous ruins. Though we were not a little tired by the journey of the day, we were soon engaged in surveying and exploring our locality. Though we had read much respecting it, and had the highest expectations, the erections far exceeded all our imaginings. In the evening, we went to view them under the softening influence of the moon, near its full, rising over the heights of the Anti-Lebanon.

11th June.—As usual, we rested from our journeyings, and engaged in occupations congenial with the duties and privileges of the Sabbath. We were sorry to observe the dissoluteness of the so-called Christian part of the population of Baalbek; and facts were brought to our notice which convinced us that the place is not altogether dissociated from the *mala fama* of ancient days. The depravity to which it still gives lodgement, may probably have received an extension from the regiment of Egyptian cavalry, which was for some time quartered in the barracks north of the temple.

A native priest from Damascus, or its neighbourhood, called upon us at our tents. He was a young man in whom we felt much interest, and evidently labouring under consumption, and had come to Baalbek to try the effect of a change of air. There was a degree of earnestness and

anxiety about him, which we had not before noticed among any individuals of his profession in the country; and he readily entered with us into conversation. The following is the substance of our simple intercommunion, so far as religion was directly concerned.

Travellers.—"You seem, friend, to be very unwell. What is the matter with you?"

Priest.—"I fear that I am suffering from consumption. I have tried a change of climate without effect; and now death seems to stare me in the face."

T.—"Your circumstances are very solemn. What do you do in the prospect of death and judgment?"

P.—"I ask the saints and angels to recommend me to the Saviour's mercy."

T.—"Where are the saints?"

P.—"They are in heaven."

T.—"But suppose them to be a great deal nearer to you than heaven. Suppose them to be on the other side of this plain of Baalbek, seated on the summits of Mount Lebanon. Do you think that they could hear you, if you were to cry to them from this place? Do you think that they could lend an ear to hundreds and thousands of Christians calling upon them at Damascus, Jerusalem, Constantinople, and ten thousand other places throughout the world, at the same time? Do you think that they could separately represent the interests of all appealing to them to the Saviour?"

P.—"I do not see how they could; but you have destroyed my peace, and taken away my hope."

T.—"Only that they may rest upon a sure foundation. Christ the Saviour is everywhere present, and he knows the thoughts of all, and, as God, can receive the prayers of all. He is the 'only mediator between God and man.'"

P.—"But will it not be the height of presumption in me, a miserable sinner, to call upon *his* name?"

T.—"You have a divine warrant expressly to pray in his name—'Whatsoever ye shall ask the Father in my name, he will give it you. Hitherto have ye asked nothing in my name: Ask, and ye shall receive, that your joy may be full.'[1] Little do men know of the grace of Christ, when they refuse to come into his presence without the meritless favour of their fellow-creatures. Be content with him: 'We have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous.'"[2]

We regretted that we could so imperfectly convey our sentiments to this amiable youth. His opinions on the grand question of a sinner's acceptance with God,—to which, however, he did not appear to have any bigotted attachment,—were similar to those entertained by the eastern churches, both independent and papal.

12th June.—We spent the forenoon at Bâalbek, that we might more thoroughly explore the ruins, and, if possible, find out the plan of the original erections. Had we had the splendid work of Wood and Dawkins with us, in which everything is most accurately delineated, we should have been saved to a great extent the trouble which we took in the latter respect. My readers would not thank me for giving them an account of the result of that trouble in detail, for, as remarked by the gentlemen now referred to, "descriptions of ruins, without accurate drawings, seldom preserve more of the subject than its confusion."[3]

The ruins are those of a greater and lesser temple, for what is called the round temple, lying to the south-east of them, is, I conceive, merely the shrine for accommodating some janitor idol, who may have acted the part of an Indian Hanumán, while another of the same form may have stood, or may have been intended to stand, at the north-east. I will go farther than this in the outset, by recording the con-

[1] John xvi. 23, 24. [2] 1 John ii. 1. [3] Ruins of Palmyra and Baalbec, p. 53.

jecture, that both the greater and smaller temples formed part of one general plan never completed, and which, to make all symmetrical, would require a third temple at the north-west portion of the ground allocated, similar to the smaller temple on the south-west. Wood and Dawkins, though they make no remarks on the want of symmetry in the ground-plan, direct attention to the conformity of the style of architecture of the smaller and greater temple, and to the fact that even the latter temple was never finished.

The subassement of both the temples is artificial, to give them a superior elevation; and the court of the larger in particular, is principally on arched vaults, to some of which access can now be got. The peristyles of the temples stand on strong masonry; but this it has been intended to conceal by facings of stone, or rather rock, of the most prodigious size ever used in architecture, as is evident at the western and northern ends of the great temple. The enormity of some of the stones of the facing has been often brought to notice. One stone, in the western wall, overlooked both by Maundrell, and Wood and Dawkins, probably because irregularly cut in the outer surface, though of undivided mass, is sixty-nine feet in length, thirteen in depth, and eighteen in breadth, affording altogether a block of raised rock—to give it in letters—of sixteen thousand one hundred and forty-six cubic feet. The fellow of this stone is left nearly ready cut in the quarry, about a quarter of an hour to the south of the town, to challenge posterity to come up to the deeds of ancestry by removing it from its position.[1] Above the stone

[1] Of the stone in this quarter, Wood and Dawkins say, "We measured it separately, and allowing for a little disagreement in our measures, owing, we think, to its not being exactly shaped into a perfectly regular body, we found it seventy feet long, fourteen broad, and fourteen feet five inches deep. The stone, according to these dimensions, contains 14,128 cubic feet, and should weigh, were it Portland stone, about 2,270,000 Avoirdupois, or about 1130 tons."—Wood and Dawkins' Ruins of Palmyra and Baalbec, p. 70.

Pococke makes this stone sixty-

in the subassement now alluded to, there are other three of enormous dimensions, forming its second elevation, of which Wood and Dawkins say, that they found the length to make together above a hundred and ninety feet, and separately sixty-three feet eight inches, sixty-four feet, and sixty-three feet."[1] At the north-west corner there are *nine* stones, with a veranda of twenty-five feet intervening between them, and the part of the subassement which is finished, which at an average we found thirty-one feet in length, nine feet seven inches in breadth, and thirteen feet in depth.[2] It is not to be wondered at that the local tradition is, that the genii had a hand in their settlement.

But let us return again to our plan. We have, beginning with the east, a staircase, leading up to a grand portico, with chambers on each side. From the portico, the entrance must have been by a large and two smaller doors into a hexagonal court, with various little chambers and niches for idols, the pedestals of which, in many instances, still remain. From this court, the entrance is into a large quadrangular court, with similar conveniences. Passing this second court, we are at the large temple, properly so-called. Its remains, in addition to its lower works, consist of a colonnade of six Corinthian pillars of majestic size, and bearing a rich entablature, forming altogether objects of enchanting architectural beauty, with looking at which the eye is never satisfied. These columns belong to the flank of the temple, the original number having been nineteen, while there were ten in front. The bases and pedestals of the others are in their places.

eight feet long, seventeen feet eight inches wide, and thirteen feet ten inches deep.

The measurement of Mr. Graham and myself gave,—length sixty-nine feet, width varying from seventeen feet six inches to seventeen feet one inch, breadth from fourteen to sixteen feet.

[1] Ruins, &c., p. 71.

[2] The particular measurements of these are given by Wood and Dawkins.

A number of the shafts are strewn about, generally with the three pieces of which they were composed separated from one another. The height of these pillars, including the architrave, we found to be seventy-five feet ten inches. Their diameter, taking the measurement between the first and second stones, is seven feet three inches. Their distance from one another is eight feet seven inches. The temple certainly was never finished.

The greater part of the smaller temple still remains, though the roof is gone. It is altogether a magnificent building. The capitals, architrave, frieze, and cornice of the pillars of the peristyle, which are of the Corinthian order, are most exquisite in their forms and proportions. Of these pillars there are eight in front and fifteen in flank, their height being about forty-eight feet. They are on a lower level than those of the great temple. The entrance to this temple, as to the other, was by a staircase now removed. At the top of it we find, at present, access through a modern Turkish wall to the vestibule, where there is a most magnificent doorway, with the finest and richest ornamental carving, about twenty feet in width, and double that in height, but injured by the subsidence for several feet of a mass of its upper portion. In each side of the cell of the temple, there is a row of pilasters. The sanctum was at the west end, where the idol was enshrined. The general appearance of this temple, as well as of the colonnade, from the south of the enclosure in which they now are, may be understood from the reduced view of Bernatz, given at the head of this chapter. This temple is probably that which was converted into a Christian church by Justinian.

The ruins of Baalbek astonish every visitant. Their great delineators, who took only an artistic view of them, say, "When we compare" them "with those of many ancient cities which we visited in Italy, Greece, Egypt, and other

parts of Asia, we cannot help thinking them the boldest plan we ever saw attempted in architecture."[1] Speaking even of the smaller temple, Maundrell says, "It strikes the mind with an air of greatness beyond anything that I ever saw before, and is an eminent proof of the magnificence of the ancient architecture."[2] Less grave and sober travellers have written of them with unbounded rapture. Lord Lindsay says, "Palmyra at sunrise, and Baalbec at sunset, are Claudes treasured in the cabinet of the memory, which neither accident can injure, nor beggary deprive one of."[3] So much we could say of them, viewing them merely as works of art; but the remembrance of the object for which they were erected, sent the cold chill of death through our souls. When it was adverted to, it was only as *ruins* that we could look to them with any degree of satisfaction. We thanked God, however, that in no part of the world at present, is art in its perfection sacred to the cause of Pagan idolatry, as it once was. May the time soon arrive when it shall no longer be sacred to that idolatry, disguised under the name of Christianity, which has taken its place at Rome.

Very little is known of the history of the temples at Baalbek. A Phenician, or Syrian Baal, as its name indicates, was probably early worshipped at the place. The Musalmáns, and some Christians, ascribe the temples to Solomon; but though Baalbek is probably the BAALHAMON mentioned in the Song of Solomon,[4] in which name both Baal and Jupiter, under his Egyptian cognomen, are probably combined, the style of architecture is so distinct from that of the Phenicians, that they most certainly had no connexion with any parts of them, the characteristics of which are at present cognizable. There is no evidence

[1] Ruins of Palmyra and Baalbec, p. 58.
[2] Maundrell's Travels, p. 137.
[3] Letters, vol. ii. p. 195.
[4] Song, viii. 11.

whatever from ancient authors that they are to be attributed to the Seleucidæ, the successors of Alexander the Great. Messrs. Wood and Dawkins, who seem to have been at much pains in searching for historical notices connected with them, give as the first and only authority which they have discovered with regard to the building of them, the testimony of John of Antioch, surnamed Malala, to the effect that "Ælius Antoninus Pius built a great temple to Jupiter at Heliopolis, near Libanus of Phœnicia, which was one of the wonders of the world."[1] This testimony is confirmed by the inscriptions, now wellnigh obliterated, on the pedestals of the columns of the great portico, which as far as they could be made out by the writers now referred to, and freeing them from contractions, ran thus:—

MAGNIS DIIS HELIUPOLITANIS PRO SALUTE ANTONINI PII FELICIS AUGUSTI ET JULIÆ AUGUSTÆ MATRIS DOMINI NOSTRI CASTRORUM SENATUS PATRIÆ . . . . COLUMNARUM DUM ERANT IN MURO INLUMINATA SUA PECUNIA EX VOTO LIBENTI ANIMO SOLVIT.

MAGNIS DIIS HELIUPOLITANIS . . . . ORIIS DOMINI NOSTRI ANTONINI PII FELICIS AUGUSTI ET JULIÆ AUGUSTÆ MATRIS DOMINI NOSTRI CASTRORUM . . . . TONINIANÆ CAPITA COLUMNARUM DUM ERANT IN MURO INLUMINATA SUA PECUNIA . . .

Heliopolis itself is mentioned by Pliny,[2] and Ptolemy,[3] and in the Itinerary of Antoninus.[4] The history of its early Christianity, and its struggle with heathenism, is best alluded to under the veil of a dead language.[5] It contended

[1] Joan. Malalæ, Hist. Chron. lib. xl.

[2] Plin. Nat. Hist. v. 22.

[3] Ptol. Geog., pp. 106, 139.

[4] Wesseling, p. 198.

[5] "Cives ejus ad usque tempora Constantini idolorum cultui addictissimi fuerunt, ac non tantum *Solis*, a quo nomen illi inditum, verum etiam Veneris, ob fanum Ἀφροδίτης Ἀφακίτιδος, *Veneris Aphacitidis*, in qua viri peregrinis quibusque uxores filiasque suas impune prostituebant; quæ stupra Constantinus lege lata prohibuit, atque Heliopolitanos adhortatus est, ut ad Dei veri notitiam se quantocius transferrent. Quocirca constructa ingenti Christiano ritu basilica, quod ante auditum prorsus non erat, 'civi-

powerfully against the Khalífs; and after succumbing to their rule, it remained long a place of very considerable importance. Though it is situated in a valley which might support the whole inhabitants of Syria, it has gone almost to the utmost limit of decay. The population of the whole province, it will be observed from Mr. Wood's table, amounts only to 11,000 souls.[1]

We left Bàalbek at eleven o'clock, A.M., and proceeding across Cœlesyria, we got to the isolated column at twenty-five minutes past twelve. This pillar is of the Corinthian order; and, exclusive of the capital and base, and pedestal, or rather platform, it consists of fifteen stones. It is supposed that at one time it was surmounted by a statue. It may have been monumental, or perhaps intended to mark the *maryádá*, or the general consecrated boundaries, of the Bàalbek temples, like some of the sacred outposts which we have in India. It is not situated in the centre of the plain,

tas dæmonum prius studiosissima, ecclesiam Dei, presbyterosque et diaconos habere meruit, cum episcopo, qui supremo solique vero numini sacra facerent.' .... Hæc Eusebius Cæsariensis lib. 3, de vita Constantini cap. 58, et Orat. de laudibus Constantini cap. 18. Cæterum paucieres adhuc numero Heliopoli erant Christi cultores, quo tempore Julianus Apostata Imperium tenebat. Hujus quippe urbis Gentiles multitudine superiores, ut latam adversus priscum suum, impiumque morem legem ulciscerentur, virgines Christo sacras, coitione facta, nudas palam in foro exponere non dubitarunt: quumque posthac Theodosius Augustus idolorum delubra penitus dirui præcepisset, strenue illi pro suis tuendis pugnaverunt. Legendus Sozomenus lib. 5, cap. 10, et lib. 7, cap. 15. Petrus Alexandrinus episcopus Athanasii successor proximus; epistola quam Theodoretus recitat lib. 4, c. 22, sanctos Deitatis Christi confessores et martyres a magno provincialium largitionum. Comite Valentis Augusti jussu deportatos Heliopolim refert, in qua ne unus quidem habitaret qui Christi nomen audire sustineret; quum omnes simulacra colerent. Cæterum ex Chronico, quod Paschale seu Alexandrinum vocant ad annum Diocletiani 13. Maximiano Herculio V. et Maximiano Jovio Cæsare II. coss. martyrium Heliopoli in urbe Libanisiæ pertulit S. Gelasimus ex mimo repente factus Christianus, quem vicini Mariamne in vico Heliopoli proxime, unde oriendus erat, sepelierunt."—Le Quien, Or. Christ., tom. ii. pp. 842, 843.

[1] For some notices of B'aalbek by different travellers, see Lord Lindsay's Letters, vol. ii. pp. 360-361.

but it is considerably nearer the base of the Lebanon range than that of the Anti-Lebanon. From the pillar the temples of Bâalbek bore S.S.E., and the village of Teiyibah S.S.E. Our journey across Cœlesyria occupied about two hours and a half, but we galloped part of the way.

We did not stop at Deir el-Aḥmar, the first of the villages of Lebanon at which we arrived. After a hard pull up the flanks of Lebanon for a couple of hours, and passing for an hour over a somewhat easy portion of the mountain, during which we often halted to admire the expanding view to the east, north, and south, we stopped for the night at about five o'clock, at Ainettah, or "Springton," a very small village situated in a lateral gash in the mountain, forming the boundary between the lower and upper Lebanon. We had here one or two springs, and streamlets of water from the melted snows, which unite together and flow to the S. by E. We were about five thousand feet above the level of the sea;[1] but we were well sheltered in the ravine in which we were pitched, and at this season did not find it very cold in our tents. We noticed but little culture on our way up the mountain; but the abundance of dwarfish oaks and mountain junipers which it exhibits, shows the capabilities of its soil.

13th June.—We left Ainettah this morning at half-past seven, under great exhilaration of spirits, as we had to pass over Jebel Makmel, one of the highest summits of the goodly mountain, even Lebanon. The road we found much steeper than yesterday, and leading through less vegetation. About an hour from our starting, we observed the lake Leimûn, about two miles distant to the left. We were about twenty minutes on the ridges of snow before we got to the crown of the heights which we were seeking to surmount;

[1] Russeger makes 'Ainettah 4989 Paris feet above the level of the sea.—Reisen, Vierte Abtheilung, p. 756.

but we found bare patches on these heights themselves, on the scanty produce of which some goats were feeding. We diverged from the usual track to the highest point to the left, the apex of Jebel Makmel,—8400 Paris feet above the level of the sea,[1]—which we reached at half-past nine o'clock. We had the most glorious view from thence which we had ever enjoyed, actually transporting, while it was a reality, and never, in its distinctive lineaments, to be effaced from our memory. On the south, Jebel esh-Sheikh reared his venerable head, wrapped in his turban of snow, and claiming, by his natural majesty, that superiority which is expressed in the name by which he is designated. The summits of the range of Anti-Lebanon, or Jebel esh-Sharḳíyah, were to him a line of noble attendants, extending northward for many miles, and forming, as an unbroken wall, the boundary of our horizon to the east. Cœlesyria and the Baḳáà lay before us, a valley worthy by nature of the lofty walls by which it is protected, but sadly neglected in its culture, and with scarcely a tree visible either to enhance its beauty or conceal its nakedness. Bâalbek was the only village in it which we could distinguish. The ridge of Lebanon stretched in great grandeur along the line on which we stood, Jebel 'Arnettah, its highest peak, being about an hour distant from us to the north.[2] A great quadrangular opening in the range was before us to the west. We observed, running down the middle of this opening, the dark line of the deep and precipitous ravine of the Ḳadísha, the holy river of Lebanon, with beautiful villages, and the richest terraces lining its banks. We had literally no horizon to the west, for the sea and sky were so commingled together as to defy distinction.[3] Gladly should we have mused on

[1] Russeger, Reisen, Vierte Abtheilung, p. 757.

[2] According to Russeger it is 8800 feet above the level of the sea.—Reisen, 1 Band, p. 757.

[3] We took the following bearings

the scene for many hours; but the exigencies of our journey forced us reluctantly to proceed.

After drinking a cup of warm milk, which a goat-herd kindly offered to us, we commenced our descent to THE CEDARS. As first seen by us from Jebel Makmel, they appeared merely as a speck of green beyond the snowy wreaths which intervened between us and them. The perpendicular fall of the mountain to them is 2400 feet, for they are 6000 feet above the level of the sea; but the road winds so cautiously down the side of the mountain, that loaded horses and mules can get to them without much difficulty. We made all possible haste to them; and we remained a couple of hours beneath their hallowed shelter. They stand on what may be called the shoulder of Lebanon, on ground of a varying level. They cover about three acres. The venerable patriarch trees, which have stood the blasts of thousands of winters, amount only to twelve, and these not standing close together in the same clump;[1] but those of a secondary and still younger growth, as nearly as can be reckoned, to three hundred and twenty-five. A person can walk easily round the whole grove in twenty minutes. The most curious instance of vegetable growth which we noticed in it, was that of two trees near its western side, stretching out their horizontal branches, and, after embracing, actually uniting, and sending up a common stem. We measured all the larger trees, one of which, at least, we found to be forty feet in circumference. We were sorry to observe the names of many travellers, including that of M. Delamartine, the poet of France, most savagely cut on their trunks. A monk came to us to beg some aid for the erection of an oratory

from Jebel Makmel:—B'aalbek S.S.E.; the Cedars N. by W.; Bsherreh N.W.

[1] The number of old cedars is variously stated by travellers, according to the facts of their time, and the accuracy of their observation. Some half-hundred accounts of them, to which I need not particularly allude, are now before me, as I transcribe this part of my journal.

under their shade; but we told him that God had already made a temple there, and that no other was required. In order to gain our favour, he proceeded, with the help of an assistant whom we had, to strike down some of their boughs to present them to us. While we protested against his injury of the old trees, we carried off the pieces which he had cut. An examination of the wood, which is remarkably compact and solid, and of a fine grain, and capable of being cut and carved into ornamental pieces of furniture, and highly and delightfully scented, has led several of the Edinburgh botanists and carpenters to dissent from the description of the tree given by Dr. Lindley, who, doubtless judging of it from its degenerate specimens in England, calls it the "*worthless* though magnificent cedar of Mount Lebanon."[1] It is called by the natives of Lebanon by the Arabic name of ارز *araz*, the very name (אֶרֶז) which, with the usual alteration of the vowel points, it bears in the Hebrew scriptures. We read under the grove, with the deepest interest, the allusions to the Erez which are made in the Bible; and almost every one of them we thought applicable to the tree before us, even those in which it is represented as forming masts for ships, and beams and rafters for houses, while we were convinced that some of them are applicable to no other species of pine. "Behold," says Ezekiel, "the Assyrian was a cedar in Lebanon, with fair branches, and with a shadowing shroud, and of an high stature; and his top was among the thick boughs. The waters made him great, the deep set him up on high with her rivers running round about his plants, and sent out her little rivers unto all the trees of the field. Therefore his height was exalted above all the trees of the field, and his boughs were multiplied, and his branches became long, be-

[1] Gardener's Chronicle, vol. i. p. 699. See Biblical Encyclopædia, under "Erez."

cause of the multitude of waters, when he shot forth. All the fowls of heaven made their nests in his boughs, and under his branches did all the beasts of the field bring forth their young, and under his shadow dwelt all great nations."[1] The pre-eminence of stature, length of branch, and extent and beauty of shroud, and shadow, and covert, here spoken of, are to be found in the cedar and not in the pines,—the same as those on our Scottish mountains,—or the cypresses, or junipers, which are to be seen in abundance in Lebanon and other parts of Syria.

In the whole range of Lebanon, there are only one or two more clumps of cedars, and these of no great extent, to be found in the present day. On this account, M. Salle contends that the tree now known as the cedar cannot possibly be that which was so abundant in the days of Solomon, and which he thinks was the larch, plenteous on Mount Taurus,—the name of which is a corruption of *el-arz*,—or the cypress everywhere cherished in Syria; but in doing this he overlooks the fearful ravages of centuries, and what is particularly said in the view of them, and their connexion with the judgments of God on the land in which we now are. Of those very woods, in which the king of Assyria gloried as the enemy of Israel, the prophet Isaiah says, "The rest of the trees of his forest shall be few, that a little child may write them."[2] This traveller is aware that the natives of Lebanon give the name Araz to our present cedar; but he thinks that the name may have been transferred to it, in the same way as in Germany, the Latin *vulpes* a fox, has been transferred to the *wolf*, evidently derived from the Latin word, or its corresponding Sanskrit root.[3] He overlooks, however, the fact, that arz is still the name of the tree of which we speak in its native region, the inhabitants of which

[1] Ezek. xxxi. 3-6.
[2] Isaiah x. 19.
[3] Pérégrinations en Orient, par Eusèbe de Salle, tom. i. p. 183.

would continue to apply it by *identification* of its owner, and not by *analogy*, as might be done in other parts, as at Petra, in which we ourselves heard the name arz applied to the mountain juniper, which though only a bacciferous pine, is more like a cedar in miniature than a coniferous pine. While I express this opinion as to the unlikelihood of the transference of the name Erez in its native country to that tree, I would not oppose the idea that Erez may be used in Scripture in a generic as well as in a specific sense; and that the wood of the Erez, mentioned in Leviticus, xiv. 5, 6, in connexion with the cleansing of the leper, even in the desert, where the cedar of Lebanon is not found, may have been that very juniper to which we ourselves heard the name Araz applied in the desert, and which we saw at Mount Serbál, Sinai, Mount Hor, and other places.[1] It is not necessary here to say anything on the application of the name Κέδρος by the Greeks, by which Erez is translated by the Seventy. Taking the "Erez of Lebanon," as that which is now known by the name of the Cedar of Lebanon, I am disposed to think that the *Berosh* of scripture, mentioned in connexion with it, and translated "fir," is not the cypress, as Dr. Royle supposes, but our common "fir," the *Pinus Sylvestris*, which is frequently seen on Lebanon, where it is known by the name of *Snobar*. The cypress, κυπαρισσος of the Greeks, is probably the *Gopher* of the Hebrews, from which, etymologically at any rate, its name is derived.

On the precise *age* of the Cedars, it is of no use to speculate. Both Mr. Graham and I thought that the patriarchs may be as old as even the Christian era; but this was forming an opinion from their general appearance, without any

[1] It is rightly remarked by Lady Callcott, that "the cedar was not a native of Egypt, nor could it have been procured in the desert without great difficulty; but the juniper is most plentiful there."—Script. Herb., p. 92.

distinct data. Though they are grand and magnificent trees, they are by no means so symmetrical and beautiful as those of a younger growth, which have grown up under their shelter. They may have escaped the destructive axe of the Turks just because of their irregular form, and the consequent difficulty of turning their timber to account. They may never have been put into the ground by the hand of man; but their seed may have been strewn there from their parents, under the providence of the great Creator. "The trees of the Lord," some of our Hebrew grammarians tell us, mean "very high cedars;" but this, with little reference to the context, where the expression occurs:—

> "The trees of the Lord are full of *sap*:
> The cedars of Lebanon, which he hath planted."[1]

The pious poets of Israel were both philosophical and devout, when they fully acknowledged the God of providence. We content ourselves too often by referring to an abstraction, mere "nature," forgetting altogether that there is a personal God.

From the Cedars, we proceeded to Bsherreh, a village romantically situated near the brink of the deep and dark chasm of the Ḳadísha. Its population was estimated to us at 1500 souls. It consists almost entirely of Maronites. In an agricultural point of view, they are, like all the inhabitants of the western side of Lebanon, exceedingly industrious.[2]

[1] Psalm civ. 16.

[2] "Nothing," says Burckhardt, "can be more striking than a comparison of the fertile but uncultivated districts of Bekaa and Baalbec, with the rocky mountains in the opposite direction, where, notwithstanding that nature seems to afford nothing for the sustenance of the inhabitants, numerous villages flourish, and every inch of ground is cultivated. Bshirrai is surrounded with fruit trees, mulberry plantations, vineyards, fields of Dhourra, and other corn, though there is scarcely a natural plain twenty feet square. The inhabitants with great industry, build terraces to level the ground, and prevent the earth from being swept down by the winter rains, and at the same time to retain the water requisite for the irrigation of their crops. Water is very abundant, as streams from numerous springs descend on every side

In passing along from Bsherreh to Ehden, we observed the basalt breaking out on the margin of the great chasm, in the formation of which it has probably had its distinct influence. Among the calcareous strata at the side of the road, we found numerous shells, principally Terebratulæ, almost of a recent type. When the children whom we met saw us searching for them, they brought us great quantities, and we rewarded their attention by giving them a few Turkish copper coins. We arrived at Ehden at half-past six o'clock. We pitched our tent a little to the north of the village, which, from its name and beauty of situation, and contiguity to the chasm of the Ḳadísha, the Holy River, is reckoned the paradise of Lebanon.[1] The houses here, as elsewhere in Lebanon, are all flat-roofed.

14th June.—Last night and this morning, we had a good deal of conversation about the Maronite church, with a respectable native gentleman, a relative of the sheikh of the town. He gave us a particular account of its bishops and clergy, which I wrote down at the time; and of which I have availed myself in another part of this volume. He was by no means pleased to find, that we were not willing to admit the correctness of his doctrine, that the communion of the Maronites with Rome has always been uninterrupted; and he did not like our reference to documents in support of our opinion, not even to Dandini's account of his visit to Lebanon, which we showed to him.[2]

We should have been glad to have proceeded to Ḳanobín (*Κουνόβιον*), on the brink of the Ḳadísha, the celebrated

into the Kadisha, whose source is two hours distant from Bshirrai, in the direction of the mountain from whence I came."—Burckhardt's Travels in Syria, pp. 20, 21.

[1] The name of the village in Arabic is إهدن Ehden. To correspond with the Eden of Scripture it would require to be عدن 'Aden.

[2] Dandini's Voyage to Mount Libanus, in Pinkerton's Voyages and Travels, vol. x.

convent forming the winter residence of the patriarch; but our plans for the day did not permit us to go thither.

We enjoyed our ride down the flanks of Lebanon to Tripoli exceedingly; and not the less so, that the little importance of the villages in a geographical point of view, relieved us from the usual labour of adding to our note-books. The natural scenery of the mountain, especially on the borders of the Ḳadísha, is extremely picturesque. Its effects are much heightened by the romantic situation of many of the villages and ecclesiastical buildings, and the plots of cultivation on the terraces in their neighbourhood.

We entered several Maronite schools, which came in our way in some of the villages. From one of them, I procured a set of the Syrian school books in use in them. They are but poor specimens of typography, and do but little credit to the press of Deir Már Antonius.

On arriving at Tripoli, the Arabic Ṭarábulus, we found it difficult to get a suitable place to pitch our tents to the south of the town, as the only good plot of ground in a small grove, was occupied by Mr. and Lady Louisa Tennyson, and Mr. Hill, who had preceded us on the march from Baalbek to this place. At length, we spread our canvass in an old Muhammadan burying-ground, at no great distance from our friends. We had plenty of time before the light failed us, to take a walk to and through the town and its suburbs, and some of its beautiful gardens. It is a far more populous and thriving place than we expected to find it, containing from 15,000 to 20,000 souls, Muslims, and Christians principally of the Greek church. The houses are well built, the bazars respectable, and the streets in tolerably good order. It lies close to the base of the mountains, and at some distance from the sea. The Nahr Abu Ali, alias the Ḳadísha, flows through it. It is overlooked by the castle, in which there may be a

score of guns. The port is called el-Míná, and is situated on a spit of land, or rather a small sandy promontory, stretching into the sea. The harbour is small; but except in the winter months the anchorage is tolerably good. There are dottings of rocks contiguous to it; and in a line with them, at the distance of two miles and a half, are three small islands,—el-Bellán, Nakheití, and el-Baḳar. Six towers of defence run along the shore from the Míná to the mouth of the river, which, giving them in their order from the remotest corner of the Míná, are called el-Maghárabah, el-Míná, el-Ḳaneiṭar, el-Dikíyah, el-Sabáà, and el-Diyún. It is held that the town which is now in two divisions, was formerly in three, and that on this account, it received its name. "Tripolis," says Diodorus Siculus, "is a celebrated city in Phœnice, having a name agreeing with its nature; for three cities are contained in it, separated from one another by the interval of a furlong. One of these has its cognomen from the Aradians, [the ARADIM of Scripture,] another from the Sidonians, and a third from the Tyrians. It obtained the highest dignity among all the Phœnicians, so that their senate was wont to convene in it, and to consult about their most important matters."[1] Strabo and Pliny give a similar account of its colonization by the three celebrated Phœnician cities.[2] On its history, I cannot here enter. Its exports are silk, sponges, galls from the Anṣairíyah mountains to the north, and wax. Great Britain shares only in a small degree in its European commerce at present; but considerable quantities of goods are imported from various places of the Mediterranean. Several consular flags are displayed in it. It has communication by land not only with a great part of Lebanon, but even with Ḥamah and Ḥoms, three days distant. It is where Lebanon terminates to the north of Tripoli, I conceive, that we are perhaps to look for

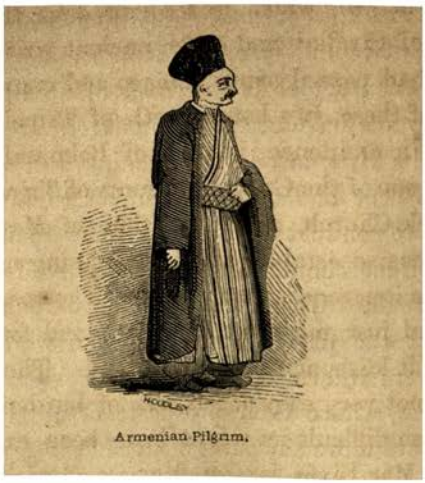
[1] Diod. Sic. Hist., lib. xvi. 41. [2] Plin. Nat. Hist., v. 20; Strab. Geo., lib. xvi.

the "entrance into Hamath," mentioned in connexion with the northern boundary of the Holy Land. To this geographical question, which is possessed of no little interest, we may afterwards have occasion to advert.

We paid a visit, late in the evening, to the Jews of Ṭarábulus, who sent one of their number to invite us to visit them, and to conduct us to the house of their principal man Isaac, an oil-merchant. They consist only of eleven families, with fifty souls. We expected to have found two or three hundred at the place; but those who were lately settled here, we were informed, have gone to Aleppo, Beirút, and other places, where their prospects of obtaining an honest livelihood are more encouraging than those which they enjoyed at Tripoli. The synagogue is a considerable building. These were the last Jews we visited,—in fact the last that were left to us to visit, in the Holy Land. Though very poor, they treated us in the most hospitable manner, and that with the greatest cheerfulness. We regretted much that, our stock of Hebrew books being exhausted, we could give them neither copies of the Scriptures nor tracts; but we promised to procure for them a supply.

Ṭarábulus would form a good station for a mission to its Greek and Maronite Christians, and those of its neighbourhood. It is in itself an important place; and is the head-quarters of a very considerable district of country.[1] As this sheet goes through the press, I have heard that the American Missionaries of Beirút have established at it a school. Perhaps they may be able ere long to make it the residence of an ordained minister. As far as Lebanon is concerned, it is next to Beirút and Deir el-Ḳamar in importance.

[1] For a notice of its districts, see Burckhardt's Travels in Syria, p. 168.



Armenian Pilgrim.

CHAPTER XXIV.

FROM TRIPOLI TO BEIRUT.

Our pilgrimage in the Holy Land was about to draw to a close when we reached Tripoli. A three days' march along a well-known portion of the coast of the Mediterranean only remained. In this part of our journey we enjoyed the lively and agreeable society of our friends the Tennysons, and Mr. Hill. Lady Louisa proved one of the best travellers of our company. Though she had visited Egypt, Mount Sinai, and Petra, and traversed a great part of Syria, her ardour was undiminished.

We left Tripoli on the morning of the 15th of June. The shore to the southward does by no means run in a straight line. We kept, however, close to the sea, west of the lateral hill el-Kúrah, till we came near to one of the most conspicuous and formidable promontories which we had yet seen, that called the Rás esh-Shaḳah, alias Jebel Hamat, alias

Jebel en-Núríyah, which is recognised as the *το τοῦ θεοῦ πρόσωπον* of Strabo[1] and other ancient writers. Previous to this we had passed many villages and convents. Among the latter of these, two hours south of Tripoli, romantically seated on an eminence, is that of Belmand, (Bellmount,) founded by one of the Crusader Counts of Tripoli. It belongs to the Greek Church, as in the time of Maundrell, and is still an extensive establishment, enshrining more indolence, and not less ignorance, than of old. The road, on reaching the headland just mentioned, turns inland for upwards of a mile before it leads across the headland. The pass over the heights is not very easy for beasts of burden; but we did not find it so difficult as might have been expected. The convent of Már Elyás is seated on its summit, its builders having taken care that the monks there, though almost beyond the reach of man, should have an abode on a hill such as cannot be hid. Another curious erection is seen immediately on crossing the promontory. It is the castle of Maṣeilabah, standing on an insulated and perpendicular rock in the narrowest part of the Wádí Jauz, or Valley of the Pomegranate. It is said to have been built by the Metáwilah; but as from its proximity to the hills which command it, it is now wholly useless in a military point of view; it is at present used as a pen for cattle. The slopes of Jebel Núríyah, and those on the opposite side leading down to the Nahr Jauz, are very romantic. The rock is a soft marl; and it is as much broken and torn up by the rains as we see exemplified on the face of the western ghâts of India.

We made a halt near Batrún, the ancient Botrys. It is at present an unwalled village, with perhaps eight hundred or a thousand inhabitants, principally Maronites. Its church is large. I am not aware that at this place any remains of

[1] Strab. Geog., Lib. xvi.

antiquity are to be seen. Botrys is mentioned by Strabo, Pliny, and others,[1] as in this locality; but nothing very remarkable is related in connexion with its history.

Jebeil is three hours distant from Batrún; and this we made our resting-place for the night, pitching our tents on the rising ground a little to the south-east of the houses and ruins, for they are sadly commingled together. The place has evidently been one of great consequence. Numerous pillars of red and grey granite are seen strewn about, and built in the walls, houses, and even terraces in the fields; and a large khán, outside the walls, has its corridor supported by them. There is a high tower, the lower parts of which are bevelled in the Phenician form, and evidently extremely ancient. One of the old cut stones we found to be sixteen feet in length, five feet nine inches in depth, and four feet in breadth. The length of another which we measured is eighteen feet. We entered the Maronite Church. It is a large fabric, and supposed by Pococke to be older than the time of the Crusades. Though its proprietors are in the communion of the Church of Rome, they prefer pictures to hewn and carved images for purposes of ornament and worship. There is a Greek church also in Jebeil. The harbour is small, and only boats at present can enter.

Jebeil was the Byblus of the Greeks, and the reputed birth-place of Adonis; and according to Philo, the conservator or inventor of the fragment of Sanchoniatho, the first city of the Phenicians.[2] Speaking of it, Maundrell says, "Gibyle is probably the country of the GIBLITES, mentioned in Joshua xiii. 5. King Hiram made use of the people of this place in preparing materials for Solomon's temple, as may be collected from the first of Kings v. 18, where the word which our translators have rendered *stone-squarers*, in

[1] Plin., lib. v. cap. xx. Strabo is corruptly read Bostra, lib. xv. p. 755.

[2] Sanchoniatho, in Cory's Fragments, p. 11.

the Hebrew is גבלים GIBLIM, or GIBLITES, and in the LXXII. interpreters, *Βύβλιοι*, that is the men of Byblus,—the former using the Hebrew, the latter the Greek name of this place. The same difference may be observed likewise, Ezek. xxvii. 9, where this place is again mentioned. *The ancients of Gebal*, says our translation, following the Hebrew; instead of which you read in the LXXII. again, *οἱ πρεσβύτεροι Βυβλίων*, the elders of Bybli or Byblus."[1] The views here propounded have generally been acquiesced in both by geographers and commentators since Maundrell's day. Dr. Keith, in his work on the Land of Israel,—which is a highly interesting and valuable one, independently of the theory of the bounds of the territory allotted to the tribes, which it supports,—identifies Gabala, mentioned by Ptolemy as situated between Aradus and Laodicea, as the Gebal of Scripture. The reasons which he gives in support of his opinion are, that "Bochart is free to testify that Gebala is probably the Gebal of Scripture;" that Pococke states, that the names Giblites and Gebal,—"according to our literal translation from the Hebrew,"—would incline us to think that Gabala, north of Orthosia, was meant; and that "Gebal or Gabala, now Jebilee or Gibili, has uniformly borne, from ancient to modern times, the same name, (the locality being precisely the same,) so slightly changed as not to admit of a doubt of its identity."[2] On these circumstances, I should not be disposed to lay much stress. Bochart does, indeed, incidentally and parenthetically, say, that the northern Gabala is perhaps (*forte*) the Gebal of Ezek. xxvii. 9;[3] but there is no reason to suppose that the southern Gebal was ever before his view. Pococke, the intelligent and distinguished traveller, was an indifferent Arabic scholar, as is evident from every page of his work, or he would have found in Jebeil of

[1] Maundrell's Travels, p. 34. [2] Keith's Land of Israel, p. 95.
[3] Bochart, Phal., p. 346.

Byblus, the exact Arabic diminutive form of Jebel, mountain, the equivalent of the Hebrew גבל or Gebal; and perceived also, that the present name of the northern locality is etymologically identical with that of the southern.[1] Even he, with a "literal translation from the Hebrew," which he imagines to be before him, does not surrender Jebeil, or Byblus, or "Esbele," as he names it, for he still says, "It seems probable that the people of this place are meant in 1 Kings v. 18, and Ezekiel xxvii. 9."[2] In Genesis xiii. 5, the Giblites are mentioned in connexion with Lebanon in the description of the country remaining to be possessed by the Israelites, proceeding from south to north, and agreeing with Jebeil or Byblus, while the northern "Gabala" is beyond Lebanon, in the ancient territory of the Arvadites, and the present mountains of the Ansairíyah. Hiram's Giblites[3] were more likely to be those proximate to Tyre and Sidon than those proximate to Arvad.[4]

[1] Dr. Richard Pococke, the traveller, is not to be confounded with the famous Dr. Edward Pococke, Professor of Hebrew and Arabic in the University of Oxford. Of the former, Dr. Robinson justly says, "he was a classical scholar, but not a good biblical one; and had but a slight knowledge of the Arabic."—Bib. Res., vol. iii. ap. p. 20.

[2] Pococke's Descript. of the East, b. ii. chap. iii.

[3] 1 Kings v. 18.

[4] As only very imperfect notices of Rawád or Ruad, the ancient Arvad of the Phenicians, are contained in our books of travel, I may be excused for introducing in this place, where it is incidentally alluded to in connexion with another Phenician settlement, the following interesting account of it, from a journal of the Rev. W. M. Thomson:—

"We reached Tortosa [or Orthosia,] in time to visit the island of Ruad, as it is pronounced by the natives. It is called Arvad and Arphad, and is believed to be the seat of the ancient Arvadites, mentioned in Genesis x. 18; 2 Kings xix. 13, and several times in Ezekiel, and other places. The Greeks and Romans called it Aradus, and the Arabs now call it Ruad, pronounced nearly as if written Rwad. Strange stories are told of this little island. In Alexander's Bible Dictionary it is said to be situated southward of Tyre, and a league from the shore. It is a considerable objection to such a location, that there is no island to the southward of Tyre. We find it to be six hard days' ride to the north of Tyre. Calmet says that the island is two hundred paces from the shore; we found it three miles from Tortosa,

16th June.—This morning we ascended the tower of Jebeil. We took the bearings of some of the headlands to the south of it, which have already been correctly laid down in the maps. We noticed, however, a good many villages which have not yet been there entered.

Proceeding on our journey southward, we came near the Wádí Fedár, about twenty-five minutes from Jebeil, to a

and at least two miles to the shore at the nearest point. Volney represents it as utterly desolate and deserted in his day, which is not believed to have been the case within the memory of man, and certainly was not in his day. We found about two thousand inhabitants, dwelling in very good, and from appearance, very ancient houses. . . . . .

"Several large castles, in good repair, still protect this isle from invasion and insult. They are probably of Saracenic origin, but many have been constructed by the crusaders. Considerable portions of the very ancient walls remain. From the size of the stones, reminding the traveller of Baalbec, it is evident that this wall must have been prodigiously strong It was built on the extreme verge of the rocks, so as to secure as large an area as possible; and in some places it appears even to have encroached upon the dominions of the sea by means of arches. These walls must have been originally very lofty, as there is one portion still standing, at least forty feet in height. The entire circumference was nearly fifteen hundred paces, and every inch of space inclosed seems to have been built upon, and as history states, with houses many stories high. The island is nearly as large as Tyre, and rises higher than that in the centre. There are no fountains on the island, but the population use rain-water preserved in cisterns. There are several hundred of these, and most of them in good repair, so that water is quite abundant. . . . . There are two small harbours open to the north-east, and sheltered by a strong wall carried out into the sea from the north-west corner of the island. This is the work of remote antiquity, as is the wall which divides the harbour into two. The people are nearly all sailors or ship-wrights. Several vessels are on the stocks at present, and one nearly ready to be launched. As nothing grows on the island, the inhabitants depend entirely upon the fruits of commerce and the riches of the sea for their subsistence. The eastern part of the island is used as a cemetery, but in the days of her power, the Arvadites must have sought their sepulchres on the adjacent coast, and probably the tombs around the columns of Amreed were constructed by them. Many granite and marble columns are scattered over the island, and upon several of them I noticed inscriptions in Greek.

. . . . . "Who can tell the history of Arvad? in what volume is it recorded? Isaiah, 2500 years ago, asks, 'Where is the king of Hamath and the king of Arphad?' And Jeremiah, a hundred years later, responds, 'Hamath is confounded, and Arphad, for they have heard evil tidings; they are faint-hearted, there is sorrow on the sea, it cannot be quiet.'"—American Missionary Herald. vol. xxxvii. pp. 98, 99.

stone with a Greek inscription, to a considerable extent legible, which we copied:—

ωΠ
ΑΝΘΥΠΑΙ
ΗΓωCЄΒΑCΓω
ΚΑΙCЄΠΤω[ΑΖΗΝΟΒΑ]
CЄΒΑCΤΗΟΗΤΡΙΤΟΥ
ΤΟΥΑΗΤΤΗ[ΤΟΥΙΙ]
ΚΡΑΤQΟЄΟΥΑΒΑΜΑ
ΑΘΗΝΟΔωΡΟΥ.[1]

On the Roman mile-stones between Tripoli and this place, we had noticed some other fragmentary inscriptions.

The Nahr Ibráhím is two hours from Jebeil. The remains of an aqueduct, by which water was conveyed from the river to Jebeil, are still visible. They form a monument of the importance of that place, which required supplies of the essential element from such a distance. The fountains in this quarter are said to be rather brackish; and hence, probably, the erection of the aqueduct.

The Nahr Ibráhím is the river of Adonis, mentioned in connexion with the rites of that fabulous personage, identified by Jerome, and other translators and commentators since his day, as the Syrian Tammuz of Ezekiel viii. 14.

——— "Thammuz came next behind,
Whose annual wound in Lebanon allured
The Syrian damsels to lament his fate
In amorous ditties all a summer's day;
While smooth Adonis from his native rock,
Ran purple to the sea, supposed with blood
Of Thammuz yearly wounded. The loved tale
Infected Zion's daughters with like heat,
Whose wanton passions in the sacred porch
Ezekiel saw, when by the vision led,
His eye survey'd the dark idolatries
Of alienated Judah."—Milton.

[1] The letters in parentheses are supplied from a lithograph attached to Krafft's *Topographie Jerusalem's*.

The sagacious and observant Maundrell has thrown some light on the change of colour in the river during the observance of the rites of Adonis.[1]

There is a large stone-bridge over the Nahr Ibráhím, with a single arch.

The Nahr Ibráhím has probably received its name from some páshá or other, who may have erected this useful work. About two hours south of it we came into the extensive bay of Júnah. Here we had to the east of us, the province of the Kasrawán,—the Holy Land of the Maronites,—into which, as I learned from the missionaries in Syria, Papal bigotry almost forbids a Protestant to enter. Had our plans permitted, we should not have shrunk from bringing this matter to a test. Ain Warkah, the seat of the celebrated Maronite convent and college, was visible on a height to our left.

We got to the Nahr el-Kelb, or Dog River, the Lycus of the ancients, at a very early hour, having been only between six and seven hours on the road from Jebeil. We pitched our tents on the sands, near the mouth of the river. We

[1] "We had a very tempestuous night both of wind and rain, almost without cessation, and with so great violence, that our servants were hardly able to keep up our tents over us. But, however, this accident which gave us so much trouble in the night, made us amends with a curiosity which it yielded us an opportunity of beholding the next morning.

"For by this means we had the fortune to see what may be supposed to be the occasion of that opinion which Lucian relates, concerning this river, viz. that this stream at certain seasons of the year, especially about the feast of Adonis, is of a bloody colour; which the heathens looked upon as proceeding from a kind of sympathy in the river for the death of Adonis, who was killed by a wild boar in the mountains out of which this stream rises. Something like this we saw actually come to pass; for the water was stained to a surprising redness; and, as we observed in travelling, had discoloured the sea a great way into a reddish hue, occasioned, doubtless, by a sort of minium, or red earth, washed into the river by the violence of the rain, and not by any stain from Adonis's blood."—Maundrell's Travels, pp. 34, 35.

Of this earth, a sufficient quantity, of course, could be pushed into the river by the priests, whenever they required to exhibit a "miracle."

then went up the stream for some hundred yards to the bridge. To this distance, and considerably beyond it, running along the right bank, there is an ancient Roman aqueduct, a work of no mean character. The current of its water is at present used to propel some mills near the shore. We crossed the bridge that we might re-examine, along with Mr. and Lady Louisa Tennyson, the memorial tablets on the pass of the opposite promontory, which we had before inspected, and of some of which we had got drawings prepared, on a former excursion from Beirût. The Arabic inscription, near the foot of the bridge, which, Maundrell says, attributes the foundation of the edifice to the Emír Fakhr ed-Dín, is no longer legible. The Roman tablets, however, still remain. We had on our first visit exactly copied the larger of them, which reads thus, agreeing with the transcript of Maundrell, except in three letters:—

IMP . CAES . M . AURELIUS
ANTONINUS . FELIX . PIUS . AUGUSTUS
PART . MAX . BRIT : MAX. GERM . MAXIMUS
PONTIFEX . MAXIMUS
MONTIBUS INMINENTIBUS
LYCO FLUMINI CAESIS VIAM DELETAVIT
PER (purposely erased)
ANTONINIANAM SUAM

The smaller inscription is now not very distinct. It ran in the time of Maundrell as follows:—

INVICTE IMP . ANTONINE P . FELIX . AUG .
MULTIS ANNIS IMPERA

Had we lived in the days of Antoninus, we should, in consideration of the good work which he performed in

broadening and lowering this road, have said Amen to this prayer.

These inscriptions occur on what they denominate the Antoninian way,—a passage about a couple of yards in width, now considerably in need of repair, cut over, or rather round the headland, at no great height from the sea. Another road, however, was discovered by Maundrell and his party, which had been cut out in the rock considerably higher. "In passing this way," says Maundrell, "we observed in the sides of the rock above us, several tables of figures carved, which seemed to promise something of antiquity. To be satisfied of which some of us clambered up to the place, and found there some signs as if the old way had gone in that region, before Antoninus cut the other more convenient passage, a little lower. In several places hereabouts, we saw strange antique figures of men carved in the natural rock, in mezzo-relievo, and in bigness equal to the life. Close by each figure was a large table plained in the side of the rock, and bordered round with mouldings. Both the effigies and the tables appeared to have been anciently inscribed all over; but the characters are now so defaced that nothing but the footsteps of them were visible. Only there was one of the figures that had both its lineaments and its inscriptions entire."[1] The representation of the principal figure given in Maundrell's Travels is indeed but a caricature; but he was driven from the locality by a shower of rain before "making an exact scrutiny into this antiquity." He adds, that the figures "seem to resemble mummies, and were perhaps the representations of some persons buried here about." A representation of our drawings of the most distinct of them may be here introduced.[2] The first view we had of them led us to come to the conclusion

[1] Maundrell's Travels, p. 37.

[2] Two other obscure tablets, somewhat of the form of Nos. 1 and 3, are omitted.

that they are Assyrian or Babylonian, and probably intended, with the accompanying records, to commemorate the passage of some prince or general with his troops over this headland, or the cutting of the higher road to facilitate that passage.

No. 1.

Though the inscription over the body of the principal figure, as a whole is illegible, many of its characters can still be distinctly traced. They are arrow-headed, or cuneiform letters; but neither of the Persian nor Median forms, which have been deciphered by the ingenuity of Grotfend, Burnouf, Lassen, Rawlinson, and Westergaard. They are evidently what Mr. Westergaard calls the Assyrian form, now engaging the attention of our oriental antiquarians, and similar to those found at Khorsábád, near Nineveh.[1] The figures, also, are like those dis-

[1] Mr. Westergaard thus classifies the different species of cuneiform character:—

"The countries situated between the Euphrates and the desert of Persia, being the home of the four nations that were among the first which made their appearance on the stage

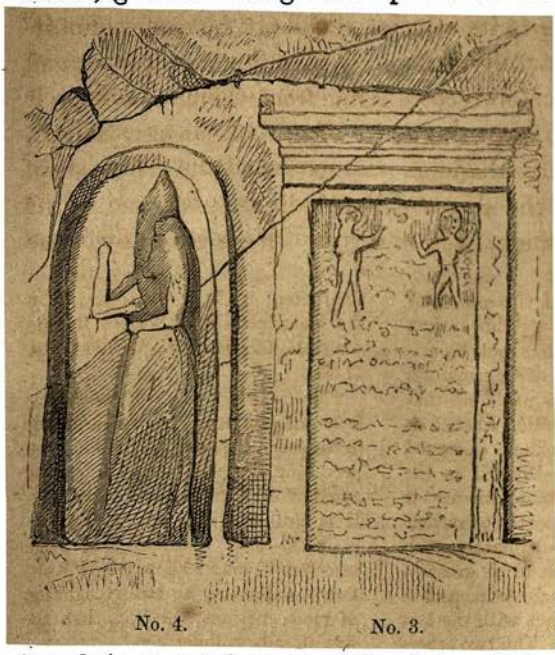
covered at Nineveh by M. Botta and Mr. Layard. At Constantinople I recognised their close resemblance, and directed to it the attention of Sir Stratford Canning, who had the kindness to show to me some copies of the drawings of the former gentleman, since given to the public in the "Nouveau Journal Asiatique." There is a passage in Ezekiel which I think particularly worthy of notice, in connexion with them and the other sculptures and drawings, of a similar kind, lately discovered elsewhere. It is that in which,—when the adulterous infidelity of Samaria and Jerusalem are strikingly characterized and reprobated,—allusion is made to the gorgeously clothed Assyrians, and to "men pourtrayed upon

No. 2.

of history, were also the birth-place of that peculiar system of writing usually denominated the arrow-headed, or cuneiform, from the circumstance of the figure of an arrow-head, or cuneus, together with an angle, being the principal elements by which numberless combinations of letters and syllables were formed. Of this arrow-headed writing, we are now able to distinguish five species, differing from one another in the shape of nearly every letter or group, if I may be allowed so to designate the several combinations of arrow-heads and angles, forming single signs and characters for letters or syllables. The inscriptions on bricks and cylinders from Babylon exhibit one species of arrow-headed writing, which has been most appropriately termed the Babylonian, as it seems to be peculiar to that country alone, and this species is the most complex and intricate of them all. Another species is employed on the monuments on the Median frontiers, on the right bank of the upper Euphrates, and the shore of the Mediterranean, and chiefly on those discovered at Wán, and now again appearing from beneath the mounds of Ninive.

"This species being found both at the Assyrian capital, and throughout the whole empire in its widest extent, most probably was peculiar to that country, and therefore may be called by the name of Assyrian. The three

the wall, the images of the Chaldeans pourtrayed with vermilion, girdled with girdles upon their loins, exceeding in dyed attire upon their heads, all of them princes to look to, after the manner of the Babylonians of Chaldea, the land of their nativity." —Ezekiel xxiii. 9-15.



No. 4. No. 3.

To give such of my readers, as may be students of the oriental antiquities, an opportunity of forming their own judgment of the form of the cuneiform letters of the Nahr el-Kelb, I give, p. 412, a specimen of them

other species, have as yet only been found on the monuments of the Achæmenian kings of Persia, having been simultaneously used by them in their inscriptions. One of the languages employed, and which is written in the most simple species, is a sister tongue to the Zänd, and both this species, together with the language, have therefore been called the old Persian, and attributed to Persis proper, the native land of the Persian princes. As to the locality of the two other Achæmenian species, however, much doubt and uncertainty prevails, but as one of them is apparently connected with that species which I have called the Assyrian, and the other with the Babylonian, I think they may most probably be referred to the neighbouring countries of ancient Media and Susiana; and as we must look in Bactria for the Zänd language, there are no other countries but those to which these two species may with more probability be attributed; although in so doing, and especially in ascribing the second Achæmenian species to Media, we are obliged to overlook and disregard the testimony of Strabo, who plainly tells us that the Medes and Persians

of full size, which we carefully copied. I regret extremely that we did not take down the whole inscription minutely; for though, owing to its injuries, it will not be made out of itself, it may be usefully collated with other inscriptions, and throw light upon or receive light from them. Perhaps it may be found to bear the name of a Shalmanezer, Sargon, Sennacherib, or Esarhaddon, who extended the conquests of the Assyrians to the shores of the Mediterranean, and, in the case of some of them, even to Egypt. Were it in any of the

spoke nearly one and the same language. When and where this system of arrow-headed writing took its origin, is also a matter of uncertainty. To me it seems most probable that Babylon was its cradle, whence it spread into two branches, eastward to Susiana, and northward to the Assyrian empire, from whence it passed to Media, and lastly to ancient Persis, where it was ultimately much improved and brought to its greatest perfection. The three Achæmenian species became extinct with the last kings of that dynasty, the two others perhaps earlier, when the countries to which they belonged fell a prey to their more powerful neighbours.

"The Persian species of arrow-headed writing, has been deciphered chiefly by the genius and labours of Lassen and Rawlinson, men who stand prominent among oriental scholars, few having contributed more than these gentlemen towards advancing our knowledge of ancient India and Iran. From their opinions I have ventured to dissent in but a few points only, further than the mere arrangement of the letters into a system approximating nearest to the Armenian, but as I think more regular and perfect."—On the Deciphering of the Second Achæmenian, or Median Species of Arrow-headed Character; by N. L. Westergaard, in the Mémoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord, 1844, pp. 271-3.

This Second species of the Cuneiform Inscriptions, Mr. Westergaard, in the learned paper from which the preceding quotation is taken, has the merit of deciphering and explaining. It is probable that the attempt to read the still unknown cuneiform inscriptions may lead, as Major Rawlinson supposes, to the recognition of more distinct varieties than the five already enumerated.

I have submitted this sheet of my work, as it at present stands, to the perusal of Mr. Westergaard. In acknowledging my communication, he says, "As far as I can judge from the specimen, [given in next page] I believe you are quite correct in stating about the inscription what you have done, and though the group appears to differ a little from those in the inscriptions from Nineveh and Ván, this cannot afford any objection against the identity of the language, as the same letters may have been expressed by different signs, which evidently is the case even in the third Achæmenian species. Other additional remarks I have not to add to your excellent statement."

Specimen of the Cuneiform Characters of the Inscriptions at Nahr el Kelb.—(Full size.)

trilingual Achæmenian characters, it might perhaps be supposed to be a memorial of Cambyses.[1]

17th June.—We formed the purpose last night to proceed together to the extraordinary natural bridge of rock in the interior, through which the Nahr el-Kelb flows. We were misinformed as to its distance from the sea; and after tracing up the river from bank to brae for upwards of a couple of hours, we gave up the attempt to get to it on today's march. The natives who described its position to us confounded it with what are called the Caves of Nahr el-Kelb, which we actually reached. These caves are natural tunnels in the rocks, which the river, in its rapid descent, has cut out for itself, or to which it has found access. We saw great bodies of water coming out at the mouths of some of them; but we did not enter and explore them. I know of no book of travels in which they are particularly de-

[1] From the first part of the tenth volume of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, which has reached me since the preceding notes were transcribed for the press, it appears that Major Rawlinson's attention has been directed to the figures and inscriptions of Nahr el-Kelb, above referred to. "At present," he says, "I can only consult a drawing of the principal figure made by an Armenian gentleman, together with a few detached specimens of characters, and I find from the materials, that although the style of sculpture at the Nahr-al-Kalb resembles in every particular the figures at Khorsabád, the letters appear to be of the Medo-Assyrian type; a circumstance which, if it should be verified by more elaborate examination, will have the important effect of determinately connecting the monuments of Ván and Khorsabád [near Nineveh]."—Jour. of the Royal As. Soc., vol. x. p. 27.

Major Rawlinson, it will be seen from this quotation, has the same opinion about the *figures* of Khorsábád and Nahr el-Kelb, which I ventured to state at Constantinople, while, judging from the imperfect letters which he had an opportunity of seeing, he is inclined to think that they belong to the Medo-Assyrian type. The editor of the Journal, however, adds in a note, that "'From an examination of a cast made from the monument by M. Bonomi, and placed in the British Museum, the character, so far as its mutilated condition will allow us to pronounce, appears to be of the *Assyrian* class, although some of the groups approach more nearly to those of the Ván Inscriptions." To this opinion, comparing the specimens which I have given above from our own drawing, with the inscriptions lately found at Nineveh, I would assent.

scribed. The best account we have of them is from the Rev. William Thomson of Beirût, and published in the American Missionary Herald.[1]

From the caves we ascended the rough banks of the wild ravine, through which the Nahr el-Kelb forces its way. We then began the descent of Lebanon, slanting away to the north-west. The day was delightful, the scenery grand and beautiful,—some of the highest peaks of Jebel Sannín, and much of the flank of Lebanon, with its bold headlands and beautiful bays, being in sight,—and the people whom we

[1] "Out of the mouth of the first cave rushes a large part of the river, and having no boat we could not explore it. A few rods higher up the valley, and thirty or forty feet above the first, is the second cave. The entrance to this is about fifteen feet high, and the same in width. This tunnel runs under the mountain in a straight course for eighty paces, and then descends into an abyss of water. Several side passages lead in different directions, but all terminate in the same abyss. On the west side of the main entrance is a parallel passage of about the same dimensions as the other, with which it communicates by a large doorway. This second tunnel runs round to the west, and unites with the lower cave, at the mouth of the river. If you strike or jump on the bottom of the caves, you are startled with the hollow sound beneath, and feel inclined to walk softly over such unknown depths. About forty rods further up the valley is the third cave. The entrance to this is so concealed by large rocks, that a stranger would pass within a few feet of it, and not even suspect its existence. But by going in amongst the rocks, and letting yourself down some eight or ten feet, you find a wide but low opening. Soon the passage becomes high enough to permit one to walk erect, and turns round towards the west. Here you enter a very large room, abounding in stalactites and stalagmites, the latter often reaching from the roof to the floor, and some of them fluted like Corinthian columns. To this room there is an upper and lower apartment—the upper one running all around three sides of the cave, like a gallery or corridor. Descending to the lower floor you find yourself at the margin of the river, whose roaring waters you had heard from the moment you had entered the cave. The river passes along the north end of the room, and disappears amongst rocks at the north-west corner, with a loud noise; but at the north-east where it enters the cave, there is a beautiful basin of water, as clear and smooth as a mirror, and deliciously cool. How far this basin extends we had no means of determining. I fired a gun up, and the echo was loud and long; and the probability is that one could sail a considerable distance under the mountain."—Amer. Miss. Her. Jan. 1841, p. 81.

met happy and joyous. The mulberry, olive, and pine groves, and rich terraces, were proofs to us both of the fertility of the country, and the industry of its inhabitants, and of its source, their comparative security. We passed over several beds and plots of red sandstone resting upon the cretaceous rock. We particularly noticed their geniality to the pine, our own Scotch fir.

On our reaching the sea at the bay of St. George, at the Nahr el-Maut, "The River of Death," our horses either smelling their mangers, or otherwise recognising their home, began to scamper along with all their might. In a short time, we were at the orchards of Beirût; and clearing the bridge of its river,—the ancient Magoras,—and going along through the gardens, and passing several suburban houses, we soon got to the south-east corner of the wall of the town. In a few minutes more we were under Mr. Graham's roof, in the southern gardens.

Thus the Lord had taken us out and brought us back in safety. We felt, I trust, in some degree, grateful for the preserving and directing kindness and mercy which had been vouchsafed to us in all our wanderings, and for the privilege which we enjoyed of surveying, in its length and breadth, that country which once was, and will yet be, the "glory of all lands." Everything which we had seen of its physical features, geographical divisions, ancient sites and remains, and present depression, tended to confirm our faith in the authenticity, genuineness, and credibility of both the historical and prophetical records, which will be associated with it in the devout recognition of the people of God, till time shall be no more. What we witnessed and felt will never be forgotten (may it never be misimproved!) by any of our party. "Have we not trodden together this land of wonders?" says Mr. Graham, when writing to me a couple of years after our journey was completed; "Have we not deepened our assur-

ance of the promises and prophecies of our faithful God as we traced the exactness with which the curse has taken effect upon this devoted country? From Lebanon, and Tabor, and Carmel, from the ruins of Bethel and Samaria, and from the Rock of Tyre and desolations of Jerusalem, we have learned new lessons of divine faithfulness and love. Indeed, these are the lands,—'THE LANDS OF THE BIBLE,' and here are the people, and especially the Jews, for teaching to the nations of the world that God is the Lord, and will be obeyed; that His word is more stedfast than the heavens and the earth, and will surely come to pass. Associations formed in the midst of scenes like these are not readily forgotten; and you may be sure that memory does not furnish a greener spot in the wilderness of my life than the period of our mutual sojourn among the outcasts of Israel."

I remained at Beirût nearly a fortnight after the conclusion of our journey in the Holy Land. I took care, before leaving the country, to revise my journal, with the view to its suggesting to me any inquiries in which it might be expedient for me to engage before leaving the country. I also prepared a list of all the Arabic words occurring in it, in their proper character, which I revised with a learned Syrian. With the American missionaries and the British merchants, and others, we had a good deal of intercourse; and I felt for them all a growing esteem. I had the pleasure, too, of welcoming to the shores of Syria, the Rev. W. O. Allan and his lady, whom we had been long anxiously expecting to join the Presbyterian mission to the Jews. They had been detained in consequence of demands on their services at Constantinople, where, after a year's residence in Syria, they have been finally established.

Pesth.

CHAPTER XXV.

VOYAGE AND JOURNEY TO BRITAIN, BY WAY OF SMYRNA, CONSTANTINOPLE, AND THE DANUBE.

In this Chapter, I shall do little more, for obvious reasons, than present my readers with an abridgment of the log-book of our travel to the land of my fathers, principally noticing only the most important dates and distances.

On the 30th June, at a quarter to seven o'clock in the evening, my young friend Dhanjibhái and I ascended the deck of the monthly steamer of the Austrian Lloyd's Company, bound for Smyrna. We were accompanied on board by Messrs. Graham and Allan; and we experienced no small degree of mutual regret when, on our vessel being ready for progression, we were called to separate from one another. As we pushed out to sea, our attention became, if possible, more steadily fixed on the land than it had yet been. The range of Lebanon requires to be looked at from a distance

to be seen to advantage. It is only in this way that a comprehensive view of it is to be obtained; for the spectator, at its base along the shore, is unable to scan its heights, or to pass his eye along its continuous ridge. With its bold headlands, lofty walls of white limestone, successive layers and terraces of verdure, castellated villages and churches, with their surrounding groves of olive and mulberry trees, and its lofty summits mantled in snow, it is grand, sublime, and beautiful.

We were glad to find on board the vessel, when we made the acquaintance of its cabin passengers, a number of our fellow-countrymen, whose society gave us the promise,—afterwards most fully redeemed,—that the pleasures of our voyage would be enhanced. Among these were Mr. and Mrs. Caldwell from Dublin, and two of their cousins from the north of Ireland, on their way to their home, after a very extensive journey in Egypt, Arabia Petræa, and Syria; Mr. Murphy, and Dr. Hiland, also from the Emerald Isle; and Captain Macan of the Bombay Army, moving about *ad libitum* in the west of Asia for the reparation, should it be the will of Providence to grant it, of that health which he had lost in the East. The Rev. Mr. Tartakover, of the London Society for propagating Christianity among the Jews, was also on board.

Next morning the island of Cyprus was in sight. At a quarter past nine we cast anchor in the bay of Larnica, opposite the Marina. Between this port and the town itself, there occurs the site of the ancient city Citium, from which one of the bishops of the island still receives his title, and at which Dr. Pococke copied several Phenician inscriptions,[1] which have been deciphered, and translated, and explained by Gesenius,[2] and which go to confirm the testimony of the Septuagint translators, Jerome, Epiphanius, and others, that

[1] Pococke's Description of the East, book iii. chap. i.

[2] Gesen. Monument. Phœnic., pp. 124-133.

the island is indeed the CHITTIM of the Hebrews, properly so called, though that word is used sometimes in a generic sense for islands and distant places, including even Italy.[1] Cyprus, as thus identified, has considerable interest to the student of the Bible; more indeed, than it has as the early and favourite terrestrial home of the goddess of love of classical fable. In the New Testament, it is represented as early visited by the gospel, and as furnishing the first Gentile missionaries. "Some of them were men of Cyprus and Cyrene which, when they were come to Antioch, spake unto the Grecians, preaching the Lord Jesus."[2] We should have been glad to have landed on its shores,—though, as first seen by us, it presented nothing very striking to our view, and appeared comparatively barren,—and to have made an excursion on some of its hills; but we were not permitted by the quarantine usages. The Hon. Mr. Clifford, and Dr. Bloxam of the Bombay Army, whose acquaintance I had had the pleasure of making at Aden, and who had been spending some time upon it, joined themselves to our company as fellow-passengers. They told us that they estimated the population of Cyprus at 80,000 Greeks, and 10,000 Turks. No Jews are permitted to reside within its borders. This surely cannot be owing to the remembrance of the destruction of Salamis by the Jews in the time of Trajan. Nicosia, the capital, has about 15,000 inhabitants. There, as well as in the other two towns, Famagusta and Larnica, Italian is known by most of the inhabitants; but Greek is the general language of the island. Its chief ecclesiastical authority is an archbishop, who is to a good extent independent of the patriarch of Constantinople.

We left Larnica at half-past one o'clock. The island appeared more wooded as we advanced to the westward. The

[1] See on Chittim, Bochart. Phaleg., lib. iii. cap. v., and Michaelis Spicileg. Geograph. Hebræor. Exter., pp. 103-114.

[2] Acts xi. 20.

hills also rise in height, to perhaps four thousand feet. We had a crowded company on deck throughout the day; and it was of a very motley character, so far as nation, costume, and religion were concerned. We had the Jew of Europe and Asia, and the Turk of all the provinces of the Sulṭán. We had Armenians, Indians, Persians, Grecians, Italians, Russians, Polonians, Prussians, Austrians, Hibernians, Anglians, and Scotians. We had Muhammadans and Infidels. We had Papists, Episcopalians, and Presbyterians. We had members of the "Orthodox Eastern Church," and of its various monophysite secessions. We had the converted Pársí and the converted Israelite. The deck was nearly literally covered by its living cargo.

We arrived at Rhodes on the 3d of July, at a quarter past four, P.M., having had rather a rough sea from Larnica. Rhodes is the country of the DODANIM, or to use the Septuagint form of the word, the *Ῥόδιοι* (*Rodanim*,) of Scripture.[1] The island is one of great celebrity in history; first for its prowess and skill in military affairs, and then for its learning and politeness, which attracted Cicero and Cæsar to it as students. We cast anchor in the harbour, at the entrance of which there stand some square and circular towers, poor substitutes for the *Rhodium opus* of old,—the colossal statue of Apollo, seventy-five cubits high, which bespanned its entrance. The capital, of the same name as the island, is still a much more considerable place than we expected to find it; and the numerous windmills in its neighbourhood show that population is not here wanting. The contiguous soil is remarkably fertile, and produces all kinds of fruit. The Knights of St. John, many of whose remains are still visible in the town,[2] showed their wisdom in choosing it as a place of refuge. I learned

[1] On the Dodanim, see Bochart. Phaleg., lib. iii. cap. vi.; and Michaelis Spicilegium, pp. 114-123.

[2] Wilde's Narrative of a Voyage to Madeira, etc., vol. ii. pp. 36-38.

nothing of the population of the island, except that its Jewish inhabitants are estimated at 1500. Several vessels were lying off the town, including two sloops of war. We set forward on our voyage at eight o'clock, having received on board a new supply of coals.

Early next morning we were off Stancho or Cos, the birth-place of Hippocrates, a very beautiful island, with a high hill, the flanks of which are covered with verdure behind the principal town. Throughout the whole of the day, the coast of Asia Minor was in sight. It is generally speaking mountainous toward the shore, and indented with many bays. The rock is of limestone, and its white masses are everywhere peeping out among the trees. But little culture is visible.

Passing Calomo and Lero to the left, we set upon the look-out for the "isle which is called PATMOS." A little after mid-day, we had a tolerably good view of it. Two castel-lated peaks, on the summits of two of the hills, were first visible. On one of these there stands a convent. The island is irregular in its form, projecting in many parts into the sea. It is about twelve miles in length, six in breadth, and twenty-eight in circumference. It is in general bleak, bare, and barren; and has by no means such natural interest as some of the other Grecian isles which we saw. A paradise would not be chosen as a place of banishment; but there the venerable and beloved apostle John had visions of more than an earthly paradise, and such wondrous communion with the Saviour, arrayed in majesty, dignity, and grace, as would amply compensate for his seclusion from the endeared communion of his fellow-believers.

At four, P.M., we were passing between Samos and the Forni Islands, looking with interest on the native isle of Pythagoras. We kept close to the coast, which is here very bold. On the lofty mountain with which it terminates, there are many trees, but they are not very thickly planted.

On the morning of the 5th of July, we entered the placid and beautiful gulf of Smyrna. We were landed at the quarantine establishment, about a couple of miles from the town on the southern shore, where we were expected to do penance for having escaped the plague in Syria. Mr. N. Caldwell promptly engaged a cottage in a vineyard, for the accommodation of himself and friends, in which the Turks promised to allow them to go through their purgations; and he very readily gave me, and my young friend Dhanjibhái, a part of its very limited accommodations. Ultimately, the whole of us British subjects, and a French merchant, clubbed together; and we spent the time of our imprisonment in the most agreeable manner, as far as our intercommunion was concerned. The steamers and mercantile shipping, passing and repassing, and the French and English frigates almost daily performing various nautical evolutions before us, attracted much of our attention. The whole adventure of our travel in the East we related to one another, and discussed together,—giving, of course, the palm for courage to the enterprizing lady who had encountered the fervors of the desert and the horrors of Idumea. We were visited by several friends from Smyrna, both of the Occident and the Levant. The principal exercise of the party consisted in musket and rifle practice.

On Sabbath, the 9th of July, I preached to the members of our party, both Protestant and Catholic, from the Epistle to the Church at Smyrna. At the close of the discourse, I alluded to the affecting circumstances of the death of its illustrious martyr, the celebrated Polycarp.

Owing to the kind interference of a medico in the Turkish service, whom we had brought from Syria, and who addressed the Board of Health in Constantinople in our behalf, our confinement was not extended beyond eleven days. On our liberation, Mr. N. Caldwell and I walked along the

shore to the city, about a couple of miles from the place of our imprisonment. I felt the sun, as we proceeded, nearly as powerful as in India in the hot season. We examined some ancient burying-grounds before entering the town. Many of the Jewish tomb-stones are tastefully ornamented. They were proofs to us that the art of sculpture has not yet entirely forsaken the coasts of Ionia.

We remained in Smyrna till the 21st of July. I enjoyed there the kind hospitality of Mr. John Cohen, an Israelite according to the flesh,—the history of whose conversion to Christianity is one of the most interesting and affecting which I have ever heard—and who for some years had been engaged in the service of the London Society for propagating Christianity among the Jews, whose correspondent he now is at Constantinople,—except when on a short visit to the Rev. William Lewis, the English chaplain, a well-tried friend of the evangelical and missionary cause, who was residing at the village of Bujah. Our principal occupation was that of inquiring into the creed and condition of the Jews and Christians of the place, both of which I elsewhere notice. Mr. Cohen was highly competent to give us information respecting his kindred and brethren; and we were much indebted to him for his information, as well as for his kindness in attending us to their synagogues and private houses. Mr. Markheim, another converted Israelite, engaged as a teacher, gave us much assistance. Mr. Lucas Balthazar, the Armenian editor of the newspaper entitled the Dawn of Ararat, to whom we had letters of introduction from Mr. Aganur of Bombay, took us to the churches and schools of his community, introduced us to his friends, and collected for us valuable statistical information. Mr. Lambises, the editor of the Greek periodical entitled Ἡ Φιλολογία, and one of the best Greek scholars of the day, performed similar offices for us, connected with the Greeks. I took a few lessons

from him in modern Greek, endeavouring to acquire from him the present pronunciation of his native language.[1] Messrs. Temple and Adger, the only American missionaries present at Smyrna during our visit, showed us every brotherly attention. Mr. Temple has since retired as a veteran from the missionary field; but his younger friend is now most zealously and ably prosecuting his missionary labours at Smyrna. His views of the potency of the press for promoting the work in which he is engaged, appeared to me particularly enlightened, and worthy of support. Most of the printing connected with the American mission to the west of Asia, is effected at Smyrna. In the magazine or storehouse of the mission, we found works in the Greek, Armenian, Turkish, Italian, French, English, and German languages. Mr. Calhoun, who had been appointed an agent of the American Bible Society, and who, by his activity, prudence, and Catholicity, is well fitted to represent that institution, was about to proceed to Trebizond for the promotion of its interests. The English services of the mission were conducted on the Lord's-day in the Dutch consulate, Mr. Van Lennep, the consul of the Netherlands, having been long one of its best friends and supporters in the Levant. On one occasion I officiated there for Mr. Temple.

The population of Smyrna is loosely estimated at 150,000 souls. Of these 35,000 are Greeks, 4500 Armenians, 9000 or 10,000 Jews, 2000 Franks, and the rest Turks and other Asiatic Muhammadans. Its history is well known. There is a good deal that is interesting about the place in an antiquarian point of view. The principal remains of the ancient town are on the hill on which the acropolis stands. We there visited the site of the amphitheatre in which Polycarp was martyred. It is marked by an oratory, to which both

[1] See on the pronunciation of the Modern Greek, Dalloway's Constantinople, pp. 401-402.

Turks and Christians resort. The ruins of the reputed church of St. John are further down the hill. The higher parts of the town are inhabited by the Turks, and the lower by the Christians. The different European consulates stretch along the shore at the extremity of the gulf. The quay is a busy scene; and of all the cities of western Asia, Smyrna has most to do with the commerce of Europe. Mr. Whittle, a member of the mercantile body, whose acquaintance I had the pleasure of making, showed me a collection of ancient coins, which he has made, many of which have not their representatives in the best cabinets of the West. Diana's bath, the caravan bridge, Bujah, Burnabat, and other villages, are among the places commonly resorted to by visitors.

On the 21st of July we sailed from Smyrna, in a new steamer, at fourteen minutes past four o'clock in the afternoon. We arrived at Mitylene, the ancient Lesbos, at ten minutes to eleven. We stopped till midnight in the harbour of Jero, seeing little, but hearing more than enough in the squabble of our visitants from the shore. Next morning we entered the Dardanelles, at a quarter to eight, and cast anchor, at the town of the same name, at a quarter to ten o'clock. Here some of our friends essayed to leave us to visit the Troad. The mouth of the Dardanelles is not so fine as we expected. As you advance, however, the scenery improves,—picturesque banks and hills rising on both sides. The verdure inland is considerable, and the prospect is extensive. A village lying a little way to the south of the Dardanelles, on the western side, has a fine situation, rising from the shore upwards.

We sailed again for Constantinople at half-past eleven, A.M., and in twenty minutes more we were between Sestos and Abydos, where the army of Alexander, under Parmenio, crossed over from Europe to Asia, and where Suleimán, the son of Orchan, first crossed over to Europe as the invading

Turk. The latter event happened in 1360. Less was here said of these great occurrences than of the natatorial powers of Leander and Lord Byron. The coast is here bare, but onwards it improves. At two o'clock we passed a Turkish fleet of seven vessels, four being of the largest size, under the Capitan Pásha and Admiral Walker. It was lying off the village Chardak to the south of Lapsak. We got as high as Galipoli, where we stopped for an hour, at twenty-three minutes past two. This is a neat looking town. The houses, mostly of one or two stories, are covered with red tiles; and the walls, in some instances, are made to correspond with them in colour. The Straits here turn somewhat to the west. We made the southern point of Marmora, the mother of marble, at twenty-four minutes past seven. The island is very bleak, rising to the height of about 700 feet, and the marble strata are conspicuous. The contiguous islands, lying to the east, are also bare and barren.

At daybreak, on the 23d of July, we were on the look-out for Constantinople. The first view which we had of it surpassed all our expectations, high as they were. For beauty of situation, it has probably no parallel on the face of the globe; and we need scarcely wonder that Byzantium was the rival of the Eternal City, and that even the Russian bear prefers it to the polar regions. The grand seraglió and its gardens cover the angle of the promontory on which it stands. Most of the houses are of wood, painted red on the roof; but the mosks out-peering them are, with their towers and minarets, the pride both of Byzantine and Saracenic architecture. We cast anchor in the Golden Horn at five, A.M. We landed at Galata, on the little promontory confronting the city, and as densely covered with houses as itself, and immediately ascended to Pera,—the name is now restricted to its higher parts,—to the house of the Rev. Mr. Schwartz, who had lately joined the Free Church of Scotland as a

missionary to the Jews. In the forenoon we attended divine service at the house of the Rev. Mr. Dwight of the American mission, where about forty individuals were assembled for worship, including some Scotch engineers in the service of the Sulṭán. In the course of the day, Mr. S. introduced me to two Israelites, who had lately become convinced that in Jesus of Nazareth they had found the Messiah of whom Moses and the prophets did write. He requested my assistance in their instruction, which I was happy to render for several days, he himself acting as my interpreter.

We remained in Constantinople for a fortnight. Our engagements there were exactly similar to those which I have mentioned in connexion with Smyrna, but our inquiries of course had a much wider field. The Rev. Messrs. Goodell, Dwight, and Homes, of the American mission, were our principal informants concerning the native Christians; but we sought to see and judge for ourselves. The Rev. Mr. Shauffler, also of the American mission, and the Rev. Mr. Schwartz, whom I have already mentioned, were our principal guides in our inquiries about the Jews. The former learned gentleman, a native of Germany, was directing his attention to the instruction of the Sephardim; and for their benefit he had revised the Spanish translation of the Scriptures, and published it in the Hebrew character, assisted by funds received both from America and Scotland. The latter was labouring among the Ashkenazim, with whose views and feelings he was well acquainted, being himself an Israelite according to the flesh. I had much conference with him and Mr. Shauffler about the plans it might be proper to adopt in connexion with the Free Church mission, on which I had been requested to report. On the second Sabbath of our residence at the capital of Turkey, two Jews were baptized as the first-fruits of the mission at that place, and of Jassy in Moldavia. The principal services on that

occasion, which were of a very interesting character, were conducted by Mr. Schwartz. I simply administered the ordinance and pronounced the benediction, through the medium of Hebrew. From eighty to a hundred Jews were present on the occasion. It was with much interest that we observed a spirit of sober and serious religious inquiry prevalent amongst a large body of Armenians, a considerable number of whom had been led, through the ministrations of our American friends, to embrace evangelical sentiments. They have since, as noticed in another part of this volume, been organized into an evangelical church. Little of an encouraging nature was brought to our notice connected with the Greeks or Roman Catholics.

The capital of Turkey is a world in itself, and of volume upon volume it has formed the theme. It does not comport with the objects of this work for me to attempt of it a general description, or even to notice its most remarkable lions, which, of course, as far as our time permitted, we took care to visit. I may mention, however, as an illustration of the subdued and comparatively moderate spirit of the Turks, that I was allowed to walk through the grand mosk of St. Sophia with my boots on, and that too without a covering. True, I was challenged by one of the Mullâhs; but a simple smile, and four words of Persian,—*Lekin bisháár sáf and*, "But they are very clean,"—led him to withhold all opposition to my advance. The liberty to visit the mosks and the seraglio was obtained for our party through the kind offices of the British embassy. It was not available, however, without considerable expense. Various Turkish officers and servitors have to be remunerated; but curiosity does not grudge the price. Above all things, we were anxious to see the pillars of the temple of Diana of Ephesus, at present in the mosk of St. Sophia.

We made various little excursions, both by land and

water, to the different villages on the picturesque banks of the Bosphorus. At one of these we got into the presence of the Sulṭán coming out of one of the mosks, and receiving the petitions of his people. He is amiable in appearance, and is reckoned a better man than many of those by whom he is surrounded. At Bebek we attended a highly satisfactory examination of the American missionary seminary, under the care of the Rev. Mr. Hamlin. When on a visit to the British ambassador, Sir Stratford Canning, at Buyukdereh, I crossed over with his excellency and his family to the Genoese castle, on the Asiatic side, the view from which is really pretty. Most of the foreign diplomatists have their summer residences at Buyukdereh. By universal acknowledgment, the representative of our nation was allowed to be the foremost among them for ability, influence, and philanthropy. His attachés, among whom was a young nobleman, the name of whose house, that of Napier, is indissolubly associated with the science and literature of Scotland, commanded much respect. Dr. Bennet, the chaplain of the British embassy, informed us that he took a deep interest in the conversion of the Jews.

While at Constantinople, I had the pleasure of receiving letters from Professor Westergaard of Copenhagen, giving me the details of his visit to the Gabars of Persia, and to the tombs of Darius and Xerxes, and other antiquities of that interesting country.[1] His journeyings, like my own, since we parted at Bombay in January, had been very extended. Mr. Homes, of the American mission, who had visited Mesopotamia, stated to me the result of his inquiries about the Yezadí, still there resident. I had no hesitation in agreeing with him that they are the religious representatives of the ancient Manichæans. The name which they

[1] One of the letters here referred to is published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. viii. p. 349, et seq.

bear, I doubt not, is formed from the Pársí word *yezad*,[1] an angel. Their reputed worship of the devil is analogous to the deference which the Pársís, under the influence of fear, show to their evil principle, Ahriman. Another Mesopotamian traveller, I met in the person of Mr. Layard, who has since greatly distinguished himself by his researches in the neighbourhood of Nineveh.

Our stay at Constantinople was limited to a fortnight. On the morning of the 7th of August, we bade our friends there farewell, and proceeded to Buyukdereh, where we spent the forenoon at our ambassador's. We went aboard the Austrian steamer as it passed, at two o'clock. At three, we passed the Symplegades, experiencing less difficulty in steaming between them than Jason in steering through them when in charge of the Argonauts, and found ourselves moving through the unstable waters of the Black Sea, which, in our case, we found more deserving of its ancient cognomen the *Axenos* than the more modern one, the *Euxinus*.

At twenty-five minutes to four, P.M. next day, we arrived in the harbour of Varna, where we stayed for an hour. This place might be expected to be an out-post of Christendom; but eight mosks proclaim its Muslimic character. The town is one of considerable size, and has the tokens about it of both culture and commerce. Next morning, at half-past three, we terminated this short voyage in the small bay of Constandjeh, another landing-place of Bulgaria. We came on shore at seven, and entered a sort of inn or shelter, connected with the Navigation Company. The village, the representative of Constantina, founded by Trajan, is small and wretched. We did not examine the ruins with which it is associated.

After we had taken some refreshment, we entered one of the transit vans of the Austrian Navigation Company, to

[1] See on this word the author's work on "The Pársí Religion," p. 129.

cross over the neck of land lying between Constandjeh and the Danube, that we might avoid the tedious and unpleasant navigation of the mouths of the river. We had two Dantzig Jews returning from Constantinople,—in connexion with which they have large dealings in amber for pipe heads,—as our *compagnons de voyage*. Starting at nine o'clock, we completed the journey to Czernavoda in nine hours, including an hour and a half, during which we rested at a small hamlet called Custali. We did not pass a single cultivated field by the way; but we observed large herds and flocks of cattle, sheep, and horses, under the care of the Bulgarian peasantry. We saw only a few persons in the Turkish costume in the course of our journey. The road is generally level, though somewhat rough and waving in a few places. With very little difficulty a canal could be cut along its course. For such a work the waters of the sluggish Karason, along which the present road leads, would be available.

The houses of Czernavoda, like most of those in Bulgaria, are very small, and formed of wood, and wicker-work bedaubed with clay, and covered with reeds. Most of them are inhabited by Turks, who are much more numerous in the frontier towns and villages than in the interior. Their inhabitants rear immense quantities of ducks and geese.

The Danube steamer, the Argo, a very small vessel, arrived a short time after we had completed our drive; and we went on board it to sleep for the night. The captain, Doverostavich, introduced me there to the secretary of one of the Turkish ministers, and some other Turks of rank and office, who had just come down the river. They were of a more lively cast of character than any Othmanlis whom we had before met in the East; but some of them had been taking lessons in politeness at Paris.

It was noon of the 10th of August, before we began to ply up the river. Our voyage to Pesth, including stoppages

at various towns to give out and receive cargo and passengers, occupied nearly ten days. It was far more agreeable and interesting than we had been led to expect, though it was not without its inconveniences.

We found nothing attractive or impressive in the scenery either on the Wallachian or Bulgarian side of the lower parts of the Danube, the pride of Europe. We were permitted to land, however, at several towns on the Turkish frontier; and we much enjoyed our short rambles in them. Rustchuk, we found a thriving place surrounded by orchards, though its general character is decidedly Turkish. It contains about 6000 houses. It has nine mosks, several churches, a synagogue, and extensive fortifications. Here we observed horses drawing carts, a sight to Dhanjibhái entirely novel, and which I myself had last seen at the Cape of Good Hope, fifteen years ago. At Widdin, the capital of Bulgaria, we walked about for a couple of hours. It is a strongly fortified town, of 25,000 inhabitants, and the residence of a páshá, at present Husein, said to be the deviser of the destruction of the Janisaries, and one of the richest officers of the Turkish empire. The streets we found crowded with Bulgarians. Their Tatar countenances cannot be mistaken, and their dress is so peculiar, and so well fitted for colder latitudes than those which they now inhabit, that we may almost conclude that it has remained unchanged since their ancestors left the shores of the Volga in the sixth century. The men wear sheep and goat skin caps closely fitted to their heads, woollen or sackcloth jackets, and trowsers terminating in very coarse stockings, which have pieces of skin folded over them, and tied or laced together with strings, according to the shape of the foot, by way of shoes. The women, too, have very gross vestments, their principal article of dress being an open-breasted, wide and stiff gown, generally of a dark colour, kept together by a girdle. Their hair

PLAN OF
JERUSALEM
PLAN OF
TYRE OR ṢÛR
PLAN OF
SIDON OR
ṢAIDA
PLAN OF
ACRE
OR
'AKKA
PLAN OF
BEIRÛT
MAP
OF THE
HOLY LAND,
WITH TOPOGRAPHICAL PLANS OF
JERUSALEM, TYRE, SIDON, 'AKKA, AND BEIRÛT,
Constructed by
Dr. WILSON'S LANDS OF THE BIBLE
BY W. & A. K. JOHNSTON
Geographers & Engineers to The Queen
EDINBURGH, 1847
I JUDAH
II SIMEON
III BENJAMIN
IV DAN
V EPHRAIM
VI MANASSEH
VII ISSACHER
VIII ASHER
IX ZEBULON
X NAPHTALI
XI GAD
XII REUBEN

is curiously braided and decorated, and hangs down their necks, with lots of Turkish piastres attached to it. Neither of the sexes is very cleanly in person; but they have a mild and peaceful expression, very unlike what we should expect to find in the descendants of those who long gave such trouble to the Greek emperors. Most of the Bulgarians are members of the Greek Church; but they are greatly in want of education and instruction. They have few priests,—and these not of their own nation, but foreign Greeks,—and few churches; and they stand much in need of evangelical tuition. The Rev. Mr. Homes of Constantinople, has recommended them to the attention of the Free Church of Scotland;[1] and many would be glad that it, or some other Christian body, were induced speedily to do something in their behalf. They are not far distant from the Mission at Jassy in Moldavia; and they deserve a visit from the missionaries there, particularly as many Jews are resident in the Bulgarian towns on the banks of the Danube.

Upwards from Widdin, the scenery improves. Looking along the river, with the Balkan mountains to the left, and the Carpathian range in front and to the right, we have both a grand and beautiful scene.

In the afternoon of the 13th of August, we arrived at Radojevacz, where commence the territories of Servia, the smallest state of Turkey in Europe, but the most advanced in enlightenment and civilization. Passing along, we observed, near one of the villages on the Wallachian side, a group of about a hundred young women engaged in dancing in the open air, and a similar company of young men practising some athletic exercises. This was on the day appointed by God for holy rest and holy engagements, for devotion and spiritual enjoyment, and not for amusement. They were

[1] Letter to the Rev. Robert W. Stewart, in the Home and Foreign Missionary Record of the Free Church of Scotland, Sept. 1843.

finding their "own pleasure" in their own devisings and pursuits, but it does not follow that they were really ministering to their own happiness.

Next day at noon, we were as far as Cladova, where the Danube makes its exit from the Carpathian mountains, through the passage which it has cut for itself by the might of its waters, as the great drain of central Europe. Here we landed, and walked along the right bank of the river, while the steamer was being dragged up the rapids by oxen. We had a delightful romp of it along the mountainous pass; and I had the satisfaction of pointing out to my Pársí friend from the far east the different bushes and trees of the European jungle clothing the precipitous banks,—the hazel, the brier, the willow, and the beech, all of which were entirely new to him, and of directing his attention to the remains of the great road constructed of old by the Romans, and which formed one of their grandest and most useful works. We crossed over to Orsova, after a three hours' walk; and we were welcomed to Christendom, after having passed through the empire of Muhammadanism from the straits of Báb el-Mandeb to the rapids of the Iron Bar, by being put into durance vile, under the farcical name of sanatory guardianship. Our restraint lasted, however, only for a few hours; and it soon became evident that it was intended more for political than medical objects. When the examination of our passports showed that I was no fugitive Italian outlaw, but a person recognised as a sober subject, by a respectable Government, and that Dhanjibhái was not the pioneer of some horde of barbarians from the plains of central Asia, seeking fresh and green pasturage for their flocks and herds in the parching months of summer; and when our deposition had been taken as to the contents of our boxes, and all our books, with the exception of a Bible, a Medical Dictionary, and a volume of German Dialogues,—which last work we had much need of studying,—

had, as was thought, been put by seal and signet alike beyond our use and that of the public, till their inspection by the censor at Vienna, eager to peruse a chapter or two of Rabbi Saadi Gaon's dim manuscript of the Pentateuch, or to peep into the secrets of a Samaritan marriage covenant, and above all to have the satisfaction of repeating, in the original Zand, a Pársí Nírang for the expulsion of the devil Nesosh from a putrid corpse,—we were set at LIBERTY. On this occasion Dhanjibhái was, as a matter of course, raised to the rank of an Indian prince, and I degraded to that of his dragoman or valet, by the intelligent and observant police. We got comfortable lodgings at an inn in the town, perfectly satisfied with our disposal by the great authorities of the place.

It is not considered expedient to attempt to take a steamer up the river between Orsova and Drenkova. We had consequently a capital scamper in an open carriage for this distance, along the northern bank of the river. Including an hour and a half, during which we rested by the way for refreshment, it occupied nine hours. The scenery is grand, beautiful, and romantic, altogether the most interesting on the borders of a river which we had ever seen. The banks are high and precipitous, and wherever there is the least lodgement of soil, covered with brushwood and trees to the very summits. The river is closely shut up by the barriers on the right and left, and in many places very deep and rapid. A gentleman acquainted with it, told us that the soundings at one or two places measure from 300 to 550 feet. At Drenkova, we had an over-crowded inn, which was very disagreeable. Numbers of people were there waiting for the steamer, to go up to one of the great annual fairs at Pesth.

On the morning of the 17th, at seven o'clock, we got into a new steamer, the Samson, of a hundred horse power. In a short time, we were clear of the mountains; but this, to

our deep regret, as far as the scenery was concerned. Next morning we got to Semlin, the border town of Christendom, on the south of the Danube, confronting Belgrade in a similar position in Turkey. Here we remained till noon. In the evening, we were up as far as Peterwardein, the grand border defence of Hungary. We stayed for the night at the contiguous Neusatz. There was enough of suffocation, but very little sleep, in the saloon of our vessel. We were prevented from putting our usual supplement to our couch, only five feet long, by hosts of people littering around us like a herd of Westphalian pigs. The traveller from India, who may take the route of the Danube, need not reckon on this inconvenience, as a matter of ordinary occurrence. It was entirely caused by the multitude of voyagers repairing to the fair of Pesth, and may be avoided by parties having the foresight, which we had not, to engage one of the extra cabins on deck. I have seldom seen people, in a general pinch, more disposed to oblige one another than our fellow-passengers.

The river now happened to be much flooded by late rains, and in many places had overflowed its banks. This circumstance and the thickness of the mist, almost of the consistency of hare-soup, made our commander a little cautious about his movements. The country on each side of us was flat and fertile.

On the morning of the 19th of August we got to Mohács. We went ashore, and had time given to us to wander through the town, and to see the famous pictorial representation of the decisive battle here fought between the Hungarians and the Turks in the year 1686, when, with a loss of 300 of the former, 20,000 of the latter were left dead on the field,—a sufficient reprisal, as warriors will have it, for the deeds of the Turks in 1526, when the army of Suleimán the Magnificent, 200,000 strong, nearly annihilated the bold Hunga-

rian army of 30,000 men, including Ludovic II., and the generals and bishops by whom it was led.

At eight o'clock, A.M., on the following day, which was Sabbath, we got to Pesth, where we left the steamer. We were conducted by a young friend, on the look-out for us, to the house of the Rev. Dr. John Duncan, now Professor of Oriental Languages in the New College of Edinburgh, and his associates, Messrs. Smith and Wingate, in which we got a most cordial and affectionate welcome.

We stayed with our friends till the end of the month, enjoying most delightful fellowship, and witnessing the result of their endeavours to bring the lost sheep of the house of Israel to the fold of the Good Shepherd. We found with them, what we so much wished to see in the different regions through which we had passed in the East, a living Christianity shedding its light and love around it, to the enlightenment and quickening, by the blessing of the Holy Spirit, of the souls both of Jews and Gentiles. Our Scottish friends had been there resident only for a few years, and they had been instrumental in the instruction and conversion of upwards of a score of individuals belonging to the Jewish community, including Mr. Saphir, a person of excellent education, and extensive influence, and all the members of his family, male and female, old and young. All this had occurred without the usual appliances and machinery of modern missions, in connexion with the school, the press, and the pulpit,—to which the circumstances of the country did not permit a resort,—and simply by earnest conference, conversation, and occasional addresses and devotional exercises, animated by sincere piety, illustrated by distinguished biblical learning, and impressed by a holy walk and conversation. As the missionaries had not, and sought not, any personal standing in the country, the converts had been received into the communion of the Reformed Church of

Hungary,—the creed of which, as embodied in the Helvetic Confession, is quite accordant with that of the Protestant Churches of Britain, and especially of those of the north of the island, approved by the Presbyterian missionaries themselves, already the agents of the Free Church of Scotland. The converts, too, had been welcomed into that communion, and baptized by the Rev. Paul Török, the reformed pastor of Pesth,—a most serious, and liberal-minded, and philanthropic minister. They were not disparaged by the Christian community to which they attached themselves; and some of them experienced the benefits of the highest Christian influence and sympathy in the land.

The formation of the Mission at Pesth was entirely owing to providential circumstances, and the information obtained respecting the numbers of the Jews there resident, and the prospect of openings of usefulness among them, by the Rev. Dr. Keith, on his return from his first journey to the Holy Land, and when arrested there for a season by the hand of affliction. Dr. Duncan, its first missionary, was wondrously qualified, both by his high character and extensive scholarship, especially in scriptural and rabbinical literature, to lay its foundations; and he was peculiarly favoured in having the co-operation and assistance of men of such Christian ardour, devotedness, and talent, as Messrs. Smith and Wingate, its younger members. Mr. Smith, like Dr. Duncan, had been ordained in Scotland; but Mr. Wingate had been acting with them merely as a lay-associate. On our arrival, three of us Scottish ministers, providentially meeting together, formed ourselves into a presbytery for the time being, and after the usual trials of his qualifications,—preparatory to his receiving the concurrence and appointment of the Church, and with the fullest conviction of his call to the service of Christ,—set him apart by prayer and the laying on of hands, to the office of the holy ministry, though not

to the pastorate of those gathered around him and his colleagues.

Were it an object with me to attempt the description of the parts of the world to which we had now come, I could say much of Pesth and its vicinity. The city, as it now stands, having been rebuilt to a great extent since the destructive inundation of 1838, would do credit to any kingdom of Europe. Buda, or Ofen, on the southern side of the Danube, has a more commanding situation, and unites both the conveniences and beauty of town and country. The imperial palace of the Prince Palatine, crowning its heights, is its greatest ornament. The view from Blocksberg, the hill beyond it to the left, is highly picturesque.

From several of the inhabitants of Pesth we received much kindness during our short residence there, which, in one or two instances, it becomes me gratefully to acknowledge, even before the public. Tasner Antal, the secretary and friend of the eminently patriotic and liberal nobleman, the Count Széchenyi, gave us much of his time, and effectively aided us in all the inquiries in which we sought to engage. He is a gentleman of high literary attainments; and some of the institutions of the place have originated in his public spirit. We were much interested in a meeting of the Hungarian National Literary Society,—which has a considerable body of active members,—to which he introduced us. The language of the Gypsies,—some of whom, attending the fair at Pesth, he had previously brought to us for examination to Dr. Duncan's,—was on that occasion one of the subjects of our conversation. It was known to all present that that language is of Indian origin; but direct testimony on the subject was received with much interest. The Governor of Transylvania, who was in the chair, invited us to visit him, that we might see some of these wanderers in his province, but our time did not permit us to accept his

invitation. Reference was made to the death in the East of their distinguished member, Köröse Csoma Sandor, who had there wandered far and wide in the fruitless search for the parent stock of the Magyars, and traces of their language; to his unrivalled acquisitions connected with the literature and religion of the Buddhists; to his Tibetan grammar and dictionary; and to the kindness which he had experienced from the Asiatic Society and the Government in India. Mr. Kiss, one of the members resident at Buda, a day or two after the meeting, exhibited to us his collection of ancient coins and medals, which is rich in the Asiatic department.

Mr. Tasner directed our attention to various interesting publications connected with the language, and history, and present state of Hungary. From a statistical work, which I thus procured, I give the following table:—

POPULATION OF HUNGARY.

ACCORDING TO RELIGION.		ACCORDING TO LANGUAGE.	
Roman Catholics,	6,130,188	Magyar,	4,812,759
Greek Catholics,	1,822,344	Tót,	1,687,256
Adherents of the Augsburg Confession,	1,006,210	Német, (German,)	1,273,677
Adherents of the Helvetic Confession,	1,846,844	Olah,	2,202,542
Unitarians,	47,280	Horvát, (Croatian,)	886,079
Greek Church,	2,288,505	Racz,	828,365
Jews,	244,035	Shokacz,	429,868
Total,	12,880,406	Vindus,	40,864
		Orosz, (Russian,)	442,903
		Bolgar, (Bulgarian,)	12,000
		Franczia, (French,)	6,150
		Görög es Czinczar, (Greek,)	5,680
		Ormeny, (Armenian,)	3,798
		Montenigrinus,	2,830
		Clementinus,	1,600
		Zido, (Jewish,)	244,035
		Total,	12,880,406

Including gypsies, strangers, students, etc., the whole population of Hungary is given at 12,990,058.[1]

[1] Magyarország Statistikája. Irta Fénnes Elek, elsö Kötet, pp. 119-120.

The predominant tribe is the Magyar, to which the nobles of the country,—"the mighty, the moderate, and the miserable," as they have been jocularly classed,—belong. It is decidedly of Asiatic origin, having first appeared in Europe A.D. 892, after having advanced from the southern shores of the Black Sea. It deserves the gratitude of Europe for fighting its battles against the Turks, and turning their course eastward.[1] It is beginning to look on its dependent tribes with a generous eye, and will ere long, it is to be hoped, permit them to share in all its privileges. While the Hungarians are not given to change for its own sake, social improvement, in the genuine sense of the term, is advancing among them with surer steps perhaps than among any other people in Europe. The Catholics of Hungary are becoming more and more tolerant, inquisitive, and enlightened; a goodly number of the people have long been Protestants; and now, when the transit from Romanism is not impeded by the restrictions too long in existence, it is to be expected,—as events seem to indicate,—that numbers will join them in the embracement and maintenance of the truth of God.[2] The revival of evangelical sentiment and feeling, both in the Reformed and Lutheran Churches, will be the great and only desirable means of their extension.

While we were at Pesth, more than one gracious invita-

[1] For the earlier encounters of the Hungarians with the Turks, see Pannoniæ Histor. Chronolog. per Theodorum de Bry. Francf. 1696.

[2] "Some very remarkable secessions from the Roman communion have occurred in Hungary during the past year; among which may be mentioned, Baroness Dercsényi, Count Haldeck, a Franciscan monk, and another of the order of the Pious Schools, who had attained to the rank of professor and doctor of moral philosophy. Indeed, the accustomed order of affairs seems quite changed of late; formerly 800 to 1000 Protestants went over annually to Romanism, but in 1845, 35 only have turned Catholics in return for 900 Catholics who have professed Protestantism."—German Reformation of the Nineteenth Century, p. 400. This movement has no connexion with that of the party called the German Catholics, of which the able and interesting work now quoted treats.

tion reached us from the palace at Buda, the residence of distinguished goodness as well as greatness. On one occasion, Dhanjibhái and I appeared there, by particular request, in our oriental costume, to the great amusement of the young princes and princesses. We made only one excursion along the banks of the Danube. It extended for three hours to Gütt, the seat of the Baron Dercsényi, a most amiable nobleman, whose death since our visit has been deeply regretted by our Scottish friends. We there saw something of the modes and methods of Hungarian husbandry, which are regulated somewhat according to the primitive fashion, and admit of considerable improvement.

We bade adieu to Pesth on the 31st of August, entering again a Danube steamer. Next morning, at half-past ten o'clock, we arrived at Presburg, where the Diet of Hungary was holding its Sessions. We were accompanied thither by Mr. Smith. In the evening, we were presented to his Imperial Highness the Archduke Joseph, the Prince Palatine of Hungary. He conversed with us in Latin, the language which he was accustomed to use while presiding over the Diet, and put many questions to us respecting India and the Holy Land, and other countries of the East, with which, it was evident, he had a very extensive and accurate acquaintance, as far as both their sacred and profane history and geography are concerned. He expressed the warm interest which he felt in the progress which Christianity is making in different regions of the earth, and congratulated Dhanjibhái on his embracement of the truth. He also spoke in high terms of our friends at Pesth, and of what he had heard of their prudent procedure. He intrusted me with a message to their constitutents in Scotland. We formed a high opinion of his intellectual powers and moral feeling, of which his countenance and demeanour, as well as language, were the expression; and his easy condescension to us en-

hanced his dignity in our estimation. As this work goes through the press his Imperial Highness has been removed from the scene of his earthly greatness; and Hungary mourns his loss. He has been succeeded by his son, the prince Stephen, endeared from early youth to the people among whom he has been called to exercise vice-regal authority.

Our onward journey to Britain, included in Germany, Vienna, Linz, Ischl, Salzburg, Munich, Augsburg, Stuttgardt, and Carlsruhe, in all of which towns and neighbourhoods there is much to interest the tourist. The objects of our journey, however, having been accomplished before we visited them, I here pass them without notice. When we got upon the Rhine, at the last mentioned of these places, we were almost at home among the number of countrymen whom we met on board the steamer. Among these was a distinguished officer of the Bombay Presidency, who has reflected the highest honour upon it, by his literary and scientific efforts and antiquarian research, and by his wise and liberal counsels in the governing body of India,—Colonel Sykes. We stopped with him and his family a night at Mayence, to talk over matters connected with the distant East. From Mayence we went to England by Cologne and Antwerp. We arrived in London on the 23d of September, and in the capital of Scotland on the 4th of November, in my case, after an absence of fifteen years from my native land, and a journey of nine months from my adopted home in India. My readers can imagine the emotions which I experienced, when, after the perils and vicissitudes of a long residence and labour in foreign climes, and a pilgrimage through many lands, both holy and unholy, I found my journeyings for a season brought to a close at the home of Christian affection and love. Only the language of inspiration, as in the hundred and seventh Psalm, can form their expression.

Porter at Constantinople.

GENERAL RESEARCHES.

I.—THE INDEPENDENT EASTERN CHURCHES.

IMPORTANCE OF ATTENDING TO THEIR CIRCUMSTANCES—THE GREEK CHURCH—THE ARMENIAN CHURCH—THE SYRIAN CHURCH—THE NESTORIAN CHURCH—THE COPTIC CHURCH—THE ABYSSINIAN CHURCH.

THOUGH the East is associated with all that is interesting in the past history, and glorious in the future prospects of the world, the Christian Churches within its borders, and especially in those lands in which our holy faith originated, and in which it won its earliest and brightest triumphs, have received, comparatively speaking, but little attention from the evangelical members of the British Churches. We have been too much contented to remain ignorant of their principles and practices; of their doctrines, and rites, and ceremonies; of their temptations, and trials, and contendings; of their errors, and corruptions, and retrogressions. We have extended to them little of our sympathy, of our prayers, and of our exertions. We have neither marked their alienation from the truth, nor recalled, as we ought to have done, their attention to its solemn testimony. We have

conveyed to them neither instruction, nor warning, nor entreaty, nor expostulation. We have mourned more over the desolations of the natural, than over those of the spiritual Zion, at its primitive seat. Our past neglect of it has been wellnigh complete, and, to the extent it has existed, altogether inexcusable. When we bear in mind that some of the Eastern Churches form a remnant, wonderfully preserved for ages, during which they have been assailed by the sword of the False Prophet of Arabia and the Heathen Chief, and by the wiles and frauds of the Man of Sin,—whose efforts to secure their allegiance, as we shall afterwards have occasion to notice, have been desperate and unceasing,—we may come to the conclusion that God may yet have rich grace in store for them, and grant them speedily a renewed day of merciful visitation, introduced, though it may be, by fearful chastisements and changes. If we view some of them as the allies, or even the subjects, of Babylon, we should still say to their members, in the name of God, "Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not her plagues: for her sins have reached unto heaven, and God hath remembered her iniquities." If we view the lands in which they are found as the field of the world's battle, we should also remember that they are the destined scene of the world's deliverance. If no state on earth neglects its frontier without injury, Christendom should look to its interests where they come in contact with the dominion of the Heathen and Muhammadan powers; and if our own country at present be the most highly-favoured on earth, we should remember that its influence should be felt where protection, recovery, and advance, are most imperiously needed. If we esteem it a privilege and a duty to labour and pray for the conversion of the Jews to the faith of that Jesus whom their fathers crucified, we should not overlook those depressed communities bearing the Christian name, in which are to be

found the descendants of that remnant according to the election of grace, which, in the days of the apostles, saw in Jesus of Nazareth that Saviour of whom Moses and the prophets did write. We should remember that it is as clearly revealed, that it is through God's mercy to the Gentiles that the Jews are to obtain mercy,[1] as that the receiving of the Jews is to be to the Gentiles as life from the dead; and that the neglected Eastern Christians are, by their idolatries and superstitions, at present stumbling-blocks in the way of the Jews; while, if evangelical truth were again restored to them, by the blessing of God upon our exertions, the Jews might be provoked by them to jealousy and emulation, to their being saved. We should see what doors of usefulness are opening up among these Christians, in the providence of God, and, with others, enter in and labour for their enlightenment and reformation.

It is with these impressions of the importance of attending to the Eastern Churches, that I proceed very briefly to refer to their geographical position and distribution, their historical connexions, their creed and condition, and the means at present used for their improvement. My notes, which could be easily extended, are the fruit not only of my late journey from India to Britain, but of considerable inquiry during a fourteen years' residence in the East. They are intended, it will be observed, more for the general reader than the student. Whenever it suits my convenience, as stated in the Preface to this work, I avail myself, when giving them, of two Lectures which I have laid before the public since my arrival in Scotland, abridging and enlarging them according to convenience.[2]

[1] Romans xi. 31.

[2] Lectures on Foreign Churches, delivered in Edinburgh and Glasgow, in connexion with the objects of the Committee of the Free Church of Scotland on the State of Christian Churches on the Continent and in the East. First Series, pp. 41-163; Second Series, pp. 1-85. Edinburgh, 1845, 1846.

1. THE GREEK CHURCH.

This Church is to be associated, not so much with the nation of Greece properly so called, as with the language of Greece—so extensively diffused in Asia, and even in part of Africa, by the conquests of Alexander the Great, that it was the most widely spoken in the days of our Lord, and selected by the Spirit as the most suitable for the inspired writings of the new covenant,—and, especially, with those countries which were comprehended in the Byzantine dominions, or *Eastern Roman Empire.* It denominates itself ἡ καθολικη καὶ ἀποστολικη ἐκκλεσία ἡ ἀνατολικη, THE CATHOLIC AND APOSTOLIC ORIENTAL CHURCH. In Turkey in Asia it has four ancient Patriarchates: those of Constantinople, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria. In the north of Syria, and particularly about Aleppo and Antioch, it includes a majority of those who bear the Christian name. In the Páshálik of Damascus it claims, of 78,262—the total Christian population—42,160 souls. In the district of Lebanon, its followers are outnumbered by the Maronites; but to the south it again asserts its predominance. It forms the largest Christian sect in the whole of Syria and the Holy Land, numbering there a population of 345,000 souls, while the other Christian bodies embrace only about 260,000 souls. A few villages in Mesopotamia, speaking the Syriac language, also belong to the Greek communion. In Egypt it has two or three thousand members. It is in possession of the convents in Arabia Petræa, including that of Mount Sinai. In all the districts of Asia Minor, except in that part of it which is sometimes known by the name of the Lesser Armenia, it has more followers than any other Church. It is the established religion of the kingdom of Greece, where its affairs are managed by an independent Synod;[1] and it is predo-

[1] Ἡ ΙΕΡΑ ΣΥΝΟΔΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΟΥ ΤΗΣ ΕΛΛΑΔΟΣ.

minant there, as well as among that portion of the population of the Greek islands which acknowledges the faith of Jesus. At Constantinople, it has as many followers as those of the Armenian and Roman Churches united together. It is almost the exclusive Christian Church in the different provinces of Turkey in Europe, such as Romania, Macedonia, Albania, Bulgaria, Servia, and Bosnia. North of the Danube, it occupies Wallachia and Moldavia.[1] In Hungary even, it has a population of 2,283,505 souls.[2] It is the established religion of Russia,[3] which, like Greece, has an in-

[1] The population of Moldavia is estimated at a million of souls. Of these 80,000 are reckoned as Roman Catholics; 100,000 Gypsies; 70,000 Jews; and 900 Protestants. The rest of the people, exclusive of a few hundred Armenians, belong to the Greek Church.

[2] See above, p. 440.

[3] "The present population of Russia, reckoning the increase since 1838, may be safely set down, in round numbers, at 64,000,000.

Of these there are—

Heathens, (of whom 113,772 Buddhists, and 75,000 others,)	189,323
Mahometans, . .	1,826,761
Jews, ...	1,400,000
Dissenters of Russian origin, . . .	3,000,000
Calvinists and Lutherans of the German provinces,	3,000,000
Armenians in Georgia and the Caucasus, . .	260,000
Poles and others of the Latin Rite, with 13,391 Latin Armenians, .	6,513,391
Members of the Russian Church, . . .	47,810,525
	64,000,000"

—Blackmore's Translation of Mouravieff's History of the Church of Russia, p. 429.

"The church and state of Georgia, or Gruzia, were united with those of Russia in 1801. The Church was ruled till 1811 by an archbishop and member of the Holy Synod, sent by Russia. An exarch was appointed in 1814. . . . . He is always a member of the Synod; and the supreme ecclesiastical government of the Church of Georgia is vested in the Synod in the same way as that of the whole Russian Church."—Ibid. p. 349.

In the provinces of Poland belonging to Russia, the Greek Church has of late years made great progress. Of those formerly comprehended in Lithuania, White Russia, and Samogitia, and forming the Russian governments known by the names of Wilna, Witepsk, Grodno, Kowno, Minsk, and Mohilla, containing a population of 4,978,369, it is said in a late Number of Galignani's Messenger, that "the nobles, and a portion of the people, are Roman Catholics; the rest, who were formerly of the United Greek Church, [that is of the Greek Ritual united to the Roman,] have now become, by choice or force, members of the Schismatic [or Orthodox] Greek Church; but a great number of the peasantry have refused to acknowledge the Russian [Greek Church] bishops, who were appointed to succeed

dependent Synod for the ordering of its own affairs; and, except in the provinces lately conquered from Tartary and Persia, and in part of Poland, it extends its discipline and instruction to the whole population of that great empire, to the exclusion of a very small portion of it almost secretly practising dissent.

With the relations in which the ancient Eastern Church, of which the Greek Church professes to be the genuine representative, stood to the Western, or Latin, Church, ecclesiastical history makes us acquainted. The first great dispute which occurred between them originated in the second century, about the observance of a sacred season consecrated by human authority, that of Easter.[1] Those which followed had principally a reference to the comparative dignity of the Bishops of the old Rome and the new Rome, or Byzantium, to which Constantine removed the seat of Empire. In the second General Council, the Bishop of Constantinople was allowed to sit next to the alleged successor of St. Peter; and by the twenty-eighth canon of the Synod of Chalcedon, he was permitted to enjoy an equal rank. These concessions were sufficiently humiliating to the aspiring Pope; but the Emperors of the East, jealous for the honours of their own capital, prevented their withdrawment. "The Bishop of Constantinople," says Mosheim, under the sixth century, "not only claimed an unrivalled sovereignty over the Eastern Churches, but also maintained that his Church was, in point of dignity, no way inferior to that of Rome." In the year 588, John, Bishop of Constantinople, assumed even the title of œcumenical or universal bishop, for which he was violently opposed by Pope Gregory the

their priests." In the Ukrain and Little Russia, or the governments of Wolhynia, Kieff, Podolia, Poltawa, Kurks, &c., the nobles profess the Roman Catholic faith, but the people now profess the same religion as the Russians.

[1] Euseb. Eccles. Hist., v. 23.

Great. The flame of resentment, which appeared stifled for a time, broke out with increased fury in the eighth century. The Emperor Flavius Leo, the Isaurian, convinced by the arguments of Besor the Syrian, that the use of images in the Christian Churches is unlawful and idolatrous, violently opposed the views of the Roman pontiff on the subject, as did his two immediate successors. Gregory the Second retaliated by the persecution of those who remonstrated against image-worship,—the Iconoclasts, as they were called,—by stirring up political rebellion in Italy and the neighbouring territories, and by seeking to appropriate important portions of them to himself. The Emperor, in punishment of his arrogance, removed Calabria, Sicily, Illyricum, and Greece, from his spiritual jurisdiction, and placed them under that of the Bishop of Constantinople. The disturbances which thus originated, continued to rage for years both in the State and in the Church; and though the Emperor Flavius Leo Constantinus VI.[1] and his mother Irene restored the use of images, the division between the Eastern and Western Churches, almost insensibly begun, became distinct and confirmed. The last General Council in which the Churches of the East and West were united was the Seventh, or Second Council of Nice, held A.D. 787. In the next century, the feuds of the Patriarch Photius, and of the Popes Adrian II. and Nicholas, were waged with great fury. So were those of the Patriarch Michael Cerularius and Pope Leo IX., in the eleventh. The attempts made by Michael Paleologus, in the thirteenth century, to promote a reunion of the Churches, even though seconded by the Council of Florence, were in vain. The Eastern and Western Churches have remained divided. Rome aims at satisfying her ambition by the subversion, or conversion, of the Eastern Church,

[1] Born in 771, and died in 797.

which she denounces as schismatic, and not by union and incorporation.

An important help to our forming a correct opinion of the tenets of the Greek Church, is to be found in a work, purporting to be a collection of its Symbolic Books, published in the original Greek, and with a Latin translation, in 1843.[1] These books, as there set forth, consist of several documents. The first of them is a Confession, both in the form of a dialogue and a distinct creed, presented by request to the Sulṭán Muḥammad in the fifteenth century, by Gennadius the patriarch of Constantinople. Between this and the second document, is interposed the condemned evangelical Confession of Cyrillus Lucaris,—a native of Crete, educated at Venice, who ultimately became patriarch of Constantinople,—which he published in 1629, and for which, and his embracement and support of the general views of the Churches of the Reformation, through a conspiracy of the Pope's emissaries, the clergy of the Greek Church, and the Turkish authorities, he was cruelly murdered, by drowning or strangulation, on the 26th of June 1638.[2] The second document is the catechetical "Confession of the Orthodox Faith of the Catholic and Apostolic Church of Christ, composed by Peter Mogilas, metropolitan of Kioff," and bearing the confirmation and authority, dated 11th March 1643, of the four oriental patriarchs, and the other ecclesiastical dignitaries and office-bearers of the Greek Church. The third contains "The Shield of Orthodoxy, composed by the local Synod met at Jerusalem [Bethlehem] under the patriarch Dositheus, against the heretical Calvinists," &c. This document, which obtained the subscription of three of the patriarchs, twenty-one

[1] Libri Symbolici Ecclesiæ Orientalis, nunc primum in unum corpus collegit, Ernestus Julius Kimmel. Jenæ, 1843.

[2] It was Cyril Lucar who presented to Charles I. the famous Codex Alexandrinus of the New Testament, now in the British Museum.

bishops, and twenty-three other ecclesiastics, including the Russian legates, after reviewing and condemning the writings of Cyrillus, and anathematizing him on their account, sets forth the eighteen special decrees of the Synod, dated March 1672, with the resolution of certain questions to which some of them incidentally gave rise. The following is a brief summary of its contents:—

Its first decree embraces the Articles of the Nicene Creed, with this difference,—on which the Greek Church and all the Oriental Churches lay great stress,—that the Holy Spirit, while consubstantial with the Father and the Son, proceeds only from the Father.[1] In the second, we find it asserted that sacred scripture is to be received "according to the tradition and interpretation of the Catholic Church," which is declared to have "an authority not less than that of sacred scripture," being guided by the unerring wisdom of the Holy Ghost. The third ascribes the election of men to the divine foresight of their good works, and represents the supporters of a sovereign election as blasphemously disparaging good works, and not even viewing them as the consequence of election, or a necessary part of salvation. The fourth, as if insinuating that Calvinists charge God with being the active origin of sin, properly ascribes it to men and devils acting in disobedience to the divine will. The fifth maintains the holiness and justice of God in all his dispensations, which though overruling evil for good, never extend to it moral approbation. The sixth notices the Fall, and the depravity which originated with it, declaring, however, that "many of the patriarchs and prophets, and innumerable others, both under the shadow [of the law] and the verity [of grace,] as the divine forerunner, and especially the eternal Virgin Mary, the Mother of the divine Word," were not naturally tempted to impiety, blasphemy, and other sins specified. The seventh sets forth the conception and birth of Christ without injury to the virginity of Mary, and his ascension and future judgment of the quick and dead. The eighth, while it admits that "Jesus Christ is the only Mediator and ransom of all," expressly declares that, "for presenting our requests and petitions *to him*, we reckon the saints to be intercessors, and above all the immaculate Mother of the divine Word, and likewise the holy angels, whom we know to be our guardians, and the

[1] For an able refutation of the views of the Greek Church on this subject, see the Acta et Scripta Theologorum Wirtembergensium, referred to in a subsequent note.

apostles, prophets, martyrs, and whomsoever of his faithful servants he hath glorified, amongst whom we number the bishops and priests, as if surrounding God's altar, and the other just men remarkable for their virtues." The ninth sets forth that no one is saved without faith, but that faith justifies because "it works by love, that is by the observance of the divine commandments." The tenth, while professedly acknowledging Christ to be the Head of the Church, declares that he governs it by "the ministry of the holy fathers," and condemns the tenet of the Calvinists, that priests can be ordained by priests, holding that a bishop, superior to a priest, "the successor of the apostles, communicates, by the imposition of hands and the invocation of the Spirit, the power which he has received by uninterrupted succession, of binding and loosing, and is the living image of God upon earth, and by the fullest participation of the energy of the perfect Spirit, the fountain of all the sacraments of the Church, by which we arrive at salvation." The eleventh sets forth that the Catholic Church is instructed by the Holy Spirit, "not directly," but "by the holy fathers and overseers of the catholic Church." The twelfth reckons those only to be members of the Catholic Church who receive the faith of Christ both as declared by himself and the apostles and by "the holy œcumenical synods,"[1] and deport themselves in a becoming manner. The thirteenth intimates, that "that faith, which as a hand, lays hold of the righteousness of Christ," is not that by which a man is justified, but that which, by the good works to which it leads, becomes itself efficacious for our salvation.[2] The fourteenth

[1] The seven first General Councils.

[2] A very lucid view of the evangelical doctrine of justification by faith had been given to Jeremiah, the patriarch of Constantinople, by the Wirtemberg divines in the year 1577, in the course of the correspondence which they maintained with him on the subject of the Augsburg Confession. "When we say," say they, "that we are justified before God only by faith in Christ, we wish thus to express ourselves, that by faith only we so apprehend Christ our Saviour, that on account of his most perfect merit, we obtain the remission of our sins and eternal life, and that *we reckon faith in Christ the hand by which we receive those things which Christ our Redeemer has purchased for us.*" They then show clearly how good works are the fruit of faith and part of salvation.—Acta et Scripta Theologorum Wirtembergensium, et Patriarchæ Constantinopolitani D. Hieremiæ. Witebergæ, 1584, p. 165. This is a work which should be in the possession of all missionaries having to do with the Greek Church. It sets forth its tenets, as propounded by the Church authorities at Constantinople, and refutes its errors in a very calm and dignified, but earnest, manner,—the whole discussion being in Greek, with a Latin translation, by the celebrated Crusius. Many parts of it might be advantageously reprinted, and circulated in the form of tracts.

maintains the undepraved freedom of the will, and the natural ability of man to choose good or evil. The fifteenth enumerates and describes the seven sacraments of the Church, namely, Baptism, Confirmation or Chrism, Ordination, the bloodless Sacrifice of the real body and blood of Christ, Matrimony, Confession Penitence and Remission, and Extreme Unction, intimating that they are not naked signs of the promises, but necessarily convey grace to those who partake of them. The sixteenth declares that baptism is absolutely necessary to salvation, even in the case of infants; that it destroys original sin; and is infallibly accompanied by regeneration, and even ultimate salvation.[1] The seventeenth maintains that in the Eucharist, to be administered only by a duly consecrated priest, the bread and wine, though their accidents remain, are transubstantiated into the real body and blood of Christ, and are to be worshipped and adored with supreme honour, and viewed as a propitiation and sacrifice both for the living and the dead. The eighteenth maintains that the souls of the departed are either in a state of rest or suffering; that those (belonging to the Church) who have been removed from the world with their penitence incomplete, or with a lack of its fruits, or the prayers, watchings, and charities, denominated "satisfactions" by the Church, are in a state of exclusion from perfect bliss; from which, however, they may be relieved by the prayers and alms of the priests presented in behalf of their relatives, and by the performance of masses. Here almost all the fatal errors associated with Antichrist are most distinctly propounded and defended.

The questions appended to the decrees, in a similar manner certify the apostasy of the Greek Church. That in which it is asked, should Holy Scripture be commonly or indiscriminately read by all Christians? is answered in the negative. In reply to another, the perspicuity of the Scriptures is disparaged. In the response given to that which refers to the Canon of Scripture, it is stated, that not only the books which were received by the Council of Laodicea, are to be acknowledged as inspired, but also the Wisdom of Solomon, the Book of Judith, of Tobit, the History of the Dragon, the History of Susanna, the Maccabees, and the Wisdom of Sirach. When the honours to be given to saints and their images are made the subjects of inquiry, it is declared that the Virgin Mary is to be worshipped by *hyperdulia;* and the saints and angels by *direct dulia*, referring both to their relation to God and their own sanctity; and the pictures, and relics of the saints, and holy places and

[1] These and similar views of baptism, too, are expressed in the form of the administration of the rite used in the Greek Church. Vide Codic. Liturg. Eccles. Univers. Joseph. Aloysii Assemani, lib. ii. Romæ, 1749.

articles, such as crosses, and sacramental vases, by *indirect dulia;* while *latria* is to be exclusively reserved for the Divine Spirit. This doctrine is set forth by the invention of distinctions not recognised in the Holy Scriptures, and not to be seen in the nature of things: and it is reduced to practice in direct violation of the express commandments of God, and by extending the presence, knowledge, power, and offices, and sacredness of God's creatures far beyond their endowments.

The other symbolical books of the Greek Church embraced in the collection referred to, are quite in accordance with that which we have now briefly analyzed. The catechetical Confession of Mogilas, which contains the fullest exposition of its doctrines, sets forth, along with a mixture of truth, most of the fatal errors to which we have alluded, even more in detail than the decrees of the Synod of Jerusalem. We may extract from it some additional information respecting tenets and observances.

It places the traditions of the Church on a level with the written word of God, and requires it to be interpreted through the medium of these traditions. It speaks of angels, not merely as spirits ministering according to the direct will of God, but as the guardians of cities, kingdoms, countries, monasteries, and churches, and as both presenting our prayers to God, and interceding in our behalf.[1] It speaks of the Virgin Mary as the "mother of God."[2] It represents the devil as put to flight, and the perniciousness of poison as averted by the sign of the cross; and enjoins us to make this sign when we eat and drink, when we sit down or stand up, when we speak or walk, and on all occasions by night and by day, and gives minute directions as to the way in which it is to be made.[3] When alluding to the ascension of Christ, it sets forth that his humanity is present in the Eucharist, and to be venerated and adored as the Saviour himself.[4] While it denies that the dead can be delivered from their deprivations, by purgatorial fires or punishments after death, it represents them as receiving in the less glorious mansions of the heavenly regions,—for the Greek Church recognises no *place* intermediate between heaven and hell,—the benefits which they need, from the prayers and masses of the Church.[5] It represents the presidents of the Church as vicariously its heads for Christ, and requires subjection to them as such assembled in general council.[6] It enume-

[1] Quest. 19.
[2] Quest. 40, 43.
[3] Quest. 50, 51.
[4] Quest. 56.
[5] Quest. 65, 66, 67, 68.
[6] Quest. 85, 86.

rates nine precepts of the Church, which are to be observed. The first enjoins attendance on matins, liturgies (the sacrament of the mass so denominated), vespers, on the Lord's Day and the appointed festivals. The second appoints four annual fasts, two of forty days each, preceding Christmas and Easter, one from the week after pentecost to the festivals of Peter and Paul, and another from the first to the fifteenth of August, the day of the Assumption of the Virgin, and two weekly fasts on Wednesdays and Fridays; and forbids fasting on the Lord's Day, except on the "great sabbath," during which he remained in the sepulchre, and some other special days. The third precept enjoins respect to ecclesiastical personages, who receive our confessions and minister to us in holy things. The fourth recommends a quarterly, and in the case of the more devout, a monthly confession, and enjoins at least an annual confession, of sins to the priests, urging the sick especially to wash away their stains by confession and a participation of the sacred supper. The fifth interdicts the reading heretical books and association with the ungodly. The sixth enjoins prayer for ecclesiastical, civil, and military authorities, for the living and dead members of the Church, and for the conversion of heretics and schismatics. The eighth forbids sacrilege. And the ninth forbids the celebration of marriage in forbidden vestments, and attendance on forbidden amusements.[1] The confession expounds at length the doctrine of the "seven sacraments." It declares that they are not only signs and seals of the doctrine of Christ, but present remedies for overcoming the infirmities of sin. Baptism, which destroys original sin, and effects regeneration, is to be practised by a threefold immersion in water, and always by priests, except in cases of urgent necessity. Chrism or confirmation,—by oil, balsam, and other unguents, consecrated by the highest ecclesiastic, and symbolic and communicative of the unction and gifts of the Holy Spirit,—to be applied to the different members of the body, is immediately to follow baptism. The sacrament of the Eucharist is said to be more excellent than any other of the sacraments, nay than all of them united together, and to conduce more than they do to the attainment of salvation. A duly consecrated priest is necessary to its dispensation. The bread used must be fermented, and a little water must be added to the wine, to represent that which flowed from the Saviour's side. These materials must be viewed as changed into the real body and blood of Christ by the words of consecration; and the sacrament must be considered a commemoration, a propitiation, and a protection and defence against the assaults of the devil. In ordination, by which the succession

[1] Quest. 87—95.

of power to the priestly office in the Church is continued, regard must be had to the probity and knowledge of candidates, and the soundness and completeness of the members of their body. The minor orders of reader, singer, candle-lighter, and sub-deacon are recognised, and reference is made to the Directories, in which their duties, and those of other ecclesiastical office-bearers, are described.[1] The necessity and efficacy of auricular confession and clerical absolution are emphatically declared; and meritorious prayers, alms, fastings, pilgrimages to holy places, and religious genuflexions, are sometimes to be added to them, that they may restore the effects of baptism and afford grounds for confidence and peace. Marriage, except as being denominated a sacrament, is rightly treated of in the Confession. The *Euchelaion*, corresponding with extreme unction, is to be given to the sick as well as to the dying, is sometimes attended with the healing of the body as well as the soul, and fails not to be accompanied with the remission of sins in the case of those who are penitent. All these explanations and statements are given in the Confession under the head of FAITH. Under that of HOPE, there is given a tolerably good, though not an entirely approveable, exposition of the Lord's Prayer and of the beatitudes contained in the sermon on the Mount. Under that of CHARITY, the last of the treatise, in which our duty both to God and man is considered, both truth and error are sadly intermingled. Almsgiving is there set forth as an expiation, and the antiscriptural distinction of mortal and venial sins is recognised. Under the first commandment, the worship of saints and angels is vindicated by the identical arguments current in the Church of Rome. Under the second commandment, which is separated from the first as by Protestants and the Jews, the worship of images (pictures of the saints only are used in the Greek Church) and of holy objects is vindicated in a similar manner, and particularly by the authority of the seventh General Council. In connexion with the fourth commandment, the sacred days appointed by the Church are brought to notice.

Speaking of the collection of symbolic books, with the substance of which I have now presented my readers, Mr. Edward Masson, in his sincere and able, though not convin-

[1] In the works in which the ministry is more particularly treated of, it is stated, that the secular clergy are allowed to marry once; but that those who do so are debarred from the episcopacy, an office which is reserved for individuals of the regular or monastic clergy, who, on account of their vows and self-restraints, are supposed to be holier than those who have retained and used their Christian liberty.

cing, "Apology for the Greek Church," says, "The work is dedicated to the Imperial Commissary of the Russian Synod, and has been obviously got up for the purpose of promoting the [Russian] Emperor's proselytizing exertions in Poland, and other parts of his dominions. In the *prolegomena* the editor gives a sketch of the history of the Greek Church, from the fall of Constantinople to the date of the Jerusalem Synod. He unsparingly exposes, for the most part, the artifices and enormities of the Jesuits, and refers to Cyril Lucar's sufferings, but strives to assimilate the Greek to the Romish faith, in order to show the Roman Catholics in Russia, that they may obtain all the advantages the Emperor offers to converts, and yet retain almost every article of their present creed, except the Pope's supremacy."[1] This theory may be perfectly correct; but the misfortune is, that the symbolic books in Kimmel's collection had, and still have, great authority in the Greek Church. It is because this is the fact with regard to them, that they are given forth on the present occasion. The high ecclesiastical sanction which the Confession of Mogilas obtained in the year 1643, I have already mentioned.[2] It is one of the books issued from the synodal press in Russia at the present time; and a new edition of it was published at Moscow in 1839.[3] The decrees of the

[1] Masson's Apology, pp. 90, 91.

[2] See above, p. 452.

[3] Note to Blackmore's translation of Mouravieff's History of the Church of Russia, p. 395. Mr. Blackmore, who, like Mr. Masson, is an apologist of the Greek Church, says of this catechism,—"It passed without any formal or minute examination into the Church of Great Russia; but it is acknowledged not to be free, any more than the eighteen articles of the Synod of Jerusalem, from a tinge of Latin scholasticism."

But about the origin of the Catechism of Mogilas, let us hear Mouravieff the historian himself.

"Taking advantage of the short breathing time which the orthodox religion enjoyed during the reign of Vladislaff, Peter Mogila was constantly sending forth from his printing press different works of the Holy Fathers, and books of the Services of the Church, to counteract the influence of those published by the uniates [or Greeks united to the Roman Church] . . . . But the most im-

Synod of Jerusalem were probably not set forth, in the first instance, without Romish influence,[1] yet they failed not to obtain the fullest sanction of the supreme authority of the Church.[2] That authority was unimpaired on the recognition of the "Most Holy Governing Synod of Russia," by the patriarch of Constantinople, in the year 1723. Speak-

portant act of the Metropolitan, for the confirmation of his distracted flock, was the publication of the Orthodox Confession of Faith, which was written partly by himself, and partly by the Archimandrite, Isaiah Trophimovich, under his direction.

"A council of bishops was convoked in Kieff for the revision of this Catechism, which had become indispensably necessary from the agitation of men's minds, and from the subtle discourses and treatises of the Jesuits; and which, after being carefully corrected, and translated into modern Greek, was sent to Parthenius, patriarch of Constantinople.

"The appearance of such a book produced a strong impression in the East, into which the Calvinistic heresy had then penetrated. Crafty teachers of false doctrine, under the name of Cyrill Lucar, patriarch of Constantinople, had sown tares entirely contrary to the doctrines of the Orthodox Church, and giving them out as her true and authentic Confession, had caused great scandal to the unlearned. Cyrill, although he had condemned the new doctrine of Calvin, nevertheless had not stood up decidedly and openly to oppose it; and for his neglect he was himself delivered over to an anathema by his successor, Cyrill of Berœa; but the agitation still continued. By the exertions of John, hospodar of Moldavia, a synod was convoked at Jassy, which once more condemned the false doctrines of Calvinism. The Metropolitan, Peter Mogila, with four Russian bishops, confirmed by their subscriptions the acts of this synod. By command of Parthenius patriarch of Constantinople, his exarch, Meletius Striga, revised, and finally corrected, in the Synod of Jassy, the Orthodox Confession. From thence this book was sent for the confirmation of the Eastern patriarchs, and was returned with their letters of approval to Kieff, after the death of the great prelate, Peter Mogila, who, after all his labours and services, rested in peace in the Lavra, and has ever since been justly esteemed one of the most shining characters in our ecclesiastical history." —Mouravieff's History, pp. 188, 189.

[1] "The following are the words of M. de Nointel, [the French Ambassador at Constantinople,] taken from the formal declaration signed by himself and his secretary, and appended to the two editions of the Acts of the Synod, which he caused to be published shortly afterwards at Paris." Nous ... attestons à tous qu'il appartiendra, que le Sieur Dosithée, à présent patriarche Grec de la Sainte Ville de Jerusalem, ayant été obligé de venir à Constantinople, nous a déclaré qu'il avait pleinement satisfait à ce que nous avions souhaité de lui, suivant les avis qu'il nous a témoignés, nous mettant entre les mains le present livre, etc. p. 360, Edit. 2de. 1678.—Note of Blackmore on Mouravieff's Hist., pp. 405, 406.

[2] See above, p. 452.

ing of the state of matters at this time, Mouravieff says—

"A certain bishop of Thebais . . . happening to be in Great Britain in quest of alms, suggested to the Anglican bishops the idea of uniting themselves to the œcumenical Church, and was the bearer of a letter from them to the patriarchs. The guardians of Eastern Orthodoxy, having consulted together in council, made answer at length to the inquiries of the British, laying before them those unalterable Foundations of the Faith of their ancestors, on which alone the Eastern Church could receive them into her bosom,—for she had already, in the past century, had an example of a false union with the Calvinists, who had deceived Cyril Lucar, patriarch of Constantinople, and endeavoured to propagate their heresy in the East under his name. The successor of Lucar, another Cyril, known as Cyril of Berœa, was obliged to deliver over the doctrines ascribed to his predecessor to an anathema. But the learned Dositheus, patriarch of Jerusalem, convoked a Council at Bethlehem, [called the Council of Jerusalem], and set forth at large, in eighteen articles, the whole Orthodox Confession of the Catholic Church, with a rejection of the German doctrine, grounding himself upon the already existing 'Orthodox Confession' of Peter Mogila, *which had been acknowledged by the whole Church.*

"In the meantime, the British bishops, through James Protosyncellus of Alexandria, entered into communication on the same subject with the Most Holy Synod, and transmitted to it their rejoinder to the answers of the patriarchs, with the request that they might be forwarded to Constantinople. But the Russian prelates, seeing with what heresy the Anglican document was filled, rejecting the traditions of their fathers, for the invocation of the saints, and the reverencing of Icons, proceeded in the same guarded manner as the Greek bishops, requesting them to give their advice in council, without which they would undertake nothing. Upon this, three of the œcumenical patriarchs, Jeremiah of Constantinople, Athanasius of Antioch, and Sophronius of Jerusalem, together with the bishops that were in Constantinople, immediately *sent to the Most Holy Synod the synodical Confession of the patriarch Dositheus, as the best refutation to oppose against the Anglican and Calvinistic doctrines*, and entreated them, by a circular letter, to remain steadfast in the pious doctrines of orthodoxy; as they had long since been thoroughly sifted and decided by the Œcumenical Councils and the holy fathers, and had been uninterruptedly held and preserved by the service of the Catholic Church, and it was impossible either to

add any thing to them, or to take any thing away. At the same time, the patriarchs wrote letters to the Most Holy Synod, concerning its recognition by the whole Œcumenical Church."[1]

In the conclusion of the letter of the patriarch recognising the Synod of Russia as possessed of patriarchal authority, it is thus written:—"Moreover, we put it in remembrance, we exhort and enjoin on it to hold and preserve inviolably the customs and canons of the Seven Holy and Œcumenical Councils, and all besides that the Holy Eastern Church acknowledges and observes; and so may it stand fast for ever." In this spirit the Greek Church has every where acted. Its chief ecclesiastical authorities are the Decretals of the Seven General Councils.

How far the Greek Church differs from the churches of the Reformation in the mode, and some of the objects, of worship, will be apparent from the following "Definitio Sanctæ Magnæ et Universalis in Nicæa Synodi Secunda," or Seventh General Council.

"We define, with all accuracy and distinctness, that the venerable and holy Images, fitly prepared with colours and inlaying, or any other matter, according to the fashion and form of the venerable and life-giving Cross, are to be dedicated and placed and kept in the sacred temples of God; on sacred vessels and garments also, on walls and tables, in private houses and in public ways: but, chiefly, the image of the Lord and God our Saviour Jesus Christ; next, that of our unspotted Lady, the Mother of God, those of the venerable Angels, and all holy and pure Men. For, as often as these painted images are looked at, they who contemplate them are excited to the memory and love and recollection and love of the prototypes, and may offer to them salutation and an honorary adoration: not that which, according to our faith, is true worship (λατρείαν), and which pertains to the Divine Nature alone; but in like manner as we reverently approach the type of the venerable and life-giving Cross, and the Holy Gospels, and the other sacred things, with oblations of censers and lighted tapers, according as this custom was piously established by the ancients. For the honour done to the image redounds to the pro-

[1] Mouravieff's History of the Russian Church, pp. 286, 287.

totype; and he who does obeisance to the image, does obeisance through it likewise to the subject represented."[1]

Mr. Masson, who does not quote this definition, when referring to the Council which was its author, says, "It is a remarkable fact that the second Nicene Council, was, at the time, misunderstood by most of the Churches of the West, and by most historians is still entirely misrepresented."[2] But where is the proof of this misunderstanding? "*Προσκύνησις*," he says, "when used by the Greek Church in reference to saints or their pictures, is exactly equivalent to the now antiquated meaning of the word *worship—your worship—the right worshipful.* To assert that the Greek Church actually sanctions picture-worship, is, in fact, as absurd as it would be to accuse the Church of England of enjoining *wife-worship*, because every Anglican, when married, solemnly promises to *worship* his wife."[3] Mr. Masson should bear in mind that a living and percipient wife, is an object of respect and regard to a person, very different from an absent saint, or a lifeless picture. But not to press him hard on this point, I beg to remind him that the Greek Church has told us about the *kind of worship* which it holds should be given to pictures. The Synod of Constantinople, called by the Emperor Alexius in the eleventh century, on the occasion of the disturbances caused by Bishop Leo of Chalcedon, came to the following decisions:—"That the *images of Christ*, and of the *saints* were to be honoured only with a relative worship (*Σχετικῶς προσκυνοῦμεν, οὐ λατρευτικῶς τὰς εἰκόνας*), which was to be offered not to the substance or matter of which those images were composed, but to the *form* and *features* of which they bear the impression; that the representations of Christ and of the saints, whether

[1] Labbæi Concilia, tom. vii. col. 556. Edit. Lat. Paris, 1671. See also Jowett's Christian Researches in Syria and the Holy Land, p. 428.

[2] Masson's Apology for the Greek Church, p. 81.

[3] Ibid., p. 82.

in painting or sculpture, did in no sense *partake of the nature* of the divine Saviour, or of those holy men, though they were *enriched with a certain communication of divine grace;* and lastly, that invocation and worship were to be addressed to the saints only as the servants of Christ, and on account of their relation to him as their master." Rightly does Mosheim characterize these decisions "as absurd and superstitious." [1]

The voluminous liturgical works of the Greek Church, at present in use within its extensive boundaries, I have only partially examined. The following account of them from the pen of a gentleman long resident at Constantinople, I believe, from the inspection which I have made of them, to be correct.

"Dr. King judiciously remarks, that by liturgy, the office of the Eucharist only was described, nor has it at present a different meaning in the Greek Church, the four liturgies of which are those of St. James, St. Basil, St. Chrysostom, and those of the pre-sanctified mysteries.

"The first of these is asserted to be spurious by Smith, and therefore obsolete. The liturgies of St. Basil and St. Chrysostom are essentially the same; but the former being the longer, is used only on certain days, while the latter is considered as the ordinary communion service. That of the pre-sanctified is appropriated for Wednesdays and Fridays in Lent, or the great fast.

"The service of the Greek Church, like that of Rome at present, and that of all other Churches before the Reformation, is principally choral. Their canons and antiphonies are hymns, or portions of Scripture, set to music, first recited by the minister, and then chanted by the choir, but without musical instruments, which are not admitted in accompaniment. The ectinèa corresponds with our litany, but is never so called by the Greeks. They have several in every service. In consequence of a great variety of these and other forms, their books of offices are numerous and bulky.

"The Menæon contains the hymns and services for every festival, as it occurs in the calendar, and is divided into twelve volumes folio, each volume comprising the service of a month. The Octoechos, is so called from eight tones or voices, which are fixed to particular hymns, and

[1] Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. Cent. xi. chap. iii. 12.

which serve as a rule for singing the rest. It is divided into two volumes folio.

"The Synnaxar, or biographical history of the saints, comprehends four volumes folio, of which an appropriate portion is read on every saint's day. To these must be added the psalter and hours, the common service, the four gospels, the two triodes, the book of prayer, the ritual, and (which is very necessary in such a complex mass of liturgical forms) the regulation, wherein are contained directions how they are to be used.

"Of the Menologion it is sufficient to remark, that it nearly resembles idolatry; they admit pictures into their churches, not merely as ornamental, but as indispensable in the ceremonial of their religion. They are usually attached to the screen which secretes the chancel, and from thence receives the name of iconostas. In the arguments advanced by Greek theologists in defence of this preference of painting to sculpture, there appears to be little solidity. They consider themselves as secure under the authority of St. John Damascenus. In the emblematical and mystical properties attributed to clerical vestments, the Greek Church rivals the barbarism of the monkish ages."[1]

Of some of the liturgical works of the Greek Church here alluded to, a new edition was lately printed at the patriarchal press at Constantinople. From translations of portions of them contained in the Appendix to Dr. Wolff's Narrative of a Mission to Bokhárá, I give the following extracts:—

"Thou thyself, O Lord, receive, though from the mouth of us sinners, this Trisagium, and look upon us in thy goodness. Forgive us every transgression, voluntary and involuntary; sanctify our souls and bodies; and grant us in holiness to serve thee all the days of our life, by the intercession of the holy Mother of God, and of all the saints, who, from the beginning, have been pleasing to thee."[2]

"And we offer to thee this our reasonable service, in behalf of all those who have fallen asleep in the faith; for our forefathers, fathers, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, preachers, evangelists, martyrs, confessors, ascetics, and every spirit made perfect in faith."[3]

"According to the multitude of thy mercy receive us who draw nigh to thy holy altar, that we may be worthy to offer unto thee this reasonable and unbloody sacrifice, on behalf of our own sins and the ignorances of the people; receive it as a sweet smelling savour upon thy holy and

[1] Dallaway's Constantinople, pp. 375-377.

[2] From the Liturgy of Chrysostom.

[3] Ibid.

reasonable altar which is above the heavens, and send down and return upon us the grace of thy Holy Spirit."[1]

"And let none of us be guilty of these thy fearful and heavenly mysteries, nor let there be any among us weak in soul or body, from having shared in them unworthily; but grant that until our last breath, we may worthily receive our portion of thy holy elements, so that they may be our viaticum to eternal life."[2]

In the Decrees of the Synod of Jerusalem, the doctrine of transubstantiation is plainly taught. In the Greek liturgies its equivalent is certainly implied.

It will be seen from these brief but distinct references, that the Greek Church has departed far indeed from the simplicity and truth which are in Christ Jesus. It agrees with the Church of Rome in most matters of the greatest moment. It has the essential characteristic of Antichrist, inasmuch as it places the priest on earth, and the saints and angels in heaven, intermediate between the soul and the Saviour, and allows the merits of the Son of God to be dispensed by the minister, and purchased by the prayers, and penances, and services of the worshipper. Though it administers the initiatory rite of Christianity without many of the impious and absurd concomitant ceremonies which have been added to it by the Romish Church, it forms the same judgment of its spiritual efficacy. Though it administers the Eucharist in both kinds to the laity, it holds forth the doctrine of absolute transubstantiation, and renewed propitiation. Within its pale it cherishes, in its worship of saints, angels, and their representations, and sacred things, that very implied polytheism and idolatry for which Roman-

[1] From the Liturgy of St. Basil the Great.

[2] Wolff's Journal to Bokhara, vol. ii. pp. 280-282. Mr. Masson seems to have expected some improvement in this edition of the liturgy. "A new edition of the Liturgies," he says, "is now in course of publication, under the inspection of the Patriarch of Constantinople; and it is understood that various passages are to be expunged and others corrected, as repugnant to the doctrines and spirit of the Greek Church."—Masson's Apology, p. 20.

ism is so abhorrent to the Christian mind. Though it disclaims all works of supererogation, and does not profess to dispense indulgences, it makes the services of the living available for the dead. Its superiority to Rome, in any respect, principally arises from its inability or unwillingness to follow out its principles to their legitimate length. Practically, however, it is not so consolidated and fearful in its power as that tyrannical institution. It does not pretend to have an infallible earthly head. Though it makes the General Councils the interpreters of Christian doctrine, and disparages the Scriptures, both by adding to their contents and questioning their intelligibility, it does not always systematically oppose their circulation and perusal. Its symbolical books, though they have had a general, have not yet had a universal ratification; and, in Russia in particular, other compendiums of Christian doctrine, written generally in an evangelical strain, though by no means unexceptionable, have been composed and published with high recommendations. Of these the most remarkable is the Summary of Christian Divinity by Platon, late Metropolitan of Moscow, which has been translated from the Slavonian into English by Dr. Pinkerton,[1] and the doctrines of which, according to the testimony of that zealous agent of the Bible Society, in his valuable work on "Russia," published a few years ago,[2] and the no less interesting "Biblical Researches" in the same country,[3] of his former associate Dr. Henderson, are received by a large portion of the Russian clergy of all orders, including the instructors of candidates for the holy ministry. This work has also been translated into the Romaic.

[1] The Present State of the Greek Church in Russia, or a Summary of Christian Doctrine by Platon, late Metropolitan of Moscow. Translated from the Slavonian. With a preliminary Memoir on the Ecclesiastical Establishment in Russia; and an Appendix, containing an account of the origin and different sects of Russian Dissenters.

[2] London, 1833.

[3] London, 1826.

"As used in Greece," says Mr. Masson, "it is enriched with the valuable notes of Coray, who, about the end of last century, translated it into beautiful modern Greek."[1]

During my journey from India to this country, I had many opportunities, particularly in the Turkish empire, of observing the actual state of the Greek Church, on whose tenets and ritual I need not further enlarge.

Among the few adherents of that Church whom I met in Egypt, I found one family the head of which appeared to entertain views of divine truth essentially evangelical, and to take a warm interest in the advancement of the kingdom of the Redeemer upon earth. He lives on the shores of the Red Sea, from which he has never been absent. His vernacular tongue is Arabic; but he has a tolerable acquaintance with English, which he has turned to some account in the perusal of one or two of our best books on practical religion. Attention to the tenets and observances of different denominations of Christians, and the history of the Church, he said, has taught him charity. He possessed a copy of the Scriptures in Arabic, with the contents of which he appeared tolerably familiar; and he gratefully received from me a few of the Arabic publications of the Church Missionary press at Malta, and recommended his friends to make application for a supply, which they readily did. He took a great interest in the Arabic translation of the abridgment of Dr. Keith's admirable work on Prophecy, and of the General Assembly's Letter to the Jews. He intimated his readiness to send one of his young relatives to Bombay for education in our missionary seminary on my return to India.

In another part of this work, I have noticed our inter-

[1] Masson's Apology for the Greek Church, p. 6. With the inspection of a copy of this work, printed at Munich in 1834, I have been favoured by Mr. Masson. At p. 42, Coray lays down the Protestant and not the Tridentine Canon. The same Canon is referred to by Constantine Economus, in his Catechism of Orthodox Instruction, printed at Vienna in 1813, p. 15.

course with the inmates of St. Catharine's Monastery at Mount Sinai. Like all the other recluses of the Greek Church, the monks there belong to the order of St. Basil, the rules of which they rigidly observe. Their seclusion they do not seem to have improved for the cultivation of deep and rational devotion, for pursuits of study, or for evangelistic effort, in which,—if their perpetual vows through which they deprive themselves of their Christian liberty could be overlooked,—some apology might be found for their situation. Some of them confessed to us that, in the multiplicity of their public and authorized services, they could dispense altogether with private prayer, and the perusal of the Scriptures. It was painful indeed to witness the manner in which they conduct divine worship in the church of the convent. The lengthy Greek service they read and chanted with the greatest irreverence, and altogether unintelligible rapidity. Their ceremonious genuflexions, and prostrations, and invocations, before the pictures of the saints, and the figures of the cross, and the Saviour, and at the feet of their own superior, bore but too certain evidence of their practice of idolatry under the very shadow of that mountain from which God himself spake the words,—"Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the waters under the earth." Only one or two of them appeared to be able to converse in Arabic with the surrounding children of the desert, the religious instruction of whom, they confessed, they entirely neglected. Except in as far as they practise hospitality to travellers who visit the grand and terrific scenery and hallowed localities among which they dwell, they seem never to aim at usefulness among their fellow-creatures.

The Greek monks of the Holy Land, with whom we came into contact at Bethlehem, Jerusalem, Már Sábá, Nazareth,

and other places, we found to correspond very much in character, attainments, and occupation with those of Mount Sinai. The great Christian pilgrimage conducted under their direction at the time of Easter, which we witnessed as far as our feelings could permit us, appears to be calculated to produce anything but hallowed associations and holy impressions on the multitudes, from all parts of the Levant, who seek its blessings. A similar remark may be extended to the pilgrimage of the Latins, and other denominations of Christians. The Greeks, it must be remembered, however, are peculiarly culpable in the confusion and revelry which they generate, and imposture which they practise. It is under their auspices, that the miracle of the holy fire from heaven, as it is alleged to be, is annually exhibited to the people. We were so shocked by what we witnessed of the preparations for this lying wonder at the church of the Holy Sepulchre, that after having handed in our letters of introduction to the metropolitan, we found ourselves compelled to withdraw from the scene. The whole transaction, I was informed by those who had witnessed it, surpasses even the usual description of its presumption and impiety given by travellers and observers. Of these let the following, which is the latest which I have seen, be taken as a specimen.

"The miraculous Greek fire," says Mr. Calman,[1] "which takes place on the Saturday of the Greek Easter week, serves, in the hands of the Greek and Armenian priests, the same purpose that the keys of Peter do in the hands of his skilful successors, the Popes; it unlocks every coffer and purse of the pilgrims, and renders them at the disposal of the inventors and perpetrators of this lying wonder.

"To notice all that was passing within the church of the Holy Sepulchre during the space of more than twenty-four hours, would be next to impossible; because it was one continuation of shameless madness and rioting, which would have been a disgrace to Greenwich and Smith-

[1] A highly respectable Jewish convert residing at Jerusalem, and well known to many in this country.

field fairs. Only suppose for a moment, the mighty edifice crowded to excess with fanatic pilgrims of all the Eastern churches, who, instead of lifting pure hands to God, without wrath and quarrelling, are led by the petty jealousies about the precedency which they should maintain in the order of their processions, into tumults and fighting, which can only be quelled by the scourge and whip of the followers of the false prophet. Suppose further, these thousands of devotees running from one extreme to the other, from the extreme of savage irritation to that of savage enjoyment, of mutual revellings and feastings; like Israel of old, who, when they made the golden calf, were eating, and drinking, and rising up to play. Suppose troops of men, stripped half-naked to facilitate their actions, running, trotting, jumping, galloping to and fro, the breadth and length of the church; walking on their hands with their feet aloft in the air; mounting on one another's shoulders, some in a riding and some in a standing position, and by the slightest push are all sent to the ground in one confused heap, which made one fear for their safety. Suppose further, many of the pilgrims dressed in fur-caps, like the Polish Jews, whom they feigned to represent, and whom the mob met with all manner of contempt and insult, hurrying them through the church as criminals who had been just condemned, amid loud execrations and shouts of laughter, which indicated that Israel is still a derision amongst these heathens, by whom they are still counted as sheep for the slaughter.

"About two o'clock on Saturday afternoon, the preparations for the appearance of the miraculous fire commenced. The multitude, who had been heretofore in a state of frenzy and madness, became a little more quiet; but it proved a quiet that precedes a thunderstorm. Bishops and priests in their full canonicals, then issued forth from their respective quarters, with flags and banners, crucifixes and crosses, lighted candles and smoking censers, to join or rather to lead a procession, which moved thrice round the church, invoking every picture, altar, and relic, in their way, to aid them in obtaining the miraculous fire. The procession then returned to the place from whence it started, and two grey-headed bishops, the one of the Greek, the other of the Armenian Church, were hurled by the soldiers through the crowd, into the apartment which communicates with that of the Holy Sepulchre, where they locked themselves in; there the marvellous fire was to make its first appearance, and from thence issue through the small circular windows and the door, for the use of the multitude. The eyes of all men, women, and children, were now directed towards the Holy Sepulchre with an anxious suspense, awaiting the issue of their expectation.

"The mixed multitude, each in his or her own language, were pouring forth their clamorous prayers to the Virgin and the Saints, to intercede for them on behalf of the object for which they were assembled; and the same were tenfold increased by the fanatic gestures and the waving of the garments by the priests of the respective communions who were interested in the holy fire, and who were watching by the above mentioned door and circular windows, with torches in their hands, ready to receive the virgin flame of the heavenly fire, and convey it to their flocks. In about twenty minutes from the time the bishops locked themselves in the apartment of the Holy Sepulchre, the miraculous fire made its appearance through the door and the two small windows, as expected. The priests were the first who lighted their torches, and they set out on a gallop in the direction of their lay brethren; but some of these errandless and profitless messengers had the misfortune to be knocked down by the crowd, and had their firebrands wrested out of their hands; but some were more fortunate, and safely reached their destination, around whom the people flocked like bees, to have their candles lighted. Others, however, were not satisfied at having the holy fire second-hand, but rushed furiously towards the Holy Sepulchre, regardless of their own safety, and that of those who obstructed their way—though it has frequently happened that persons have been trampled to death on such occasions. Those who were in the galleries let down their candles by cords, and drew them up when they had succeeded in their purpose. In a few minutes thousands of flames were ascending, the smoke and the heat of which rendered the church like the bottomless pit. To satisfy themselves, as well as to convince the Latins, (who grudge so profitable as well as so effectual a piece of machinery being in the hands of the schismatical Greeks and Armenians, and one which augments the power of the priests and the revenue of the convents, and who therefore exclaim against the miraculous fire,) the pilgrims, women as well as men, shamefully expose their bare bosoms to the action of the flame of their lighted candles, to make their adversaries believe the miraculous fire differs from an ordinary one, in being perfectly harmless. The two bishops, who a little while before locked themselves in the apartment of the Holy Sepulchre, now sallied forth out of it. When the whole multitude had their candles lighted, the bishops were caught by the crowd, lifted upon their shoulders, and carried to their chapels amidst loud and triumphant acclamations. They soon, however, reappeared, at the head of a similar procession as the one before, as a pretended thank-offering to the Almighty for the miraculous fire vouchsafed, thus daring to make God a partaker in their lie. An express messenger was immediately

sent off to Bethlehem, the birthplace of Christ, to inform the brethren there, and to invite them also to offer up their tribute of thanks for the transcendant glory of the day. Thus closed the lying wonders of the holy week of Easter."[1]

This whole fraud, and these riotous Saturnalia,—I should rather say downright *Satanalia*,—approved as they are by the body of the Greek ecclesiastics at Jerusalem, ought to exclude those who have the control and management of them from Protestant approbation and ecclesiastical intercommunion. That the very highest of the Greek clergy at Jerusalem are answerable for the fraud is evident, not only from their tolerance of it, but from the direct statements which they give when interrogated on the subject. The Greek metropolitan was not ashamed even to *write* to Joseph Wolff as follows:—"The holy fire was known in the time of the Greek emperors; it was then seen in the holy sepulchre, and also in the time that the Crusaders were in possession of the place. Many of the Latin historians mention it. From the time of the invasion of the Turks till now, the holy fire is seen both by believers and unbelievers."[2]

In connexion with the Greek pilgrimage to Jerusalem, it may be mentioned, that the ecclesiastics at the Holy City are in the habit of furnishing the pilgrims with impious and delusive certificates of the pardon and absolution of their sins, on account of the alleged merit of the journey which they undertake.

I was glad to learn, during my journey through Syria, that the services of the Greek Church are there generally conducted through the medium of a language vernacular to the people of the country,—the Arabic.[3] The priests seldom, except on extraordinary occasions, *preach* to the people,

[1] Herschell's Visit to my Fatherland in 1843, pp. 173-180.

[2] Wolff's Journal.

[3] In Greece, on the coasts of Asia Minor, and in Turkey in Europe, the service is performed in ancient Greek. In Russia, the medium adapted for it is the Slavonic.

however, and hence the great ignorance of multitudes bearing the Christian name. The disuse of preaching is not confined to Syria; it is general throughout the whole bounds of the Greek Church.[1]

In this neglect of religious instruction through the most impressive mode of its communication, the distribution of copies of the Scriptures, and Christian publications, among the members of the Greek Church in the East who are able to peruse them, becomes a duty of even more than ordinary importance. It is a happy circumstance that *some* of the Greek ecclesiastics themselves are not indisposed to encourage the circulation of the word of eternal life. Procopius, the second in authority amongst them at Jerusalem, proved for a considerable time a warm friend and useful agent of the Bible Society. Isa Petrus, too, at that place, is well known to the readers of missionary journals as a friend of the same institution. Wherever I went in Syria, I found the laity of the Greek Church anxious to obtain copies of the Bible, and not unwilling to receive publications pregnant with the statements of evangelical truth. Having taken with me a large supply, I was able to make a pretty extensive distribution throughout the country, except at the places at which the missionaries usually labour. At the town of Ḥáṣbeiyá, near the farthest source of the Jordan, I

[1] Respecting Greece itself, this statement is made in the Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions for 1841:—"What the country needs above all things is, an educated, pious, priesthood, which shall preach the gospel in the churches from Sabbath to Sabbath. This necessity is beginning to be felt especially at Athens, where the demoralizing influences are greater than elsewhere. It is true, two or three preachers were appointed two or three years ago for the kingdom, and these have occasionally preached a sermon in different parts; but excepting these, and the regular preaching of Dr. King at Athens, probably not a sermon was preached in the Greek language during that period until the last spring. Then four young men, who had gone through the regular course of classical and theological study, were directed to preach in the churches in Athens."

was engaged for some hours in meeting the demands which were made upon my stores. The excitement which was the consequence, I have already noticed, as the effect of the occasional ministrations of the American missionaries at the place.[1] Some months after our visit, a considerable number of persons actually declared themselves Protestants, and were formed into a religious community by the Rev. Eli Smith, who hastened to visit them from Beirút. Connected with this transaction, my friend and fellow-traveller, the Rev. William Graham, thus wrote on the 17th of May 1844:—

"One hundred and fifty of the Greek Church have become Protestants. They wrote a petition to the British Consul in Damascus, praying to be taken under the protection of England, and vowing before God and man that, rather than return to the superstitions of their ancestors, they would suffer themselves to be chopped like tobacco. This protection the Consul could not give, as the Protestant religion is not recognized nor tolerated legally in the Turkish empire. The Greek Patriarch [of Antioch], who has his residence in Damascus, was furious, and threatened to force them to return to the Church. The Turkish authorities also took the alarm. They held their secret councils, and discussed what was to be done. Some did not think much of the matter; others were clear for compelling the people to return, and several saw in it the design of England to gain a party in the country, that she might have some plea for taking forcible possession of it. In this state of matters, the affair was by common agreement referred to Constantinople."

The English, Prussian, and, I believe, French authorities, much to their credit, recommended that these Christians should not be persecuted for their religious opinions; and the government of the Sulṭán granted them permission to return to Ḥáṣbeiyá, with the promise of protection, on condition that they should pay the usual taxes, and conduct themselves in a peaceable manner. The Greek priests were greatly incensed at this result; and they stirred up their adherents to the violent persecution of the evangelical party. "The Protestants of Ḥáṣbeiyá," wrote Mr. Graham in Janu-

[1] See above, p. 185.

ary 1845, "have been excommunicated by the Greek patriarch, or his priests, in the strictest form, and all intercourse with them interdicted. Their teacher has been stoned, and fifteen families driven from their houses. They are thrown for support on the American missionaries." A few of these poor people, since their return to Ḥáṣbeiyá, when it was again permitted, have continued stedfast in their profession of the truth, notwithstanding all the obloquy and suffering to which they have continued to be exposed. The notices of their trials on the one hand, and perseverance on the other, given by the American missionaries and their native agents, and published in the Missionary Herald, are both affecting and encouraging. The movement which has taken place among them is the most important, in a religious point of view, which has occurred in our day in Syria. Fervent should be our prayers and endeavours, that it may be overruled for the establishment of the liberties of Protestantism, on the same footing that those of the Greek, Latin, and other churches have been secured. The co-operation of these bigoted and persecuting churches is not to be expected in any attempt which may be made to effect this object. Our country, and the other European powers, however, have a perfect right, and a loud call, to interfere in the case, both on the grounds of humanity and religious affinity, and the engagements implied in their interference with the affairs of Syria in behalf of the Sulṭán.[1]

[1] "England having, in conjunction with other Christian powers, succeeded in restoring Syria to the Sultan, she is entitled to expect that the Sultan in return for such assistance, should secure his Christian subjects from oppression."—*Lord Palmerston to Chekib Effendi, June 15, 1841.* "On the 4th instant, I had an interview at Pera with the Internuncio and Monsieur de Titow, to concert the measures to be adopted with regard to Syria. Mr. Wood and Monsieur Laurin were present. It was agreed to advise the Porte. . . . . 3. To issue positive orders to all Ottoman functionaries in Syria, to abstain from offering any impediment whatever to the free exercise by Christians of the rites of their reli-

At Beirût I had the pleasure of seeing a few members of the Greek Church, united with others, in attendance upon the ministrations of the American missionaries.

At Smyrna, where the Greeks are a numerous, spirited, and influential people, I had the satisfaction of finding the cause of general education prospering in their schools and seminaries, which, in company with a gentleman of considerable literary attainments, I had an opportunity of visiting and examining. The attempt is there made, with encouraging success, to revive a knowledge of the ancient Greek literature, and to associate it with the study of modern philosophy. One of the professors of the Lyceum I found with a translation of Dugald Stewart's Philosophy of the Human Mind before him when he was instructing his class. When I asked if he had any candidates for the sacred ministry students of the Scotch metaphysics, he said, smiling, "This study is not for the *priests* of Smyrna." It was with extreme sorrow that I found the Scriptures, except in the form of most meagre extracts, banished from the Greek institutions there. Giving vent to this feeling, it was said to me by one of the teachers, "Why, we are afraid that as the style of the New Testament is not classical, it may defeat our attempts to revive the pure Hellenic Greek!" The Greeks at Smyrna have a press of their own, at which both a newspaper and magazine are printed; but in a set of its publications which I ordered and received, I do not find many bearing directly on the subject of religion. Some excellent works, however, have issued from the press of the American Mission. In modern Greek, Armenian, and Armeno-Turkish, works to the extent of 50,000,000 pages have been there printed up to 1845.

gion."—*British Ambassador at Constantinople to Lord Palmerston, June* 8, 1841. It would be strange indeed if England were to seek protection for all classes of Christians in Syria *except Protestants.*

The Greeks at Constantinople, as far as I could learn, though advancing in general and social improvement, are not yet becoming alive to the supreme importance of regulating their faith by a personal acquaintance with the word of truth. Religion with them, as with the Smyrniotes, occupies but a small share in their system of education. The Bible, in modern Greek, however, has been circulated among them to some extent, through the agency of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and the American Mission. The translation used was made by Hilarion, the ex-bishop of Bulgaria, who is described as the "most learned and most indefatigable of the Greek hierarchy,"[1] and, I believe, that, as a literary work, it has received the highest recommendations. Little, if any thing, is being done toward the enlightenment of the members of the Greek Church in the different provinces of Turkey, or indeed of any other country of Europe. On both sides of the Danube, there are large and interesting districts which have powerful claims on evangelical benevolence.

Since my return to Europe, I have seen the original of the episcopal and patriarchal anathemas issued against Dr. King of the American Mission. They show that the Greek Church is ready to defend, at all hazards, some of the greatest errors, which a regard to the interests of truth has painfully forced me, in this article, to lay to its charge.

As the result of all my observation and inquiry respecting the Greek Church, I would say, that at present it seems a very difficult matter to impregnate it with evangelical truth and influence; and that its circumstances are much less encouraging than those of the other Oriental Churches. So little has been done, and is now doing for it, however, compared with its magnitude, that we have little reason to restrict ourselves in our exertions in its behalf, either by its

[1] Macfarlane's Constantinople, p. 400.

apathy or its opposition. The Protestant Church should not overlook that access to it which at present it has in the Turkish empire, for it is very questionable whether, if political power were in the hands of the Greek Church itself, it would tolerate decided efforts for reviving throughout its bounds the purity and power of Primitive Christianity.

2. THE ARMENIAN CHURCH.

The Armenian Church is next in importance to the Greek Church in the East. It derives its name from the country of Armenia, of which Mount Ararat may be reckoned the centre. The greater Armenia comprehends the country lying west of the Caspian Sea, south of the Caucasian range, north of a line drawn from the north-east corner of the Mediterranean to the north-west corner of the Caspian, and east of Asia Minor. The lesser Armenia comprehends the eastern part of Asia Minor. The members of the Armenian Church, intermingled throughout with the followers of the false prophet, inhabit the whole extent of this country, except the portions of Georgia in which the members of the Greek Church abound, and the hilly districts around Uramiah, inhabited by the Nestorians and Kurds. They are scattered, also, over the whole of Asia Minor; and they are numerous at Constantinople. In Syria they number several thousands, and in Egypt, a few hundred souls. In Persia a good many of the descendants of 80,000 families, carried captive by Sháh Abbás, still reside. Some of them are found in the countries east of Persia as far as Kábul, and in India, particularly at Bombay and Calcutta. A few of them as merchants have proceeded eastward as far as Batavia. Individual families are established at Venice, Trieste, Vienna, and other towns of Europe, particularly towards the East. Mr. Lucas Balthazar, the intelligent editor of an Armenian newspaper, entitled

"The Dawn of Ararat," stated to me that he calculates them at five millions, of whom he supposes two millions to be in the Russian provinces of Eriván, Karabágh, and Tiflis, recently conquered from Persia; two millions in the Turkish dominions; and one million in Persia, and India, and other remote countries. I find by reference to the statistics of Russia, that he has over-estimated the Armenian subjects of that empire by at least one-half. Turkey may have a million of Armenians under its sway, and Persia and other distant lands half a million. Altogether, then, we may have about two millions and a half of Armenians in the different countries of their dispersion. In the valuable Researches of Smith and Dwight in Armenia, they are estimated at two millions.

Armenia is connected with the ancient history of Assyria, Media, and Persia, and particularly with the dynasties of Arsaces and Sásán. The notices which can be collected of the early conveyance of the Gospel to its different regions and the surrounding territories are remarkably interesting, as they make us acquainted with the first triumphs of Christianity over the religion of Zoroaster, who is said by some to have been born within its borders—as they certify to us that Armenia was the first country converted as such to our holy faith—and as they make us acquainted with the stedfastness of the early professors of the truth, tried by seasons of fierce and long-continued persecution. The greatest instrument of its early evangelization was Gregory the Enlightener, the son of Anax, a Parthian prince. He was instructed in the doctrines of Christianity at Cæsarea in Cappadocia, and ordained a bishop by Leontius of that city, who signed the decrees of the Council of Nice. He was one of the most distinguished men of the eastern world. Tiridates the Great, and a large portion of the Armenian people, received baptism at his hands so early as the year 302 of

our era. He was devoted, heart and soul, to his work,—which he advanced by most enlightened educational measures, as well as by the public proclamation of the Gospel.[1]

It is supposed that the monophysite doctrines were propagated in Armenia by Samuel, the disciple of Barsumas, who, about A.D. 460, introduced the doctrines of Eutyches into Syria. A synod of ten bishops, assembled at Thevin in the year 536 by Nerses the patriarch of Ardaghar, condemned the decision of the Council of Chalcedon, recognising the two natures of Christ; and from this time may be dated the separation of the Armenian from the Greek Church.[2] In the proceedings of the Jerusalem Synod of the Greek Church, the Armenians, as well as the other independent Eastern Churches, are represented as agreeing with that Church, except in so far as their own "special heresy" is concerned. The statement made respecting this matter is substantially correct.

The heads of the Armenian Church, recognised from ancient times, are the patriarchs of Echmiádzin and Ardaghar in the Greater, and of Sis in Cilicia, in the Lesser, Armenia. Each of these dignitaries, and particularly the chief of the See first mentioned, receives the additional title of Catholicos.

[1] See History of Vartan, and the battle of the Armenians by Elisæus, translated by Prof. Neumann, and Avdall's History of Armenia. The notices of the early propagation and persecutions of Christianity in Armenia and the adjoining territories, I have endeavoured to collect in a sermon, entitled "The Doctrine of Jehovah addressed to the Pársís."

Dr. Prichard, on the authority of Neumann, (Versuch einer Geschichte der Armenischen Literatur, Leipzig, 1836,) says rightly, "The Armenians are recognised as an Indo-European nation. Their idiom is allied to the most ancient dialects of the Arian race; and their early traditions connect them with the history of the Medes and Persians. They are a branch of the same stock with the people of Iran, though separated at an early period, and forming a peculiar people."—Prichard's Natural History of Man, p. 178.

[2] Conciliationis Ecclesiæ Armenæ cum Romana ex ipsis Armenorum Patrum et Doctorum Testimoniis, auctore Clemente Galano. Romæ, 1690. Vol. i. p. 86 et seq. Fabricii Lux Evangelii, p. 644.

To them are to be added the titular patriarch of Constantinople, recognised by the Turkish Government as the head of its Armenian subjects, and the titular patriarch of Jerusalem. Below them are the bishops of towns and districts,—who like themselves must be selected from the monkish orders,—who, as in the Romish and Greek Churches, are denominated the regular clergy, and supposed to be possessed of peculiar sanctity; the secular or parish clergy; and the four minor orders of porters, readers, exorcists, and candle-holders. The monkish clergy are denominated Vartabads or Doctors, and it is their peculiar office to teach and preach,—duties, however, seldom discharged by them, even when they are elevated to the grade of bishop. No lay-monks are recognised. The parochial clergy, who are the most numerous, must all be married, and have at least one child before they are appointed to office; and, what is well worthy of notice, they are chosen for ordination by the members of their respective congregations. The most objectionable arrangements connected with the Armenian ministry, consist in their maintenance of confession, both formal and extemporaneous, and subsequent absolution.[1] They do not pretend to dispense indulgences, but they foster the principles of self-righteousness, by prescribing meritorious "satisfactions," by fastings, prayers, almsgivings, pilgrimages, and masses.

Of the views of the Armenians respecting the nature and person of Christ, which formed the occasion of their separation from the Greek Church, the following extracts from a letter of the Rev. Eli Smith, present us with a statement quite in accordance with the result of my own inquiries.

[1] It would appear that the form of absolution in the Armenian Church has been changed from "God remits thy sins," to "I absolve thee from thy sins." "Vera forma Sacramenti Pœnitentiæ seu Exomologesis, non est absolutio illa (ab Armenis olim Presbyteris usurpata, et a Vartano propugnata): *Deus remittit peccata tua*: sed hæc alia (qua nunc communiter ipsi utuntur); *Ego absolvo te a peccatis.*"—Galan. Concil. Eccles. Armen. cum Rom. tom. iii. p. 617.

"One of the Vartabéds here [Uchkeliseh], ... introduced, of his own accord, the monophysitism of his Church, by declaring that it receives only the first three of the General Councils. Nestorius, he said, held to a perfect separation of the divinity and humanity of Christ, and Eutyches taught that his humanity is absorbed in his divinity. The Armenians, agreeing with neither, believe that the two natures are united in one, and anathematize all who hold to a different creed. In this he spoke advisedly, for it is well known that Eutyches is acknowledged by neither of the three monophysite sects,—the Armenian, the Jacobite Syrian, and the Coptic, including the Abyssinian, to which his controversy gave birth,—and that his alleged dogma of a confusion in the natures of Christ is the reason of his rejection, though, perhaps, a candid investigation will hardly find him chargeable with such an opinion.[1] Another intelligent ecclesiastic had told us, that not only does his nation hold to one nature, but also to only one will, in Christ,—thus making the Armenians partake in the monothelite as well as in the monophysite heresy."[2]

The same priest, after declaring that Christ is perfect God and perfect man, and being asked, also, if the Divine nature was so united to the human as to suffer with it on the cross, replied that it is impossible for the Divinity to suffer; but in expressing this opinion, he seemed to contradict the formularies of his Church in which the prayer occurs, 'Holy God, and holy strong, and holy immortal, *who was crucified for us*, have mercy upon us;' and with its belief that the Divinity of Christ cleaved to his body even in the grave, so as to render it incorruptible. Like the Greeks, the Armenians hold that the Spirit proceeds from the Father only. Practically, however, they dwell so little on their peculiar opinions respecting the Trinity, that Mr. Smith finds himself warranted to say, that "missionaries may convert the whole nation to 'the truth as it is in Jesus,' without feeling themselves once called upon to agitate the questions which, in the times of the first Councils, rent the Church asunder."[3]

[1] Assem. Bib. Orient. vol. 2, intro. dissert. Mosheim Eccles. Hist. vol. i. p. 419-421. Compare Assem. Bib. Orient. tom. iii. p. 607.

[2] Smith and Dwight's Researches,

[3] Smith and Dwight's Researches,

The following extract of replies given by an Armenian bishop at Basrah to Dr. Wolff, throws light on their ecclesiastical position and tenets. "What relations have the Armenians to the Coptic and Syrian Churches? *Ans.* The Armenians have the same faith and tenets as they have. *Q.* What persons are by them considered as heretics? *Ans.* Macedonius, Nestorius, Arius, and Pope Leo. *Q.* On what authority does the Armenian belief rest? *Ans.* The Bible and the three first Councils—1. Nicea; 2. Constantinople; 3. Ephesus. Every other Council is anathematized by the Armenian Church."

The views of the Sacraments entertained by the Armenian Church are much akin to those of the Greek Church. It holds that they are seven in number,—baptism, confirmation, extreme unction, the communion, marriage, ordination, and penance. The four first of these are administered together, generally when the child is only eight days old.

Baptism should be administered by a threefold effusion of water by the hand of the priest, followed by a threefold immersion, emblematic of the Saviour's three days' abode in the grave. "We were assured by more than one intelligent ecclesiastic," says Mr. Smith, "that it is by pouring upon the head of the child sitting in the font, a handful of water in the name of the Father, another in the name of the Son,

ut sup. Connected with the matters here adverted to, the following accurate statement by Cotovicus, (Κοτωρκ) is worthy of notice. "In Christo in primis (uti et Jacobitæ) unam tantum naturam, unam voluntatem, unamque operationem constituunt; aiuntque Humanitatem abysso Divinitatis esse infusam, atque ita ex Divinitate et carne unum quid factum. Asserunt etiam corpus Christi subtile, et agile fuisse, non corruptibile, neque accidentibus subjectum. Credunt quidem Virginem Mariam Deum peperisse; negant tamen eum carnem ex ea sumpsisse; sed cœleste corpus et spirituale e cœlis secum attulisse, atque subtilitate sua et agilitate Virginis viscera penetrasse, corpusque ejus tanquam per canalem pertransisse, atque ita demum statuto a natura tempore editum fuisse: Hinc vero incorruptam eam tam antequam post partum mansisse volunt."—Itin. Hierosol. p. 207.

and a third in the name of the Holy Ghost, and then plunging the whole body three times, to signify that Christ was in the grave three days. That entire immersion, and the triple repetition, are not considered essential, however, is proved by the fact, that the baptism of even heretical sects, who only sprinkle once, is considered valid, and persons thus baptized are not required, as among the Greeks, to submit to the ordinance again, on entering the Armenian Church."[1] Three drops of the holy oil are put into the water of baptism before its use, as observed by an Armenian bishop to Dr. Wolff.[2] Baptism the Armenians view as destructive of original sin, and productive both of regeneration and adoption, and communicative of forgiveness. They pray for the literal descent of the Holy Spirit into the holy oil, which they mix with the water, and into the water itself, so that it may receive what they, in common with the Greek Church, call "the benediction of the Jordan." In the act of baptism, they commemorate "the mother of God and eternal Virgin Mary, St. John the Baptist, and all the saints, along with the Lord." Their baptismal service, which is given at length by Joseph Aloysius Assemanus, bears painful testimony to the degeneracy of their faith.[3] As we observed, in the chapel of the nativity at Bethlehem, they administer the communion in a ceremonious and pompous manner, with the priests arrayed in gorgeous robes, the waving of incense-pots, washing of hands, bowings, prostrations, and salutations. They believe in the doctrine of transubstantiation; and they worship the consecrated elements as the real body and blood of Christ. The efficacy which they attach to the

[1] Smith and Dwight's Researches, p. 305. A small colony of Armenians at Kábul applied to the chaplains attached to the British troops for the administration of the ordinance to their children.

[2] Wolff's Missionary Journal, vol. ii. p. 347.

[3] *Codex Liturg. Eccles. Univers. Lib.* sec. p. 194, et seq.

mass, may be learned from the following extract from one of their prayers:—

"May this be for justification, propitiation, and remission of sins, to all of us who draw near. Through it grant love, stability, and desired peace to the whole world; to the Holy Church, and all orthodox bishops, priests, and deacons; to kings, the world, princes, and people; to travellers and seamen; to those who are bound, in danger, and in trouble; and to those who are fighting with barbarians. Through it also grant to the air mildness, to the fields fertility, and to them who are afflicted with diverse diseases, speedy relief. Through it give rest to all who are already asleep in Christ, first parents, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, bishops, elders, deacons, and all the members of the Holy Church. With them also visit us, we pray thee, O thou beneficent God."[1]

The Armenians communicate by having a piece of the bread dipped in the wine.

Confirmation is always administered by the Armenians at the time of baptism. It is generally denominated by them *Meirún*, from the sacred oil which is used on the occasion of its administration.[2] This oil is applied to the forehead, eyes, ears, nose, mouth, hands, heart, back, and feet, by the parish priest and not by the bishop.[3] Extreme unction, as already hinted, should also be administered at the time of baptism, on account of the uncertainty of life.

Marriage may take place among the Armenians, according to their ecclesiastical rules, when the girl is ten and the boy fourteen years of age; but betrothments are frequently effected when the parties are of a much more tender age. The seclusion of females is to a great extent practised among them in their fatherland; but in foreign countries they catch

[1] Armenian missal, called Khorhurtadedr, quoted in Smith and Dwight's Researches, p. 288.

[2] "Meirun is the holy oil which is used at confirmation, ordination, and various other ceremonies, and is one of the principal superstitions of the Armenians. Its sanctity is commonly believed to be miraculously attested by its being made to boil by the mere ceremony of consecration." —Smith and Dwight's Researches, p. 299.

[3] Smith and Dwight, p. 306.

the spirit of an advanced civilization, and restore woman to that position in society which she is fitted and designed to occupy by Him who gave her as a help-meet to man.

The ordination of priests is conducted by the bishops, and of the bishops by the catholicos. The Armenians speak, however, of only two distinctive orders of the clergy properly so called, those of the priest and deacon.[1] Their principal prerequisities to ordination are the ability to read, and an assent to the orthodox creed.[2] Should there be a revival of literature among them, we may yet receive from them interesting details connected with the history of the Christian Church in the eastern parts of the world. In the convent at Echmiádzin, they have a large library, principally of ancient manuscripts.

The Armenian ritual appoints nine distinct seasons for daily worship, and contains the services for them. They are the following:—

"*Midnight*, the hour of Christ's resurrection; the *dawn of day*, when he appeared to the two Marys at the sepulchre; *sunrise*, when he appeared to his disciples; *three o'clock* (reckoning from sunrise), when he was nailed to the cross; *six o'clock*, when the darkness over all the earth commenced; *nine o'clock*, when he gave up the ghost; *evening*, when he was taken from the cross and buried; *after the latter*, when he descended to hades to deliver the spirits in prison; and *on going to bed*. But never, except perhaps in the case of some ascetics, are religious services performed so often. All but the ninth are usually said at twice, viz. at matins and vespers, which are performed daily in every place that has a priest; the former commencing at the dawn of day, and embracing the first six services, and the latter commencing about an hour before sunset, and embracing the seventh and eighth. On the Sabbath, and on some of the principal holidays, instead of one, there are frequently two assemblies in the morning."[3]

Mass is as distinct from these services as the communion

[1] Smith and Dwight's Researches, pp. 234, 330.

[2] For a curious conversation with an Armenian bishop on the Ordination of Priests, see Wolff's Journal, vol. ii. p. 356.

[3] Smith and Dwight's Researches, p. 195.

service in the Church of England from morning prayer. It is generally performed daily. The Psalms of David, hymns, and anthems, occupy half of the services; but, being in prose, they are not sung but chanted. Most of the lessons are taken from the Bible; but a considerable number belong to the Apocrypha, and books of extravagant legends. The prayers are offered up in behalf of the dead, as well as the living, and are presented with the invocation of the Virgin Mary, John the Baptist, Sarp Stephen, and Sarp Gregorius Lusavorich, (St. Gregory the Enlightener,) and other saints, as well as of Him who is the only mediator between God and man. The prayers and readings are in the ancient Armenian language, which is little understood by the common people; and they are generally read both rapidly and indistinctly.

"In the enclosure before the altar," says one who has more frequently witnessed their devotions than myself, "will be two or three priests surrounded by a crowd of boys from eight to twelve years old, *performing* prayers; some swinging a smoking censer, others, taper in hand, reading first from one book and then from another, and all changing places and positions according to rule. The monotonous, inarticulate sing-song of the youthful officiators, with voices often discordant, and stretched to their highest pitch, will grate upon your ear. . . . . You will be surrounded by a barefooted congregation, [this is no matter of reproach, for the shoes are taken off for the same reason that our own hats are,] . . . . uttering responses without order, and frequently prostrating themselves and kissing the ground, with a sign of the cross at every fall and rise. . . . . Why so large a part of the service has been suffered to pass into the hands of boys is exceedingly strange. They fill the four ecclesiastical grades below the sub-deacon, to which are attached the duties of clerks, or more commonly are substitutes for their occupants, having themselves no rank at all in the Church. Of the first 158 pages of the Jamakirk, containing the whole of the midnight service, with all its variations for feasts and other special occasions, more than 130, consisting of psalms, hymns, &c. are read or chanted by them under the direction of the priests. . . . Of the remaining pages, some half a dozen belong to the deacons, if there are any, and the remainder, consisting simply of prayers and lessons from the gospels, are

read by the priests. All the service, with few other exceptions than the lessons, and that the priest in the middle of every prayer of any length turns round to wave a cross before the people, and say, 'Peace be to all, let us worship God,' is performed with the back to the congregation. . . . If a boy makes a mistake he is reproved, or even chastised, on the spot, though a prayer be interrupted for the purpose. The people, too, are constantly coming and going, or moving about, and often engaged in conversation."[1]

The Sabbath the Armenians regard with greater strictness than most of the other Eastern Christians. It would doubtless tend to its better sanctification, were they to curtail their numerous feasts and fasts. They too often substitute, however, their attendance at church for family and private prayer.

To the worship of saints and angels by the Armenians we have already alluded. The material cross on which the Saviour died, they view as a real, though silent, intercessor. In imitation of it, they make artificial crosses for consecration by water, wine, and the holy oil; and to these crosses they direct their adorations, believing that Christ becomes inseparably united to them. They worship the pictures of Christ, setting forth that the Redeemer himself is inherent in them; and give inferior honour and reverence to the images of the saints and angels. The Armenian bishop of Cairo, when showing us his church, seemed to be ashamed of their practice in these respects. "We have here," he said, "only a few pictures, and these for purposes of commemoration. But the fewer the better."

I have alluded to the standard of literary attainment among the Armenian clergy. The state of education among the people of Armenia proper, is in general exceedingly low, the schools being few in number, and limited in the instruction which they communicate. Among some of the exterior parts in which Armenians are to be found, as we shall im-

[1] Smith and Dwight, pp. 140-141.

mediately see, education is advancing in an encouraging manner. There are Armenian printing presses at Echmiádzin, Constantinople, Smyrna, Moscow, Astrakhan, and Tiflis. Many important works in the language, which obtain an extensive circulation, are published at the Catholic convent of St. Lazarus near Venice; but it becomes the Armenians to be on their guard against their being ensnared by them to the embracement of the tenets and practices of Rome.

Without enlarging these details, it will be seen that the Armenian Church has departed far indeed, in many respects, from the doctrine and discipline of Christ. It delights my heart, however, to say, that its ministers and people are not so hopelessly involved in error as at first sight appears. They are not overborne by human authority, either that of their present ecclesiastics, or of the ancient fathers and councils of the Church; and much as they defer to tradition, they allow that, in matters of faith and practice, the ultimate appeal must be made to the Holy Scriptures. Their ecclesiastical services are tolerated by some more from ignorance than approval. There is a pretty general persuasion amongst the more intelligent members of their community, that the primitive days of Christianity were distinguished for greater simplicity in the forms of worship and church government than the present. They are not unmindful of the stedfastness of their forefathers under the direful persecution of the Zoroastrians; and they are not ignorant of the fact, that love to the Saviour was the grand instrument of their support under the tribulation which they were called to endure. They cordially hate Popery, from the insidious inroads which it has made into their own body; and they are better pleased with their disagreement than their accordance with Rome.[1]

[1] Galanus, the Roman missionary, gives the following summary of the "errors of the Armenians" in the time of Bartholomæus, also an emissary of Rome, who died in the year 1333. "1. They assert that there is

Scattered though they be over a surface of country immensely large, they cherish no small share of commendable fraternal and patriotic feeling. They are, compared with others in the East, to some extent free from bigotry. If they have not yet received the doctrines of the Reformation, it can scarcely be said that they have rejected them, like the Roman and Greek Churches; for it is only lately that the attempt has been made to press them on their acceptance. Some of the prayers which are most popular in their body, are wellnigh evangelical throughout.[1] Many of them, in the different

only one nature in Christ, according to the heresy of Dioscorus. 2. That the Holy Spirit proceeds not from the Son, according to the error of the Greeks. 3. That the souls of the saints do not enter the kingdom of heaven, and of sinners into hell, before the final judgment; but that they all wait that judgment in the middle of the firmament, 4. That there is no place of purgatory, or of hell. 5. That the Romish Church has not obtained the primacy over other Churches. 6. They detest Pope Leo, and the Council of Chalcedon. 7. They do not observe the Dominical festivals, according to the order observed by the Romish Church, especially the nativity of our Lord. 8. They do not observe the fasts according to the ecclesiastical canons. 9. They have not all the seven sacraments of the Church, omitting confirmation and extreme unction, and being ignorant of the essence of the other sacraments. 10. They do not pour water into the cup, when they celebrate the divine sacrifice of the mass. 11. They assert that the Eucharist is not to be dispensed to the people, unless under both kinds; and therefore they distribute the body of Christ first tinged with his sacred blood in the cup. 12. They celebrate it in cups made of wood or clay. 13. Any priest may absolve the penitent from any sin, without any reservation, even without any case of necessity. 14. They are subject to two patriarchs, each of whom claims the patriarchy of the whole of Armenia to himself. 15. The parochials and bishops are constituted by hereditary right, through the violence of their kindred. 16. They buy and sell the sacraments of the Church for a price. 17. They make a divorce without a cause between man and wife for the sake of money, contrary to the command of the gospels and the sacred canons. 18. They do not concoct (conficiunt) the oil of chrism, and of the sick. 19. They give the holy communion to children before the use of reason."—Concil. Eccles. Armen. cum Rom., vol. i. p. 515. Some of these charges against the Armenians are without foundation; and for some of the grounds of their differing from Rome they have a scriptural warrant.

[1] See a prayer by Petrus, Wartabed of Tiflis, in Dr. Wolff's Journal, vol. ii. p. 357; also in Lectures on Foreign Churches, vol. i. p. 97.

A prayer of Nerses Clajensis of the twelfth century is a great favourite with the Armenians. An edition of

countries of their dispersion, exercise a great influence over the Muhammadans, and Jews, and heathen, among whom they dwell, and exercise their calling as merchants, bankers, shopkeepers, and agents; and the revival of evangelical religion among them would have a powerful influence in the conversion of the Eastern nations to the faith of Jesus. This opinion is quite in accordance with that of the great Fabricius,[1] and of every friend of the propagation of our holy faith who has particularly considered their circumstances. "Next to the Jews," says Dr. Claudius Buchanan, "the Armenians will form the most generally useful body of Christian missionaries. They are to be found in every principal city of Asia; they are the general merchants of the East, and are in a state of constant motion from Canton to Constantinople. Their general character is that of wealthy, industrious, and enterprising people."[2] The Rev. Henry Martyn, Dr. Wolff,

it was some time ago printed at the monastery of St. Lazarus at Venice in twenty-four languages, embracing even the Chinese. It contains many supplications, strictly evangelical, addressed to the Father and Son, and presented in the name of the Saviour, whose *sole mediatorship*, however, it does not recognise, as it contains a direct reference in the conclusion to "the intercession of the holy mother of God, and John the Baptist, and the first martyr St. Stephen, and St. Gregory our illuminator, and the holy Apostles, Doctors, Martyrs, Patriarchs, Hermits, Virgins, and all thy saints in heaven and earth."

[1] "Armenii longe lateque per Asiam commerciorum causa commeant, qui possent Religionis Christianæ propagationem promovere egregie, si illius successus æque quam ex mercatura lucrum cordi illis esset."—Lux Evangelii, p. 651. (1781.) Before this time we find the traveller Cotovicus, thus writing of the Armenians:—"Armenii per omnem fere Orientem latissime sparsi, Syriæ, utriusque Armeniæ, Mesopotamiæ, Persidis, Caramaniæ, necnon Ægypti urbes passim inhabitant. Homines sunt acerrimo ingenio præditi, mercaturæ in primis dediti, atque omnium artium mechanicarum peritissimi, cæterisque in rebus vel maxime industrii, erga exteros supra modum humani, et benigni; sed et Mahommeteis omnibus grati, acceptiores saltem cæteris Orientis Christicolis: quamobrem plurimis apud barbaros gaudent immunitatibus, et privilegiis. Græcis vero in primis infensi, maximo jamdudum inter utramque gentem vigente odio, Latinis autem studiosiores, quod hos pariter a Græcis odio haberi noverint."—Itiner. Hieros. p. 206. Antwerp. 1619.

[2] Christian Researches, p. 242.

and other missionary travellers, have spoken strongly of the great hopefulness of their circumstances, compared with those of some of the other Eastern Churches.

Though little has hitherto been done for the revival of evangelical religion among the Armenians, they have not altogether been neglected. Nor has their own agency been overlooked in the great work of the enlightenment of the eastern world. The friends of Bible and Missionary Societies are familiar with the name of Mr. Johannes Lassar, a member of their community, and a native of China, under whose guidance Dr. Marshman engaged in the study of the Chinese, and with whose assistance he rendered the Scriptures into that difficult language. Mr. Arratun, a man of piety and devotedness, is a most useful agent of the Baptist Mission at Calcutta. Mr. Johannes Avdall, of the same place, is distinguished for his learning, and zealous for the diffusion of knowledge throughout his nation. He is acquainted with many eastern languages, and the whole range of Armenian authorship. He is the author of a translation into English of Father Chamich's History of Armenia, and of several minor pieces. Mesrop of Júlfah, when in India, translated Bishop Heber's Palestine into his native tongue. The late Mr. Aganur found a place among the literati of Bombay, and his two sons occupy a most respectable position in that city. To one of them, Mr. Aviett, who has taken a great interest in my discussions with the Párśis, I have been indebted for a translation of that part of the work of Esnik, an Armenian writer of the fifth century, which refers to the tenets of the ancient Zoroastrians.[1] During my own residence in Bombay, five Armenians, who had been attending for some time the ministrations of the Scottish mission there, were brought under serious impressions; and, deeply alive to the errors of the Armenian

[1] Appendix to "The Párśi Religion, as contained in the Zandavastá," etc.

Church, and afraid lest continuing with it they should participate in its sins, they voluntarily asked from us, and received, admission into the Presbyterian Church, being desirous, as they said, to avail themselves of its services, at least till an effectual reform should appear among their countrymen. Several Armenian youths have been educated in our Institution; and one of them, a young man of promising piety, returned to Júlfah, near Isfáhán, his native place, on my leaving India.

The first Protestant Mission which seriously directed its attention to the spiritual amelioration of the Armenians, was that of the Basle Evangelical Society, established in the Russian province of Georgia in the year 1824. The missionaries, though, in the first instance, they had principally in view the conversion of the Muhammadans, did much for the Armenians,—by founding schools among them; by translating the New Testament into their vernacular language, and publishing an edition of it, consisting of 1000 copies; by the circulation of several thousand tracts and school books; and by conversation and preaching as they could find opportunity. Of their proceedings, an interesting, affecting, and instructive retrospect was kindly drawn up at my request by my excellent friend the Rev. Mr. Pfander,—one of their number now in India,—an extract from which may be here given:—

"The population of these provinces consists of Muhammadans and Armenians; the Muhammadans, who speak a dialect of the Turkish language, form about *two-thirds*, and the Armenians *one-third*, of the whole population. . . . . As soon as the Missionaries got acquainted with the moral state of the Armenians, and found them, in the towns as well as in villages, sunk deeply into such a state of ignorance, that they had lost sight altogether of the grand and practical doctrines of the Gospel, and believed Christianity to consist merely in a few external rites, as fasting, making the cross, praying to the saints, and giving homage to their pictures, &c., they could no longer resist the impression, that it

was their duty to attempt an amelioration of their deplorable state, by providing them with the means of getting better acquainted with the glorious and saving doctrines of the Gospel, as well as with their practical bearings. In this view, they were confirmed by the Armenians themselves, many of whom, including several of the clergy, entreated them not to overlook them altogether, but as Christian brethren to sympathize with their low religious state, and great lack of Christian knowledge, into which they had sunk by the oppression they suffered for several centuries from the Muhammadans, their former masters. . . . .

"Though the prejudice was at first very great against books in the vulgar tongue, yet it was soon overcome, and the people felt happily surprised to find that they could understand what they read. . . . . The New Testament was eagerly sought for, and bought in most instances, and the tracts were, where bigotted and ignorant priests did not oppose, gladly received. Besides this, a number of schools in several towns and villages were established, and some young Armenians educated for schoolmasters.

"The intercourse they had with them, when travelling among the Muhammadans preaching the Gospel, has been in several instances the means of bringing their Armenian brethren to Christ. . . . . Others became interested about the truth by reading the tracts and the New Testament printed and distributed by the Missionaries, or by the instruction they had received in their schools. In short, the attention of a great body of the Armenians of Georgia has been by these means turned to the Gospel; a concern about religion and a spirit of inquiry, quite unknown before, has been raised up, and religion has become again a subject of common conversation—whereas in former times religious conversation was believed to belong only to the learned and priests. Many begin now to see that their Church, as well as they themselves, in their life and practice, have gone far astray from the Gospel. In one town of Georgia, called Schamochy or Shamachy, a body of from twenty to fifty Armenians, have for several years met together on the Lord's-day for reading the Gospel and prayer. . . . .

"It was never the object of the Missionaries to create dissensions and separations in the Armenian Church, nor to bring her members over to the Lutheran, but merely to bring, through the blessing from on high, a new life into the dead body of the Armenian Church, and consequently they actually dissuaded the converted Armenians from leaving their Church, telling them, that according to their opinion, they should remain in her, as long as they were not expelled. . . . . Yet the Patriarch, joined by the members of the Synod, which is the highest ecclesiastical

body in the Armenian Church, continued to use all possible means to set the minds of those persons of influence against the Missionaries, and to create suspicions of the sincerity of their object, and the usefulness of their labours. For some time their endeavours were in vain, as the Minister of the Interior at Petersburgh, under whose protection and inspection the Missionaries stood, felt convinced of their sincerity, and was in favour of their labours; but when the Armenian clergy found the views of the present Governor-General of Georgia unfavourable to Protestant missionary labour, they easily succeeded in inducing him to use all his influence, that their labours might be stopped altogether.... Consequently, an order was passed, and brought before the Emperor, and signed by him and sent to the Missionaries, September 1835, which prohibited them from every kind of missionary labour. It appeared from this order, that it was not so much on account of the accusations of the Patriarch of the Armenians, the falsehood of which must have been well known to government, that their labours were prohibited, but more because the Russian clergy declared, or were induced to declare, that they wished to send their own Missionaries to Georgia, and that therefore, there would be no need any longer for foreign ones; and secondly, that the government suspected, that as foreigners, the Missionaries might spread political principles opposed to those held by themselves. ....

"Although the Missionaries have now left their friends and brethren among the Armenians of Georgia to themselves, yet they feel assured that the Lord will carry on the work he has begun amongst them..... That the Lord is in our days preparing the Armenian Church, which he, for wise purposes, has kept for so many centuries in the midst of the Muhammadan nations, for a better religious state, this observation cannot escape any one, who is acquainted with the present state of the Armenians."[1]

Before the breaking up of the German mission in Georgia, that province, as well as the others under Russia and Turkey, in which the Armenians reside, was visited by the Rev. Messrs. Smith and Dwight, who prosecuted their exertions among them with great judgment in behalf of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Permanent missionary stations have been formed, in consequence of

[1] See the whole of Mr. Pfander's Retrospect, in Lectures on Foreign Churches, vol. i. pp. 102-107.

their inquiries, by the body they represented, at Trebizond and Erzerum, in the Turkish dominions, where the good work of evangelical reformation is proceeding in a very encouraging manner. The American missions in Syria, Asia Minor, and Constantinople, as they bear upon the Armenians, I now briefly notice in connexion with my journey from India to this country.

When at Cairo, I visited the Armenian bishop, with Mr. Walne, the English Consul; and was received with great kindness. He informed me that the Armenians in Egypt, to the exclusion of those who have become Papists, amount only to about 600 souls. He represented them as generally educated men, holding respectable situations, and dwelt much on the virtues of their head, Boghos Yusep, the late prime minister and faithful servant of Muḥammad Alí. The bishop appeared a lively and cheerful person, and a professed foe of bigotry. "The differences among Christians," he remarked, "would be much lessened, if the Bible were viewed as the supreme authority." When he was showing us his church, and directing attention to its pictures and other pieces of furniture, and when I remarked that we had neither images nor altars in Scotland, and that we administered the Lord's Supper seated in a social form around a table, he added, "So did Christ and his apostles."[1] He lamented his ignorance of the original languages of Scripture. I presented him with a copy of the New Testament in the modern Armenian language, and with a couple of tracts, printed at Calcutta. The language of the former, he commended for its intelligibility. He showed us his library, containing a few scores of volumes, and told us that he regularly received the Armenian Newspaper, entitled "The Dawn of Ararat,"

[1] The Armenian Church at Cairo is small, but fitted up in a tasteful manner. A candle is always kept burning near the altar, as a symbol of the illumination of the Holy Spirit,—a sign which I have heard objected to by some Armenians themselves.

published at Smyrna. In reply to our inquiries about the history of the Armenians in Egypt, he stated that, about 700 years ago, no fewer than 20,000 were introduced into the country as slaves, and that about a century later they were joined by considerable numbers of their countrymen. The descendants of these persons were gradually amalgamated with the Copts and Muslims. From the assumption of power by Muḥammad ʿAlí, the present Armenians date their immigration. A few of them, in the first instance, came as travelling merchants; and about twenty-five years ago they began to be joined by members of their families. At one time they were more numerous than they are at present, reckoning themselves about 2000. They have two churches in Cairo, one at Marminah near Old Cairo, and one at Alexandria. The bishop introduced me to some of his clerical friends; and he waited upon me at my lodgings, bringing with him a letter which he wished me to carry to one of his young relatives at Constantinople, whom he asked me to take to Scotland for the completion of his education. Besides making his acquaintance, I had the pleasure of meeting with Hekykian Bey, the most proficient of all the Egyptians sent by Muḥammad ʿAlí to Europe for their education. His shrewd master has marked his sense of his attainments by raising him to the rank of a noble, which he well deserves.

The Armenians resident at Jerusalem, exclusive of the ecclesiastics, we found to be few in number. Having been recommended to the patriarch by the bishop of Cairo, we visited that dignitary at the Armenian convent, the richest and greatest establishment of the kind in the holy city,—a striking memorial of the devotion of the Armenians to Jerusalem, their liberality of contribution, and their influence with the Muhammadan government, in the acquisition of property and privileges. The patriarch received us with

great kindness; but our conversation with him was limited, owing to the circuitous manner in which it was conducted. Arabic not being understood by his interpreter, we had to get our questions translated into Turkish, and from Turkish into Armenian, and *vice versa*, before we could get an answer to our inquiries. He declared his friendliness to missionary efforts for the conversion of the Jews. His secretary showed us all his buildings; and when he pointed out the hall in which the monks take their meals, he directed our attention to a large liturgical volume from which passages are usually read when they are engaged in eating. We were sorry to observe the Armenian pilgrims in the gorgeous church of St. James, and especially the women, doing reverence, by kissing, to all its distinct apartments and accessible objects, and prostrating themselves before its altars and pictures. The appearance of the church is much calculated to make a strong impression upon their senses. Its walls are covered with cloth of rich embroidery; and its pulpits, altars, and other fixtures, are set with tortoise-shell and mother-of-pearl. The Armenians have a small nunnery in its neighbourhood, called Ez-Zeitúní, and another convent outside the city.[1] They have a chapel, or oratory, too, in the church of the Holy Sepulchre. They publicly participate with the Greeks in the fraud of the holy fire. Their priests allege that they view the fire as not miraculous, but emblematical of the descent of the Holy Spirit. They do not, however, undeceive their people as to the actual nature of the transaction. For a few years, indeed, they stood aloof from it; but, owing to the clamour of the people, they scrupled not again to give it their direct countenance. The late Rev. Levi Parsons, the first Protestant missionary who entered Jerusalem, (on the 17th January 1821,) with a view to permanent residence, was cordially received by the Armenians; and the

[1] See vol. i. p. 420.

missionaries to this day acknowledge the comparative kindness of the sons of Haik to whom they have access.

During our first journey from Jerusalem to Beirût I was accompanied by several Armenians from Diárbekr, from whom we learned that their countrymen are very generally in a state of ignorance. At Damascus, we found the number of resident Armenians to be 190. The total number under the whole of that large páshálik is under 3000.

The American Mission at Beirût, established in the year 1823, had its first-fruits, as far as the assumption of an evangelical profession is concerned, among the Armenians. An Armenian archbishop, and a bishop, and a priest, appeared to profit much by the instructions of Mr. Goodell, while prosecuting his study of the Armeno-Turkish at Sidon. I am uncertain of the degree of satisfaction which they continued to give to the mission.

The Armenians at Smyrna have been frequently brought to notice by European travellers, who have given very contradictory accounts of the state of their community. Letters which I had brought with me from India gave me ready access to them; and I was pleased to find their circumstances highly encouraging, as far as the progress of education and social improvement, if not of religious inquiry, are concerned. Their numbers amount to about 4500 souls; and ample provision seems to be made for their general instruction. In the Mesrobian School,—in which the Armenian, ancient and modern Greek, Turkish, Italian, French, and English languages, as well as Arithmetic, Geography, and Mathematics, are taught,—there are 300 boys prosecuting their studies. The Sarkisian female school,—in which the Armenian and French languages and the different kinds of female work are taught,—is attended by about 200 girls. An extensive hospital has been founded for the sick of the community. An educational society has been formed for

the diffusion of a simple, moral, and economical education, in the different villages of Asia Minor in which Armenians reside. Two presses are constantly employed. At one of these a weekly newspaper, entitled "The Dawn of Ararat," is published. This periodical, which is read in various countries of the world, is edited by Mr. Lucas Balthazar, a devoted philanthropist, and a true friend of his kindred according to the flesh. The American Mission, through its press, too, is multiplying excellent Christian works, to the fullest extent of its means, for distribution in various parts of the Turkish empire; and the Rev. Mr. Adger, and the Rev. Mr. Riggs, zealous and able agents, are devoted to the work of the Lord among the Armenians. Mr. Lewis, the excellent English chaplain, also embraces opportunities of doing them good.

The American Mission at Constantinople, which was founded in 1831 by Mr. Goodell, on his retirement from Syria, has from its commencement proved a great blessing to the numerous and influential Armenians of that great city. It has been the means, by the schools which it has instituted, the books which it has prepared and distributed, and the oral announcement of the Gospel in public and private, of exciting much serious inquiry, and producing salutary religious impressions among not a few Armenians.

"You have been amongst us," says the Rev. H. G. O. Dwight, in a letter which I have received from him since my return to Britain, "and have had some opportunity of judging from personal observation, of the extent and importance of the work of reform that is going on in the Armenian Church. That this work is the effect of the special operations of the Holy Spirit, we have, what appears to us, the most satisfactory evidence. One circumstance in regard to it, is full of interest and promise, and that is, that, not only at the metropolis, but throughout the interior of the country also, wherever Armenians are found, there is also found a preparation of mind to renounce old errors, and to receive the truth in its simplicity and power. This is evidenced by the fact, that wherever missionaries have gone preaching the Gospel, they

have found among the Armenians an open ear, and in every place where continued efforts have been made, souls have been converted unto God; and even in many places where no missionary's voice had been heard, by means of the printed word, souls have been awakened, and some, we have every reason to believe, truly converted. I could relate many instances in which individuals, far in the interior of the country, have had their minds opened through means of a tract or book from our press that fell into their hands; and in some of these cases the awakening has extended from one to another, until a large number have been enlightened. In Nicomedia, for example, a tract (the Dairyman's Daughter) and the New Testament were left by a passing missionary in the hands of an Armenian. A priest got hold of the books, and was led by the perusal of them to the conclusion that he never had known what true religion is. He began to open his mind to a brother priest in the same church; and they soon became thoroughly convinced of the truth of evangelical religion, and we hope truly regenerated by the Spirit of God. As a natural consequence, they laboured for the salvation of the people of their charge, and now there are a number of praying souls in Nicomedia, and they sometimes meet for prayer, amidst scoffs and threats, to the number of sixty or seventy souls. A similar work has been carried on at Adábázár by very similar means. Indeed, wherever our books have gone we have reason to believe that some souls have been awakened. All this shows to us that the set time of the Lord to favour the Armenian people has come. Similar labours have been performed among the Greeks, for a much longer period of time; but hitherto without any such result. We seem to be called upon by the special providence of God towards the Armenians, to arise and possess the whole land; and yet, with all these encouraging prospects, we find ourselves greatly straitened for want of the requisite means for prosecuting the work. We are particularly embarrassed in the printing department; and it is with the hope that you may be able to induce some of the good people of Scotland to come forward and aid us in this time of our pressing need, that I proceed to lay before you a few statements in reference to this portion of our labours here."[1]

[1] "We have already published between thirty and forty different books and tracts in the Armenian and Armeno-Turkish languages; all of which, with the exception of three or four school-books, are decidedly religious and evangelical works. Among these are the whole Old and New Testaments in Armeno-Turkish, and the New Testament and Book of Psalms in modern Armenian; and the whole Old Testament is now in the process of translation into the Armenian language. Twelve of our books are now out of print. Besides the Old Testament already alluded to, the following

"You will be glad," says the Rev. H. A. Homes, "of a word or two about the Armenians. The work is making gradual progress, and in a manner that we can definitely see it. We hear of new cases of awakening in different parts of the city, even if a long time passes before we can see the individuals themselves. There has been a new and interesting development in the interest taken by the female portion of this community, from whom, owing to the Asiatic prejudices of society, we have been much separated.[1] In two or three cases, numbers have come on purpose to hear the Gospel preached, and arrangements have been made, at their own request, to have regular preaching to them in two different places, and this in addition to the places already established for preaching to men. Our school[2] is filled up with *pious* young men,

works are in a state of preparation for the press, or are actually prepared, and yet we have no means of printing them. 1. An Abridgment of D'Aubigné's History of the Reformation. 2. A Book of Prayer. 3. A Reference Testament. 4. An original Essay on the Character and Office of the Holy Spirit. 5. A Text of Scripture and Meditation for every day in the year. 6. Wayland's Moral Science. 7. Two or three Sermons. 8. Gallaudet on Natural Theology. 9. Abbot's Young Christian. 10. A volume of short Narrative Tracts. 11. On Reading the Sacred Scriptures. 12. Lives of the Prophets. The first seven of these are in the modern Armenian language, and the last five in the Armeno-Turkish. I may also state, that we published for four years a monthly magazine in Armenian, which proved to be very useful. * * * I would state, in closing this communication, that the number of Armenian and Armeno-Turkish books distributed last year from Constantinople alone, was nearly 12,000 copies; and it must be remembered that there are also four other missionary stations of our Board in Turkey, from which our books are also distributed. Many of these books are sold, and in fact the comparative amount of gratuitous distribution is becoming less every year." The works here referred to are printed at the press of the Mission at Smyrna. When I was at Constantinople, I promised to endeavour to procure in this country the means of printing an edition in the Armenian language of the Assembly's Shorter Catechism with the proofs, and of the pamphlet on the Culture of the Mind of the late eminent physician and universal philanthropist, Dr. Abercrombie. Both of them have been lately published, the latter at the sole expense of the author of the English original, who took the greatest interest in the work of the Christian enlightenment of the Armenians, as soon as it was brought to his notice. It were well that British Christians liberally assisted the American missionaries in their operations with the press.

[1] In the churches of the Armenians, as in the Jewish Synagogues, the females are uniformly kept apart from the males, being generally crowded into a small receding gallery, or orchestra, separated by lattice-work from the body of the building.

[2] The boarding-school at Bebek, under the assiduous superintendence of the Rev. Mr. Hamlin. The relative of the Armenian Bishop of Cairo,

who will, we hope, hereafter be a blessing to their nation. An evangelical priest was lately cast into prison by the patriarch, on the charge of having preached infidelity in the interior, and was called upon to sign a paper retracting all his errors. He declared that he aimed to preach nothing but the truth as it is in Jesus, and that they might cut off his head, as the Musalmáns had lately cut off the head of an Armenian, but that it would be useless to ask him to sign a paper no more to preach what he believed to be true. We praise God that he was enabled to witness a good testimony, and as the reward thereof so soon to receive his liberty. We know of a dozen towns in Asia Minor where are to be found pious Armenians; and in many of these places they meet for the study of the Scriptures, which they take as their only rule of faith and practice. This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes."

The progress of evangelical truth and Christian feeling among the Armenians of Constantinople, above alluded to, has of late continued to increase with much rapidity, and in the face of great opposition from the Armenian patriarch and the priesthood under him. On the 1st of July 1846, a considerable number of the converts were regularly organized into an Evangelical Church. Writing about this important event, Mr. Dwight says—

"While for years past they have separated themselves from every idolatrous ceremony of the Church, and have declined conforming to those practices which an enlightened conscience forbids, they have not wished to make a breach in their nation; but, on the contrary, have earnestly desired that the body might be preserved entire, and all together be restored to the enlightened faith of the Gospel. The present patriarch, however, has shown the most resolute determination that this should not be the case. In January last, he uttered against all the evangelical Christians in his community a threatening bull of excommunication, heaping upon them the most woful curses that ever one mortal cast upon another. For six months past these curses have been regularly repeated, from Sabbath to Sabbath, so that the house of God has become emphatically a house of cursing. During this long interval, also, the patriarch has done all that the foreign ambassadors and the Turkish government would allow him to do, to vex these innocent victims of his wrath by bodily inflictions; and up to this day, through his

whom he wished me to take to this country, is attending this school, where every attention is paid to his improvement.

influence, bread and water are withheld from several of them by the regular dealers in those articles.

"To crown all, and as if to show that there is absolutely no quarter to be given to these men, except on the impossible condition that they subscribe to the new and idolatrous creed of the patriarch, but that they are to lie perpetually under the ban of excommunication and anathema, he issued a general order which was read in all the churches, June 21st, being the regular feast day for the Armenian Church, appointing that, on that same day of each year, a standing curse shall be pronounced against all the new sectaries, as he calls the Protestant Armenians.

"Nothing, therefore, remained, but for them to seek direction from God, in organizing themselves into a separate Church, in which they might secure to themselves and their children the pure preaching of the Word, and all the other privileges and ordinances which Christ has vouchsafed unto his people. This they have accordingly done.....

"But I must give you a more particular account of the method by which this Church has been organized. On Tuesday last, July 1st, all who were invited assembled in the chapel in my house. Besides our own Missionaries, the Rev. Messrs. Allan and König, of the Free Church of Scotland, were present. After the reading of the Scriptures and prayer, the plan of organization, confession of faith, covenant, and rules of discipline, were read with particular explanations of each part, as the subject required. Those present were then called upon to rise and give their assent to the confession of faith and covenant, if approved. All rose, and the articles were again read, at the end of which all audibly and solemnly responded, 'We do thus believe.' In like manner they also audibly assented to the covenant; when we all rose, and in our own behalf, and in behalf of all evangelical Protestant Churches, expressed our public acknowledgment of them *as a true Church of Jesus Christ.* Their names were then recorded, amounting to forty in all, three of whom were females. This number will probably be doubled within a short space of time."[1]

The general principles of evangelical religion are recognised in the "Confession of Faith" of this newly organized Church. The system of church government adopted is formed partly on the Congregational and partly on the Presbyterian model. Churches on similar principles have been formed at Nicomedia, with fourteen members; at Adábázár, with fourteen members; and at Trebizond, with

[1] American Missionary Herald, Sept. 1846, pp. 319, 320.

nine members. It is hoped that the number of communicants at these places, as well as Constantinople, will be speedily increased.

3. THE SYRIAN CHURCH.

The great body of the members of this Church is now found in Mesopotamia, particularly in the neighbourhood of Mosul and Mardín, where their highest ecclesiastical functionary, the "patriarch of Antioch," as he is denominated, at present resides.[1] In this part of the world, their population probably amounts to about 150,000 souls. In the páshálik of Aleppo, and chiefly in that city and in Antioch, they number probably about 2000. In Damascus they have only a few families. There are very few, if any, of them to be found in Lebanon; and in the southern parts of the Holy Land, including Jerusalem, where they have a bishop and a monastic establishment, they probably do not exceed a hundred or two.[2] In the provinces of Malabar and Travankúr in India, their numbers, by the persecutions and frauds of the Roman Catholics, have been considerably reduced. Those who remain independent of Rome, in a letter to their brethren of Mesopotamia, stated their numbers a few years ago at 11,972 families, having forty-five churches and a half. In the government census of Travankúr of 1836, they are given at 118,382 souls, the Romo-Syrians being, in addition to this number, 56,184 souls. The Syrian and Nestorian

[1] The patriarchs profess to trace their ecclesiastical descent from Peter the Apostle, "patriarch of Antioch." Besides their own name, they now take that of Ignatius, from that of the "third patriarch of Antioch."

[2] Robinson and Smith (Biblical Researches, vol. iii. p. 461) say, "The number of the Jacobites (*Syrians*) in Syria is very small. A few families in Damascus and in Nebk, the village of Sudud, and a part of the village of Kuryetein, a small community in Hums, with a few scattered individuals in two or three neighbouring villages, a similar community in Hamah, and probably a smaller one in Aleppo, constitute nearly or quite the amount of the sect."

communities in India have now for many years been united. The time of the merging of the former into the latter is not exactly known.

The Syrian Christians call themselves Jacobites. When interrogated as to the reason of their appropriation of this denomination, they generally allege that they are the descendants of Jacob or Israel; that they are the descendants of the earliest converts of the apostle James; and that they are the adherents of the monk Bardai,[1] Jacob Baradæus or Baradat, who died bishop of Orfa (Edessa) in Mesopotamia in the year 558, and who, during his active career, was so successful in reuniting the monophysite sects throughout the whole of the East.

The Syrian Christians use the Syriac language in their Church services, even though with most of them it has become obsolete. They communicate very little instruction, and offer up almost no prayers, through the medium of Arabic, or any other language that may be vernacular to them in the parts of the world in which they sojourn.

The Church authorities to which they look may be ascertained from the following passage which occurs in their liturgy for the mass:—

"We openly acknowledge the three holy, pure, and Catholic Councils of Nice, Constantinople, and Ephesus, in which were our fathers, holy, exalted, and God-fearing Malpans. We remember holy James, the head of the Metrans,[2] and the first in Jerusalem, an apostle and martyr: Ignatius, Clemens, Dionysius,[3] Athanasius, Julius, Basil, Gregory, Dioscorus, Timothy, Philoxenus, Antonius, Evanius, and particularly our father Cyril, who was a lofty and true wall, and the professor who openly

[1] This is the Arabic form of the name. In Syriac, it is *Fasselita*. "Bardai appellatus est quod ei amictus erat, e segminibus Albaradai seu dorsualium quæ jumentis insterni solent, consutis."—Eutych. tom. ii. p. 147, in Renaudot. Liturg. Orient. Collect. tom. ii. p. 342.

[2] Metran literally means metropolitan. Among the Eastern Churches, however, it is used as synonymous with bishop.

[3] Dionysius the Great, bishop of Alexandria in the third century.

acknowledged the manhood of the Son of God. We remember our Patriarch Severus,[1] the crown of the Syrians, a skilful orator, a pillar and doctor of all the holy churches of God, and our holy father St. James (Jacob Baradæus), the precursor of the true faith: holy Ephraim our master, St. James,[2] St. Barsumas, the head of the mourners, St. Simeon the Stylite, the chosen St. Abeia, and those who, either before or after them, left, handed down, or taught us a right and pure faith. May their prayers be our wall. Lord have mercy upon us!"[3]

This passage, it is to be observed, makes no mention of Eutyches, who is alleged to have maintained that "the divine nature of Christ had absorbed the human, and that consequently in him there was but one nature, viz. the divine;" while it mentions with reverence some of the principal supporters of the allied sect of monophysites, who taught that "the divine and human nature of Christ were so united as to form only one nature, yet without any change, confusion, or mixture of the two natures." The name of Barsumas the famous Nestorian, too, finds in it a place. Before its impregnation with monophysitism, the Syrian Church was doubtless much under the influence of the followers of the ill-used and much misrepresented Nestorius, as well as extended by them, in the exercise of their commendable missionary zeal, to India and other distant countries. The ministers of the Syrian Church whom I have met in the East have generally expressed themselves, when endeavouring to explain their views, in a manner not very inconsistent with orthodoxy. The union of the natures of Christ is so complete, they have said, that there is unity in these natures. The Godhead and manhood of Christ, however, being un-

[1] *Of Antioch.*

[2] Of Nisibis? The Syrians have so many persons of this name, that it is difficult to identify the person here referred to.

[3] MS. translation of the Syrian Mass-book in the possession of the Rev. J. C. Thompson of Quilon. This document, translated, I believe, directly from the Syriac, I find to be fuller than the *Ordo Communis Liturgiæ secundum ritum Syrorum Jacobitarum*, in the Liturgiarum Orientalium Collectio of Renaudot. This author, however, gives in a note (tom. ii. p. 103) a longer list of Syrian doctors than that set forth in this commemoration.

changed, there is still duality. To our explanation,—the unity is that of oneness of person, while the two natures are still distinct,—they generally, in the end, have not objected. Except perhaps in the case of Eutyches, with whom the Syrians indignantly disclaim all connexion, the Christian Church, in the fifth century, was divided by little more than a logomachy respecting the nature of Christ.

The liturgical works of the Syrian Church contain a considerable amount of evangelical doctrine and supplication, addressed directly to the Saviour. They are not free, however, from dangerous errors. We can see in them most of the falsities which we have noticed in connexion with the Armenian Church,—such as the worship of the saints, particulary "Holy Mary, the Mother of God," and John the Baptist, the constant intercessors with the Saviour in behalf of those who call upon their names, and make odoriferous incense ascend to their delectification, and the first of whom is addressed in the most blasphemous language; the doctrine of baptismal regeneration;[1] the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Lord's Supper, and the presenting of them as a sacrifice to God, both for the dead and living professing the true faith;[2] prayers that the dead may

[1] In the second book of the Codex Liturgicus Ecclesiæ Universæ of Joseph Aloysius Assemanus, there are given three forms of baptism according to the ritual of the Syrians. In each of these the literal descent of the Holy Spirit into the waters of baptism is invoked; and the Holy Spirit is represented as regenerating the soul by the waters of baptism. According to these forms, the face of the child is to be turned toward the East in the bapistry, and a triple affusion of water to be made with the left hand of the priest at the pronunciation of the name of each of the persons of the Trinity. The rubricks directing the celebration of the rite superadd, particularly in connexion with the anointing of the body, a concomitant of baptism in the Syrian Church, various other unscriptural ceremonies to which the greatest importance is attached.—Tom. ii. pp. 211, et seq. The rite of Confirmation follows that of Baptism and Chrism, after the expiry of seven days.—Tom. iii. p. 191.

[2] The Syrians use leavened bread in dispensing the Lord's Supper. The priest alone drinks of the cup; but he dips the cake, with the cross and

be delivered from deprivations and chastisements rendered necessary by their imperfections and sins; and the exaltation of the priest to the work of Christ himself in forgiving sins and dispensing judgment. Connected with this latter subject, the following strange exhortation occurs in the Mass-book:—

"God has given to men two dominions; one to the king, the other to the priest. . . . . The king has only power to kill the body; but the priest has power by his curses to destroy both soul and body. The prayer of him who is cursed is not received upon earth, and his supplications will not be accepted before God. He who is cursed has no right to enter into the Church to receive the body and blood of the Son of God. He who is cursed is like a vine branch which, being smitten by hail and stripped of its beauty, is only fit to be consumed. He who is cursed is like an ear of corn blasted by a hot wind, which lies stripped of its splendour amidst the standing corn. He who is cursed is like the day which the Lord cursed, and which cannot be reckoned amongst the number of the days of the year. He who is cursed is like a dried river that is the sport of rivers and seas."

The undue exaltation of the minister of God and his church, seems to be common to Antichrist in all the forms which he has assumed. The Syrians, like the Armenians, have a superstitious belief in the power of the material cross, and in the sign of the cross.

The fasts of the Syrians are numerous and rigid. One of the deacons at Kuselli said to Dr. Wolff, "Our fast-days are to many a Syrian too strict; for seven months in the year we are neither allowed to eat meat, nor fish, nor eggs; we can eat nothing else but herbs. But the Catholics allow to eat meat, to use oil, to eat fishes, and with this many Syrians are pleased, and turn Catholics." On this Dr. Wolff observes, "It is indeed sorrowful to consider that on the one side the Syrians believe to conquer and gain heaven by eating nothing but *herbs* and *sour crout*, and on the other

sections corresponding with the twelve apostles imprinted upon it, in the wine, before handing it to the people.

hand, that the Catholics are so cunning as to get soldiers by giving to the Syrians Italian macaroni and roast beef."[1] The monastic institution is of high repute among the Syrians, as among all the orientals, who associate with it pre-eminent personal sanctity.

The first branch of the Syrian Church which was brought under the special notice of our countrymen in later times, is that which is found among the mountains of Malayálim in India. It was visited by the devoted and ardent-minded Dr. Claudius Buchanan in the year 1806, who published a striking, but in some particulars an inaccurate, account of it in his interesting Christian Researches. His attractive narrative induced the Church of England Missionary Society to direct its attention to the people of whom it treats, and to form amongst them an extensive mission, occupying two or three stations, which have now for many years enjoyed the services of able and pious agents. The establishment of a college at Kottayám, for the instruction of candidates for the ministry in the Syrian Church, and which, by the kind offices of Major-General Monro, the Resident of Travankúr, now an influential elder of the Free Church of Scotland, received a large endowment in land from the Ráni of that country, formed a part of the plan of the missionaries. At first it was thought practicable to conduct their operations so as to preserve the integrity and authority of the Syrian Church; but experience has shown the necessity of receiving parties disposed to leave its community, for the enjoyment of a purer doctrine and discipline, into the English Church. The excellent missionaries of the London Missionary Society at Quilon have likewise to some extent sought the good of the Syrians.

Dr. Wolff, in the course of his journeys, distributed many copies of the Scriptures among the Syrians of Mesopotamia.

[1] Wolff's Journal, vol. iii. p. 244.

I am not aware that any regular provision has yet been made for reviving amongst them the power of evangelical religion; but the American Mission at Mosul, though primarily intended for the Nestorians, will not overlook their interests. Their own necessities, their great poverty and depression, their position in the very centre of the empire of Muhammadism, and the jeopardy in which they stand from the agents of Rome, should attract for them, without delay, our prayerful and practical beneficence.

4. THE NESTORIAN OR CHALDEAN CHURCH.

As far as original conversion to Christianity is concerned, this Church is closely allied to that which we have now noticed. It is evidently a branch of the general Syrian Church, as is proved by its traditions and ecclesiastical language, the ancient Syriac, and by the language vernacular among its members,—a dialect formed from this ancient Syriac, but intermixed with Persian, Kurdish, and Turkish. Its locality is the mountains of Kurdistán and the valley of Uramíah, intermediate between Persia and Turkey, and between the 36° and 39° of north latitude, and 43° and 46° of east longitude. The number of its adherents has been estimated by the American missionaries at about 140,000 souls, of whom 50,000, before the late massacre, were resident, in a state of independence, in the mountainous district of Tiárí, 60,000 in the other mountainous districts, and from about 30,000 to 40,000 in the province of Uramíah.[1] Dr. Wolff supposes that they amount to a quarter of a million.

The designation Nestorian, as applied to a branch of the Church of Christ, is derived from Nestorius, a Syrian, Bishop of Constantinople, who has been branded as a heretic, but

[1] See a Residence of Eight Years in Persia among the Nestorian Christians, with Notices of the Muhammadans. By the Rev. Justin Perkins. Andover, 1843. This is a work well worthy of republication in this country.

who was probably sounder in the faith, and more distinguished for piety, than his assailants and persecutors. In refusing to give to the Virgin the epithet of Θεοτόκος, or "Mother of God," as the Presbyter Anastasius had done before him with his countenance, he did not act otherwise than we ourselves should do at the present day. The charge that was brought against him at the third General Council of Ephesus, A.D. 431, (and in which he was condemned before he was properly heard in his own defence, or supported by his friends from Asia, who intended to have taken part in the deliberation of the Council,) that he taught that Christ has two distinct persons as well as two natures, he himself solemnly denied to the very last, as is proved by the fragments of his letters, published by Joseph Simeon Assemanus.[1] The harsh treatment which he received from Cyril and his other opponents, who hurled their anathemas against him, and succeeded in effecting his banishment, awakened much sympathy in his

[1] Biblioth. Oriental. Clement. Vatican., tom. ii. pp. 40 and 41. In another part of his work, Assemanus, when treating of the errors of Nestorius, quotes a passage of one of his letters to Alexander of Hierapolis, in which he says, "Of the two natures there is one authority, one virtue, one power, and one person (una persona) according to the one dignity;" and of another, addressed to Cyril, in which he says, "I joyfully concur in this that you declare a distinction of the natures, in respect to the divinity and humanity, and the conjunction of the two in one person."—Ibid. tom. iii. p. xcii. It is quite *possible* that with all this Nestorius may have had opinions of the two natures of Christ inconsistent with the doctrine of the hypostatical union. The state of the case, however, as far as he is personally concerned, has not yet been sufficiently elucidated. Mr. Etheridge, in a late excellent and sober publication, entitled the "Syrian Churches," successfully refutes *Nestorianism*, or the doctrine of the two persons attributed to Nestorius, (p. 58, etc.;) but I do not see that, by reference to any distinct authority, he brings home this doctrine against Nestorius himself. Mosheim says,—I think justly,—"Many, nay the greatest part of writers, both ancient and modern, after a thorough examination of this matter have positively concluded, that the opinions of Nestorius and the Council which condemned them were the same in effect."—Mosheim's Eccles. Hist., Cent. V., chap. v. There is a judicious notice of the origin of Nestorianism in Smith and Dwight's Researches, p. 362, etc.

behalf throughout the whole bounds of the Syrian Church, and his ardour and abilities procured for him many followers. John, patriarch of Antioch, befriended his cause; but Barsumas was its greatest champion, and contributed perhaps more than Nestorius himself to give form to the doctrines which bore his name, and which fell short of the scripture doctrine of the union of the divine and human natures of Christ, only as they represent it as merely a union of will and affection. From the famous school of Nisibis, which Barsumas founded on his being appointed bishop of that See, there went forth the zealous missionaries who propagated Christianity in Persia, Arabia, Tartary, China, India, and other distant countries. The doctrines of Barsumas were dominant in the East till the monophysite controversy arose, and divided the Syrian Church. While the Byzantine emperors persecuted the Nestorians, they persuaded Firúz the Zoroastrian king of Persia, to give them a refuge. They were so numerous and influential at the close of the fifth century, that they appointed one of their number to the archbishopric of Seleucia, on its becoming vacant, who became the acknowledged head of the Christians of Persia, and of the Nestorians in the different countries of their Christian enterprise.[1] The Kurdistán Christians, of whom

[1] Asseman (Biblioth. Orient. vol. iv.) gives very interesting details connected with the extension of the Nestorians. Of these the Rev. Eli Smith gives the following précis. "Besides occupying, almost to the exclusion of all other Christians, the region which forms the modern kingdom of Persia, they were, on the one side, numerous in Mesopotamia and Arabia, had their metropolitans in Syria and Cyprus, and a bishop even in the island of Socotra, at the mouth of the Red Sea; and on the other, the Syrian Christians of Malabar were Nestorians, and received their bishops from Seleucia. [This was in the first instance. They afterwards received them from the Jacobite patriarch of Antioch.] Nestorian Churches existed in Transoxiana as far as Kashgar; in the distant regions of Mongolia, the great Khan of the Tartars held the rank of Presbyter in the Nestorian Church; and if we may credit a monument subsequently discovered by Papal priests, Nestorian missionaries planted churches in the heart of Northern China." — Smith and Dwight's Researches, pp. 364, 365.

we are now treating, are the remains of these Christians, exclusive of those connected with Armenia and those who have from time to time been brought within the pale of the Church of Rome. They themselves, it is to be borne in mind, dislike being called Nestorians, as the following extract from the Journal of the Rev. Justin Perkins sufficiently shows:—

"In conversation, Mar Johannan objected to my calling him and his people *Nestorians*. I asked him what I should call them, and he answered *Chaldeans*. I inquired whether the Catholic Nestorians are not called Chaldeans. He acknowledged that they are, but added, 'Shall a few Catholic converts from our people arrogate to themselves the name of the whole nation? And must we surrender up our name to them? *Nestorius* we do indeed respect, as one of our bishops; but our nation are under no particular obligation to be called by his name, and no reason exists why we should cease to be called Chaldeans.'"[1]

The people usually call themselves Súriání (Syrians,) and less often Naṣrání (Nazarenes.)

Valuable information is given concerning the Nestorians in the second and third volumes of the Journal of Dr. Wolff, who was the first in late times to bring them to the notice of British and American Christians. He had several interviews with some of their members, and he received interesting notices of them from Major Monteith of the Madras Army, whom he met at Tabriz, where he had been for some time residing.

"The great body of Nestorian Christians," says this officer, "quitted the Greek and Roman empire under the reign of Justinian, and sought protection from Nausherwán, king of Persia, who assigned them a residence at Oromea, Maroga, Salmás, and Bashgela.[2] They formed four congregations, headed by four bishops, of whom Mar Shimaun was the principal, whose family has ever since maintained the sovereignty over these tribes. They originally amounted to fifty thousand families, and

[1] Residence, p. 105.

[2] At present the Nestorian patriarch resides at Diz, a village in the Hakari district.

at one time exerted a very great influence in the empire of Persia.[1] At different times they have experienced a very severe persecution, and under the Muhammadan government have been driven from their original residences into their present impregnable abode in the mountains of Curdistan. From what observations I was able to make, the worship of the Nestorian Christians approaches the nearest to the original purity of Christianity of any Church in the world. They are totally free from the idolatry of the Popish Churches; neither images, saints, nor relics, are admitted to their worship. They even regard the Apostles, though inspired, as not being objects of adoration."[2]

The Rev. Messrs. Smith and Dwight, who visited them in their exploratory tour, though they do not go so far in praise of them as this gentleman, still present a favourable view of them as contrasted with the other oriental Christians; and so does Dr. Grant, in his work, which is so well known both in this country and America.[3] Mr. Perkins, the father of the American mission sent to their aid, and who has had better opportunities of knowing their circumstances than any other individual, gives a most encouraging view of their tenets and observances.

"The religious belief and practices of the Nestorians," he says, "are much more simple and scriptural than those of other oriental Christians. They have the deepest abhorrence of all image-worship, auricular confession, the doctrine of purgatory, and many other corrupt dogmas and

[1] I have represented them above, on the authority of Assemanus, as first obtaining protection from *Firúz*, who preceded *Nausherwán* about a century. It was in the reign of Firúz that they most needed protection, as the persecution of the Nestorians was then most violent. It probably became a matter of policy with him and his successors to grant them countenance. Renaudot thus writes of them, on the authority of Cedrenes: "Sunt autem illi Syrorum veterum Christianorum reliquiæ, qui post damnatum in Ephesina Synodo Nestorium, pulsi legibus Romanis, et quodammodo proscripti, in Mesopotamiam se receperunt, quæ a Persarum regibus sæpius armis occupata, tutum exulibus asylum præbuit: præsertim cum Cosroes, quem vulgo Nuschiruanum vocant, illis faveret impensius; adeo ut ecclesiam Edessenam ipsis attribuerit ex qua ab Heraclio dejecti sunt: reliquos etiam Christianos ad eorum hæresin amplectendam cogeret, quantum in illo erat."—Dissertatio de Nestorian. Liturg. p. 2.

[2] Wolff's Journal, vol. iii. pp. 193, 194.

[3] The Nestorians; or the Lost Tribes.—To the peculiar theory of that work, it is not necessary here to advert.

practices of the Papal, Greek, and Armenian Churches; while they cherish the highest reverence for the holy Scriptures, and, in theory at least, exalt them far above all human traditions. Their doctrinal tenets, so far as I have learned them, are in general quite clearly expressed and correct. On the momentous subject of the Divinity of Christ, in relation to which the charge of heresy is so violently thrown upon them by the papal and other oriental sects, their belief is orthodox and scriptural. The Nestorians are very charitable towards other sects of nominal Christians, liberal in their views and feelings, and strongly desirous of improvement. The Patriarch has repeatedly written to us expressing his joy and satisfaction at our being among his people, his gratitude for our efforts for their benefit, and his earnest prayers for our prosperity. And such has been the language, and, apparently, the feelings of all classes of his people. The four bishops of Uramiah and several of the most intelligent priests, are in our employ as assistants in our missionary labours. They are engaged in the instruction and superintendence of schools and Sabbath schools; they preach the gospel, engage in translation, and render other important assistance. And the Patriarch and his brothers have often pledged to us the same co-operation, whenever we should be enabled to extend our labours into the mountains. Indeed, the Nestorians may, with great propriety, be denominated the *Protestants of Asia*."[1]

To this I must myself add, however, that if the Nestorian liturgies, translated by Renaudot,[2] be now in use among the Nestorians, they view the Lord's Supper as more than a commemorative and confirmative ordinance, as the presenting of a sacrificial offering to God, and hold the doctrine either of the transubstantiation or transelementation of the bread and wine.

The Nestorians have nine ecclesiastical orders among their clergy; but two or three of them are at present little more than nominal. They are those of sub-deacon, reader, dea-

[1] Perkins' Residence, pp. 20, 21. See, also, for some interesting information on the Chaldean Christians, Ainsworth's Researches in Asia Minor, &c. vol. ii.

[2] Liturg. Orient. Coll. p. 566, et seq. tom. ii. The liturgies of the Nestorians are in the ancient Syriac, and understood only by the priests. One of them is translated by Mr. Etheridge.—Syrian Churches, pp. 221-235. Mr. E. points out its faults and defects.

con, priest, archdeacon, bishop, metropolitan, catholicos, and patriarch. All below a bishop are permitted at any time to marry, according to their pleasure. The word Bishop does not occur in the Syriac Testament, *Kashísha*, elder, being employed where it is used in the English translation; but *Episcopa*, transferred from the Greek, is the ecclesiastical title in common use. The wish of the people is generally understood and consulted in the appointment of a bishop; but his consecration depends on the patriarch. A candidate for the office, according to a strange custom, must abstain from the use of animal food, except fish, eggs, and the productions of the dairy; and his mother must observe the same abstinence while she nurses him at the breast. The patriarch officially has only spiritual power, but, in point of fact, he exercises a great deal of secular influence among his people.

Mr. Perkins, whose favourable account of the Nestorians I have just quoted, says—

"The Nestorians are still to a painful extent under the influence of human, and many childish traditions. They attach great importance to their periodical *fasts*, which are about as numerous as in the other Eastern Churches, often to the neglect of integrity and purity of heart, and even of external morality. As a people, they are deeply degraded in morals. The vice of lying is almost universal among both ecclesiastics and people. Intemperance is very prevalent. The Sabbath is, to a great extent, regarded as a holiday. And profaneness and some other vices are very common. Indeed, the mass of this people seem literally to have a name to live while they are dead."[1]

It is on account of this degradation, and the want of vigorous evangelical teaching and spiritual life, that they have need of our help, so that the things which remain may be strengthened.

It is much to the credit of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, that it has founded a mission among this interesting people, with branches in the

[1] Residence among the Nestorians, pp. 21, 22.

district of Uramiah subject to Persia, and another among the independent mountaineers and at Mosul. By the translation of the Scriptures into the vulgar tongue, the composition of tracts, the institution of schools, and the preaching of the gospel, in all which endeavours it has enjoyed the co-operation of the native clergy, it has done much toward their spiritual improvement. The accounts of its success contained in the last numbers of the American Missionary Herald which have reached this country, are, in a spiritual point of view, as encouraging as the details of the cruel massacres of the mountain Nestorians by the Kurdish chiefs Núrallah and Báder Khán are alarming and appalling to every friend of humanity.[1]

The Churches which we have now noticed belong to *Asia*. Those which remain for our consideration have their seat in *Africa*.

5. THE COPTIC CHURCH.

The Coptic Church is the Church of Egypt, emphatically so called.[2] It is supposed that the population attached to it amounts to from between a hundred and fifty to two hundred thousand souls.[3] About ten thousand of these reside in Cairo.[4] In Upper Egypt they form a considerable portion of the village population; and they are numerous

[1] On this subject, see an article entitled "The Nestorians and their recent Massacres," in Lowe's Magazine, March, 1847.

[2] The Arabic word *Kubt*, or *Kibt*, or as it is most generally pronounced in Egypt, *Gubt* or *Gibt*, corresponding with our "Coptic," is easily recognized as formed from *Αἴγυπτος*, the ancient Greek name of Egypt, though some will have it, that it is derived from *Kupt* (Coptos,) a town in Upper Egypt, to which many of the Christians retired during the persecution under several of the Roman emperors. Renaudot (in his Dissert. de Ling. Copt.) states satisfactory reasons for not deriving the name from the city of Koptus.

[3] "The Patriarch informed me that he calculated the number of Copts at about 150,000. This is too low an estimate."—Dr. Bowring's Report on Egypt and Candia, p. 8.

[4] Sir Gardiner Wilkinson (Modern Egypt and Thebes, vol. i. p. 257,) reckons them at 60,000; but this is quite an over-estimate.

in the district called the Faiyûm, which they erroneously hold to be the Pithom of Scripture. When I had an interview with their visible head,—the patriarch of Alexandria as he is called, though resident at Cairo,—he reckoned the number of churches belonging to them at 500, inclusive of one in Sennaar, and another in Dongola; but from other sources I was given to understand that they amount only to about 150. Their clergy are supported by voluntary contributions and presents, and by fees on the occasion of births, marriages, and deaths. Their regular convents are reduced to seven; two, those of St. Anthony and St. Paul, in the eastern desert near the Red Sea; four, including that of St. Macarius, in the Natron valley; and one at Jebel Koskam in Upper Egypt. In these institutions the system of discipline is rigid; but it is mildness itself when compared with that of Antony and Pachomius in the days of *old*. Besides them, they have a number of secondary monasteries, into which, the priests being seculars, women are admitted as well as men.[1] From among the monks residing at one or other of these convents, the patriarch or Batrík, as he is denominated, is taken to occupy what is called the "chair of St. Mark," the apostle of Egypt. The mode of his appointment is somewhat singular.

"The bishops and principal priests, when a patriarch is to be elected," says Mr. Lane, "apply to the superior of the convent above mentioned (St. Anthony,) who names about eight or nine monks whom he considers qualified for the high office of Head of the Church: the names of these persons are written each upon a separate slip of paper, which pieces of paper are then rolled into the form of little balls, and put into a drawer: a priest draws one without looking; and the person whose name is thus drawn is invested as patriarch. Formerly, a young child was employed

[1] For an account of the Coptic convents, see Wilkinson's Modern Egypt and Thebes, vol. i. p. 386, &c. Their libraries were carefully examined, in 1842, by the Rev. Dr. Tattam, who was permitted to purchase and bring to this country the most valuable of their MSS.

to draw the lot, being supposed to be more under the direction of Heaven."[1]

I am not certain of the absolute accuracy of this account; but a statement to the effect of what follows, I received from the present Coptic patriarch himself.

It is not from the bishops, but the monks, that the patriarch is selected. When the choice or lot falls upon any particular individual, the magnates of the Church apply to the Pásha for a military detachment, in company with which a deputation repairs to the monastery, to demand the person of him who is indicated. In a spirit of becoming modesty he says, *nolo episcopari*. The sight of the soldiers, however, speedily removes his scruples, and he humbly agrees to accompany them to the capital, where he is anointed to office, without having been constituted a bishop.

Below the Patriarch are the Bishops titular and real, the Presbyters, who administer the mass to the people, but never preach, the Archdeacons, Deacons, Sub-Deacons, Lectors, Cantors, and Exorcists, who are mere boyish assistants of church ceremonies. The Copts do not seem to lay much stress on the "apostolical succession," as far as the idea of the transfusion of grace, and communicating the power of transfusing grace, from man to man, is concerned. The sanctifying virtue, they think, principally rests in the *meirún*, or holy oil of unction, which they suppose preserves the properties imparted to it by the blessing of the apostle Mark, as a new stock is always added to the old before it is exhausted.[2] In the Arabic history of the Coptic Church, written by Taḳi ed-Dín el-Maḳrízí, which is believed to contain the approved annals of the Coptic Church, it is said, that there were no bishops in Egypt till the time of the patriarch

[1] Lane's Modern Egypt, p. 341.

[2] The Copts pretend to have the head and body of St. Mark, in the monastery which bears his name at Alexandria; but Leo Africanus affirms that they were secretly carried away by the Venetians to their city. Sir Gardiner Wilkinson (Modern Egypt and Thebes, vol. i. p. 167,) waggishly remarks, that "from the known habits and natural history of relics, this might not present any difficulty to their being still there."

Demetrius, whose name occurs as the eleventh in the Coptic list.[1] Jerome informs us that the presbyters of Alexandria were accustomed to ordain their bishop.

With the early history of the Church in Egypt, and especially its famous school at Alexandria, the Roman and Byzantine fathers make us sufficiently acquainted. The Egyptian Christians,—the descendants both of the ancient inhabitants of the country and the Greeks and Romans introduced into it during the time of the Ptolemies,—embraced the monophysite doctrines probably prior to those of Syria. It was through the influence of Dioscorus, the patriarch of Alexandria, that Eutyches escaped condemnation at the Council assembled at Ephesus A.D. 449, by the Emperor Theodosius; and it was against Dioscorus, as well as Eutyches, that the fourth General Council, that of Chalcedon, called by Marcian in A.D. 457, declared, when it set forth its belief, "that in Christ there are two distinct natures united in one person, and that without any change, mixture, or confusion." Though Dioscorus was ordered into banishment, he met with much sympathy and approbation in Egypt, where the partizans of his views ultimately proved more numerous and powerful than the Melchites, so called from their support of the Greek Emperor, the patron of the Council. Upon the death of the Emperor Marcian, they murdered Proterius, whom he had appointed successor to Dioscorus, and substituted in his place Timotheus Ælurius, whose sentiments were congenial with those of the banished patriarch; and though occasionally they were obliged to submit to a Melchite patriarch on the occurrence of a vacancy, and were sadly distressed, they at length got matters settled according to their own wishes. The majority of the Christians of Egypt declared themselves "Jacobites" nearly as soon as Jacob Baradæus gave form to his sect.

[1] Makrizi, section 65.—See also Eutychii Annales, tom. i. p. 331.

Makrízí, the Arabic historian, whose name I have already mentioned, thus writes respecting the conquest of Egypt by the Musalmáns,—

"Know that the whole of Egypt at the entrance of the Muhammadans was filled with Christians, who divided themselves into two parties, respectively distinguished by race and faith. One party consisted of the men who held the government, and who were all of the soldiery of the lord of Constantinople, the Greek emperor. Their rites and doctrines were those of the Melchites. The Greeks exceeded the number of 300,000. All the inhabitants of Egypt, who were called Copts, formed the other part. Their race was a mixed one, as amongst them Abyssinians, Nubians, Israelites, and others, could easily be discerned, all adherent to the Jacobite doctrine. Some of them were imperial scribes, merchants, and shopkeepers; some bishops, and others presbyters, and such as pertain to this order; and some husbandmen, labourers, and servants. It was the effect of discord which prevented them from forming marriages between themselves and the Melchites who held the government, and that it happened that they murdered one another. Their number was about two millions."[1]

In hatred to the Greeks, as this writer proceeds to inform us, the Copts willingly became subject to the Musalmáns under Amru ben Elâás, the invader of the country A.D. 638, and even assisted him in overcoming the Greeks, which he finally did by the capture of Alexandria in 640. The tribute exacted of the Copts was two golden *dinârs* for every person above sixteen years of age, with the exception of old men, women, and monks. At first they seemed greatly to relish their exchange of masters, even paying this price, rejoicing in the vengeance which their hate led them to view as executed in their own behalf.

Fearful has been the retribution with which the providence of God has visited the Copts, since they placed themselves under the power of the Musalmáns. Degradation and persecution have been their lot during the centuries which have intervened between that time and the present.

[1] Taki ed-Din, Num. 314-317.

Hence the great reduction of their numbers, in a country remarkable for its tendency to an increase of population, and the depression under which they have so long laboured. Their history, so far as it is interesting, is little else than a narrative of suffering,—of suffering so great, and in general so little deserved, that Makrízí, himself a Musalmán, cannot record its details without writing as if his sympathy were wholly on their side.[1]

When I put the question to the Coptic patriarch, "What are the principal ecclesiastical authorities of the Coptic Church after the Bible?" he answered, "The Sayings of the Fathers, the Liturgy of Basilius, the Liturgy of Gregorius, the Liturgy of Cyrillus, and the Apostolic Constitutions." The liturgies here mentioned as used in the churches, are in the Coptic language, which is not now spoken by a single native of Egypt. A translation of them is given by Renaudot in his Collection. They are merely communion offices, containing some prayers, which may be suitably addressed to the throne of grace, but bearing unequivocal evidence that the Copts, with all the other oriental Christians, believe that the bread and wine in the Lord's Supper are changed into the real body and blood of Christ, and presented by the priest as an oblation to God. A large fragment of the apostolical constitutions in the Ethiopic translation by Mr. Pell Platt, was published in 1834 by the Oriental Translation Fund. A complete copy in Arabic, which I procured, I have brought with me to this country. Though it contains a good portion of unobjectionable matter, it contains also much that is erroneous and injurious. The false assumption of the name of the twelve apostles, and

[1] Renaudot, in his History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria, and also in the first volume of his Collection of the Oriental Liturgies, frequently refers to Makrízí. The original Arabic of Makrízí, in so far as the Copts are concerned, was published at Sulzbach in 1828, with a Latin translation by Wetzer.

that of Paul the apostle of the Gentiles, stamps the commencement of it at least with decided imposture.

The Copts, like the other sects whom we have mentioned, have seven sacraments, namely, *Baptism*, which they generally administer to boys at the age of forty days, and to girls at the age of eighty days,—unless they should previously be seized with dangerous illness,—dipping the body three times in water, to which the sacred oil has been added, and over which the sign of the cross has been made;[1] the *Eucharist*, which we have just noticed; *Confirmation*, which is effected with *meirún*, or the holy oil, immediately after baptism; *Confession*, which is followed by absolution, and sometimes by the prescription of penance; *Ordination*, *Matrimony*, and *Extreme Unction*, which is administered with prayer to the healthy after the commission of great sins, as well as to the sick and dying. Connected with these sacraments, they hold the erroneous sentiments which we condemn in the Roman and Greek Churches. The Copts, I may here mention, practise the rite of circumcision, like the ancient Egyptians; but as the patriarch told me, more as a civil than a religious custom.[2] This they do privately, without any fixed age for its performance. Their religious fasts are numerous and severe. The patriarch exhibits himself as the great exemplar of religious austerity. It is said that he is awaked from his sleep every quarter of an hour during the night, that he may call on the name of God.

During my visit to Cairo, I once attended public worship at the Coptic church. The memoranda of what I witnessed on that occasion I here insert:—

[1] The Coptic form of baptism is given by J. A. Asseman, in his Codex Liturgicus, lib. ii. p. 150, et seq.

[2] "The antiquity of its institution in Egypt is fully established by the monuments of the upper and lower country at a period long antecedent to the arrival of Joseph."—Wilkinson's Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians. Sec. Ser., vol. i. p. 318.—Herodotus and Strabo speak of the practice of the rite in Egypt from the earliest times.

It commenced as soon as it was light on the Lord's-day morning; and it was well attended both by young and old, who, on account of the smallness of the church,—the largest, however, belonging to the Copts of the place,—were much crowded together, to their great discomfort, increased by the want of ventilation, and the burning of numerous candles. The construction of the church much resembled a Jewish synagogue. It was divided into four compartments. The *heikel*, or chancel, forms the chief compartment at the eastern end; and it is separated from the rest of the church by wooden panel-work. Before it is suspended a curtain with a large cross wrought upon it, having a door in the centre as an entrance. The compartment adjoining to this, separated by a fence of lattice-work from the other parts of the church, was occupied by the officiating priests and their assistants, by the patriarch, who was sitting on an antique seat called the chair of St. Mark, and by the more respectable portions of the congregation. Into this compartment we were allowed to enter. The inferior members of the congregation occupied the next apartment; and the most remote was appropriated to the women, who were nearly completely screened from our view by another partition of lattice-work. I observed no images; but a few glaring pictures were here and there suspended from the walls. The worshipper, on entering the church, laid aside his shoes, but agreeably to the universal custom of the Eastern Churches, kept on his turban.[1] His first act of devotion was that of prostrating himself before the chancel immediately in front of the suspended cross, kissing the hem of the curtain, and then before the patriarch, who extended to him his blessing on his rising, and lastly before some of the pictures of the saints. The entrance of great numbers after the service had begun, who went through these ceremonies, added much to the confusion, which was now and then increased by the tinkling of bells and cymbals, and some of the priests moving up and down and waving censers with incense rising from them, and making demands on the patriarch for a new supply of combustibles when their stock was exhausted. Many of the older men were leaning on crutches, about four or five feet high, during most of the time of the service, evidently obtaining some relief from the use of them, in the lack of all pews, during the three or four lengthened hours of their meeting. They were frequently talking to one another and exchanging jokes. Some of the priests were hunting after the boys,

[1] The text, "Every man praying or prophesying having his head *covered*, disbonoureth his head," the Orientals, perhaps not without reason, interpret as if to be rendered, "Every man praying or prophesying having his head *enwrapped* [like a woman's] disbonoureth his head."

who were seeking their amusement, evidently anxious to improve their behaviour in our presence. Their prayers were almost all in the dead Coptic, and, of course, were perfectly unintelligible by the people, who seemed to take little interest in them, though, led by others, they gave the responses.[1] The reading of the gospels and epistles was in Arabic; but it was performed in a most irreverent and unimpressive manner by mere boys, who seemed to be highly amused with their occupation. The bread and wine used in the Lord's Supper were particularly inspected by the patriarch and priests before their consecration. The bread was in the form of small round cakes, with the figure of the cross, I believe, stamped upon them; and the wine was contained in a small glass vessel. The bread was dipped in the wine before it was given to the people, only a small portion of whom partook of it; and the priests alone drunk of the cup. The patriarch concluded the service by reading some exhortations in Arabic, and pronouncing benedictions. Except in so far as his part of the business was concerned, the whole seemed rather a mockery of sacred things, than the worship of the omnipresent and omniscient God.

The state of the Coptic and other Eastern Churches in Egypt, whose spiritual degradation and destitution are great, has not been altogether overlooked by evangelical Protestants. The Rev. Joseph Jowett, the representative of the Church Missionary Society in the Mediterranean, the Rev. Pliny Fisk of America, and Dr. Joseph Wolff, during their visits to the country within the last twenty-five years, noted their peculiar circumstances, and commended them in their published journals to the benevolence of those who are able to extend to them relief.[2] Five Lutheran ministers, who had been all destined for Abyssinia at the close of 1825, were brought into connexion with Egypt; and two of them,

[1] "Vansleb (Relation de l'Egypte, p. 363,) relates that he had the satisfaction to see at Siout, in 1763, the last Copt who understood his language, and with whom it was to die. This man being eighty years old, and deaf, Vansleb could get from him very little information."—Sonini's Travels in Upper and Lower Egypt, p. 353. Though all colloquial knowledge of the language has ceased, some of the priests still understand its meaning.

[2] Jowett's Researches in the Mediterranean. Wolff's Journal. Memoir of Pliny Fisk.

Messrs. Lieder and Krusé, were eventually settled at Cairo, which, since that time, they have made the head-quarters of their mission, and where they have faithfully and diligently laboured to diffuse Christian education among the Copts, to promote among them the circulation of the Scriptures, and religious books and tracts, and, by conversation and exhortation, to revive among them the spirit of true godliness. The acquaintance of Mr. Lieder I had the pleasure of making during my late visit to Egypt, Mr. Krusé being then absent; and I was glad to be informed by him, as well as to learn from my own personal observation, that matters during his residence in the country had begun much to improve. By his kind and judicious conduct, as well as by the benefits conferred on the Coptic community through the educational efforts of the Mission, he has gained the regard and esteem of the Coptic patriarch, and many of the clergy, and great numbers of the people, and thus opened up a great, and what may be hoped will prove an effectual, door of usefulness. He has under his charge an elementary school, taught on the Lancasterian system, containing about a hundred boys, and a seminary containing about twenty-five youths receiving a higher education, and which, when I saw him, he was about to re-organize, with reduced numbers, however, as a theological school, from which the patriarch had promised to select candidates for the Coptic Church. Mrs. Lieder, whose literary attainments and application in the work of oriental teaching are so well known, had a female school under her charge, with an average attendance of about 120 pupils, and taught by a Syrian lady, Omm Suleimán. A spirit of serious inquiry had begun to appear among a few of the Copts, but no decided movement had occurred. The embracement of evangelical views by any considerable number of individuals would probably lead either to their abandonment of the Coptic Church, or to their expulsion from its pale. Their

consciences would undoubtedly shrink from the practice of the worship of saints, and their pictures, and the adoration of the mass, and other idolatrous and antichristian usages; and toleration would scarcely be extended to them in dissent. This matter, however, is for the present hid with God; and inconveniences, trials, and dangers, ought not to deter from present duty.

A revival of evangelical religion among the Copts would undoubtedly render them a blessing in the midst of the land of Egypt. In the minds of the Musalmán population, however much they may be despised as Christians, they are associated with claims to a higher antiquity as a race inhabiting the country, than that of those who are now their masters, whether Turks or Arabs. Muḥammad Ali, the present ruler of Egypt, clearly discerns the use to which they may be turned, connected with the state; and he has given to large numbers of them employment in the public service. Dr. Bowring, in his official report addressed to Lord Palmerston, presented to both Houses of Parliament in 1840, justly says,

"The influence of the Copts is undoubtedly an increasing influence, and they will probably occupy no small part of the field in the future history of Egypt. Theirs have been centuries of cruel sufferings, persecutions, and humiliations. In the eyes of the Turks, they have always been the Pariahs of the Egyptian people; yet they are an amiable, pacific, and intelligent race, whose worst vices have grown out of their seeking shelter from wrong and robbery. A certain sympathy, perhaps the result of common sufferings, exists between the Copts and the Arabs. They are the surveyors, the scribes, the arithmeticians, the measurers, the clerks; in a word, the learned men of the land. They are to the counting-house and the pen, what the fellah is to the field and the plough. . . In the manufactories of the Pasha, many of the Copts are employed as handloom weavers. . . A great many of them are employed in public offices."[1]

They are nearly ten times more numerous than the Turks

[1] Bowring's Report on Egypt, pp. 8, 9.

in Egypt, who are reckoned at 20,000; and, except in so far as the army is concerned, from which they are excluded, they are beginning to occupy the situations formerly held by Turks. An evangelical reformation amongst them would increase as well as sanctify their influence.

4. THE ABYSSINIAN CHURCH.

The adherents of this Church occupy the whole of the country marked in our maps as Abyssinia, with the exception of its outer parts on all sides, which are now occupied by Heathen and Muhammadan tribes, which, till lately, were fast contracting its limits. Beyond the bounds of Habesh, on both sides of the river Gochob, too, it appears, from credible reports communicated to Sir William Harris during his late embassy to the country, "there exist in various quarters, isolated communities professing the Christianity of Æthiopia, who for a long period of years have successfully held their position among the mountain fastnesses in the very heart of the now Pagan and Muhammadan country." Of these I would here glean a few notices, as the most important and interesting accessions to the geography of Christendom which have been made in our day. For the sake of precision, I give them in the words of Major Harris himself.

"One of the most remarkable of these seats is in the lake Zuái." Its five islands "are covered with lofty trees, and contain upwards of three thousand Christian houses." "In Gurágué the population are almost exclusively Christian. Twelve isolated churches, previously unheard of, were discovered a few years since on the conquest of Yeya, by Sáhela Selassie [king of Shoa in Abyssinia]; and between Garro and Metcha, where forest commences in the south of Shoa, is a small tract peopled by Christians, who reside entirely in caves among the mountains, as a measure of security against the heathen, by whom they are compassed in on every side." "Eight days' journey from Aimellele, on the frontier of Gurágué, is Cambát, a small mountainous province, lying due east of Zingero. With exception of a few Muhammadan rovers, this independent state is inhabited solely by Christians." "Wollámo is another

Christian province under an independent sovereign, lying below Cambát, to the south-eastward of Zingero." "Eight days' journey beyond Zingero is the country of Mager, the king of which, by name Degaio, is represented to be a very powerful monarch. Korchási, which is famous for the great river Wábí, is peopled by Christians, as is Sidama also, and both are surrounded on all sides by the heathen." "But of all the isolated remnants of the ancient Æthiopic empire to the south of Abyssinia, Susa would appear to be the most important and the most powerful. This kingdom is situated beyond Caffa, and extends to the head of the Gitché, which rises in Chara-Nara, and is one of the principal sources of the Gochob..... The language spoken is quite distinct from that of the Galla, from the Amharic, and from the ancient Gíz or Æthiopic. It possesses a written character."

These intimations are not less delightful than startling from their entire novelty. They would appear to rest upon good authority.

"Making due allowance," says Major Harris, "for the superstition and geographical ignorance of the various natives from whom the foregoing particulars have been collected, the fullest credit may be accorded,—minute cross-examinations of individuals, who could have held no previous communication with each other, having corroborated every point." "It is important," he adds, "to know that the Gochob, in its upper course, is occupied by so powerful a Christian people, whose sovereign exercises over the destinies of the surrounding Gentiles, an influence which, if properly directed, could be made to check the rapid spread of Islamism, instead of fostering the traffic in human beings."[1]

Where is the enterprising Christian traveller who will personally visit these remote localities in the interior of Africa; and where is the missionary of the Cross who will descant to their inhabitants on the love and grace of Him whose name they bear, till, moved by his own Spirit, they in very deed lay hold of His righteousness, and be born again in the image of His own holiness?

The earliest authentic notices which we have of the conversion of Æthiopia to Christianity, are connected with a visit made to the country about the year 327 of our era, by Meropius, a merchant of Tyre, and his nephews Frumentius

[1] Harris's Highlands of Æthiopia, vol. iii. pp. 74-83.

and Ædesius. When, after exploring the country, and having set sail on their return, they were forced by a disaster at sea to re-enter one of its ports, the uncle was murdered, and the youths sent into captivity. They were carried to court, where one of them, Frumentius, was appointed to the office of secretary. The sovereign, before his death, gave them their liberty; but the queen-regent prevailed on them to remain in the country during the minority of her son. They embraced the opportunities presented to them of commending the religion of Jesus to those around them; and they were blessed in their labours. When they did leave the country on the king becoming of age, Frumentius communicated to Athanasius, the patriarch of Alexandria, the success which he experienced; and by this father he was ordained a bishop to the Æthiopians, among whom he afterwards experienced such success, that the king and the great body of the people embraced the Christian faith.[1] It was at Axum that this sovereign resided, as appears from a letter of Constantius the emperor,—who wished to bring him within the pale of Arianism,—quoted by Athanasius, clearly shows.[2] Frumentius is commemorated by the Abyssinians till the present time. He occupies a place in their calendar of saints, under the name of Salama.

To other notices of the early history of the Abyssinian Church I cannot here advert.[3] The connexion which it formed with Egypt through Athanasius has remained to this day; its Abúná, or chief ecclesiastic, being still appointed

[1] Socrates, lib. i. cap. 19. Sozomen, lib. ii. cap. 24. Theodoritus, lib. i. cap. 23. The country mentioned in these passages as the scene of the labours of Frumentius is called "India." I formerly thought that it referred to Hindustán (Second Exposure of Hinduism, p. 145); but I am now convinced from the mention of Axum (which is in Abyssinia) in the letter of Constantius referred to below, that "India" was indefinitely used as correspondent with Æthiopia.

[2] Athanasii Apologet. ad Imp. Constant.

[3] For the most important of these, see Geddes's Church History of Æthiopia.

by the patriarch of the Coptic Church, of which it reckons itself a branch, and which it imitates both in doctrine and discipline,—far outstripping it, however, in the multiplicity of its absurd legends, vain and superstitious ceremonies, and its idolatrous worship of saints and angels. How far it has strained its inventive faculties in the exercise of will-worship, appears from its giving Pontius Pilate and his wife Procla a place in the calendar of its saints, under the 19th of June,—the former, because he washed his hands before condemning our Lord, and the latter, because she said, Meddle not with that just person. The clergy are remarkable for their ignorance, and no check seems to exist as to the assumption of the ministerial office. "The ordination of priests," says Mr. (now bishop) Gobat, "is easily performed. It is sufficient for a man to know the letters of his alphabet, with a few prayers, and to give two pieces of salt to the interpreter of the Abuna or Coptic bishop, after which he receives the imposition of hands, without examination or exhortation; and this is the reason why those who are better instructed would be ashamed to be made priests. There are exceptions; but I am speaking of the generality."[1] The religious instruction of the people is not to be expected in these circumstances; and its twelve thousand clergy are nothing but "twelve thousand clerical drones."[2] Public worship, as conducted by them, seems neither designed to honour God nor benefit man. "Capering and beating the ground with their feet, the priests stretch out their crutches toward each other with frantic gesticulations, whilst the clash of the timbrel, the sound of the drum, and the howling of harsh voices, complete a most strange form of devotion. The lessons are taken partly from the Scriptures, partly from the miracles of the Holy Virgin and of Tekla Haimanot,[3] the

[1] Gobat's Abyssinia, p. 349.

[2] Harris's Æthiopia, vol. iii. p. 131.

[3] Tekla Haimanot is the favourite saint of Abyssinia. "Tekla Hay-

life of St. George, and other foolish and fabulous works; but all are in the ancient Æthiopic tongue, which to the congregation is a dead letter."[1] The books found in the country besides the Scriptures are 108 in number. Copies of all of them have been taken to Germany by my friend Dr. Roth, the naturalist of the British embassy, and deposited in the Protestant College of Erlangen. They consist principally of legendary lives of the saints, monks, and other personages; of abridgments of scripture history, sadly corrupted by absurd traditions and extravagant inventions; of collections of hymns and prayers, some of which are intended to frighten evil spirits; and of ecclesiastical canons and summaries of doctrine. Taking them as a whole, they are more fitted to mislead than to edify, to nurse superstition than to beget a right faith and cherish a right devotion. A few of them, perhaps, are worthy of examination, as contributing in some degree to throw light on the religious history of Æthiopia.[2]

Many of the customs of the Abyssinians,—such as the practice of circumcision on the eighth day, abstinence from the unclean animals, the observance of the last day of the week as a day of rest (in addition to the Lord's-day), religious purifications, the wearing of a ribband of blue as a symbol of their faith, the construction of their churches in the form of synagogues, the performance of worship with the

manot lived in the seventh century and was the apostle around Shoa. He was born in Shoa. He replaced the royal family upon the throne, and was zealous in converting the Galas to Christianity. He even made such an impression on the Devil by preaching, that he (the Devil) determined to become a monk for forty years ..... The same Tekla Haymanot stood forty years upon one place praying, until he broke his leg. There are twenty-four elders around the throne of God with censers in their hands, serving God, and Tekla Haymanot is the twenty-fifth. He had six wings like angels!" Wolff's Journal, vol. v. p. 350. This is a fair specimen of the legends of Abyssinia.

[1] Harris's Æthiopia, vol. iii. pp. 136, 137.

[2] See a catalogue of these works in the appendix to the third volume of the Highlands of Æthiopia, by Sir William Harris.

musical instruments mentioned in the Psalms, abstinence from the sinew that shrank and from blood, the practice of confession on the day of the atonement, and the offering of a kind of atoning sacrifice called Boza,—have evidently had a Jewish origin; and there consequently can be little doubt, that the nation was considerably affected by Jewish manners and customs before its conversion to Christianity. I think it probable that the Jews, in some numbers, extended themselves from Egypt and Yemen to the country before the Christian era. It is a matter of certainty, that many Jews repaired to it both after the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, and on the persecution raised by Adrian. Many of their descendants, estimated by Dr. Wolff at 200,000, are still in Abyssinia, known by the name of Felashas. Heathen proximity and intercommunion, however, have told more on the Church there than Judaism.

I have already mentioned, that the Abyssinian Church is a branch of the Coptic. It is not necessary for me, then, particularly to advert to its constitution and creed. It may be proper to mention, however, that, for the last sixty years, religious controversy has raged within it, and that certain differences of opinion respecting the birth and unctions of the Saviour,—of which we have not yet received consistent and intelligible accounts,—have divided it into three parties most inimical to one another, and who will no longer partake of the communion together.[1]

All the Abyssinians whom I have met in India, Egypt, and Syria, seemed to deal with religion as a matter of great seriousness and importance; and I observed that the most outwardly devout pilgrims visiting Jerusalem are from Æthiopia. Nothing but religious feelings of some kind or other, indeed, could make the Abyssinians submit to the numerous fasts and penances enjoined by their ecclesiastical standards,

[1] Compare Gobat, pp. 342, 343, with Major Harris, vol. iii, pp. 186-191.

and prescribed to them by the priests, and in which they suppose the essence of religion consists. Depraved and degraded though they almost all are,—from their imperfect knowledge of that holy faith which they nominally profess, and the superstitious practices to which, acting almost on the license of Pagans, they have devoted themselves,—there is still something connected with them calculated to act on our sympathy as Christians.

"We may still congratulate them," says Mr. Gobat, "for the little they have preserved of Christianity, for it is, after all, to this that the Christian traveller is obliged to attribute all those traces in the character of the Abyssinians which, in many respects, render them superior to all the nations of Africa. Indeed, it is a great advantage for Abyssinia to have had till now none but Christian governors. This is acknowledged even by the Mussalmáns of that country. It is in this religion itself that the seed is to be found for the regeneration of the people of Abyssinia." "Abyssinia as she now is," says Sir William Harris, "presents the most singular compound of vanity, meekness, and ferocity,—of devotion, superstition, and ignorance. But, compared with the other nations of Africa, she unquestionably holds a high station. She is superior in arts and in agriculture,—in laws, religion, and social condition, to all the benighted children of the sun. The small portion of good which does exist may be justly ascribed to the remains of the wreck of Christianity, which, although stranded on a rocky shore, and buffeted by the storms of ages, is not yet overwhelmed. . . . . There is, perhaps, no portion of the whole continent to which European civilization might be applied with better ultimate results; and although now dwindled into an ordinary kingdom [with several chiefs], Habesh, under proper government and proper influence, might promote the amelioration of all the surrounding people, while she resumed her original position as the first of African monarchies."

Is there no hope of the speedy amelioration of this most interesting country? The attention of the Church of England Missionary Society has been directed to it for several years. In 1820, the Rev. Mr. Jowett, the agent of that institution, purchased, on account of the British and Foreign Bible Society, an entire version of the Bible into the Amharic, the principal vernacular language of Abyssinia, which

had been executed at Cairo by a native of the country. It has been printed for distribution. Messrs. Gobat and Kugler entered Abyssinia at the close of 1839. The latter was cut off by a melancholy accident; but the former, after a missionary journey in the country of three years, says, "The word of God, as contained in the four Gospels and some copies of the epistles, has been distributed in every quarter of the country. The religious conversations which I had at Gondar have been reported in every province. The most instructed persons have begun, in consequence of these means, at least to doubt the truth of some of those errors which they had always considered truth itself; and some young people appear to feel the drawing of the Father, who will lead them to Jesus, that they may receive eternal life." Mr. Gobat, accompanied by Mr. Isenberg, a second time visited the northern provinces. Dr. Wolff also made a journey to the northern parts of the country, where he found Mr. Gobat so unwell that he was obliged humanely to accompany him to the coast. Mr. Isenberg returned to this country, where he prepared some elementary works in the Amharic and Galla languages. He and Mr. Krapf, and their companions, afterwards failed to establish themselves in the country, and particularly at Shoa, though for some little time they appeared to be acquiring a salutary influence. But circumstances have led them to withdraw, at least for the present, from the country.

When Dr. Wolff visited Abyssinia, he and Mr. Isenberg encouraged an influential native to set out for India with his two promising sons, in order to procure for them a superior education. On their reaching Aden, they wrote to the Bombay Government informing it, that they had obtained letters for me, and that they intended to place themselves under my care. On their arrival in India, I was prepared to receive them into my family, and to appoint the youth to

study in our mission institution. The father staid a year with me, watching diligently over his sons; and he then returned to Abyssinia, leaving the youth under my care. They remained four years and eight months under my roof, during which time they profited much by the instructions received in my family, and by their attendance at our institution, all the members of the mission showing the deepest anxiety to advance their improvement. They distinguished themselves even among the Hindú pupils, with whom there is no lack of talent; and, what is of far more importance, they showed the most pleasing and satisfactory signs of personal piety, being constrained by their religious feelings to sit down with our native Church at the Lord's table. On my leaving India for this country, they accompanied me, as my readers have already been informed, from Bombay to Aden. It was long before I received tidings of them; but when these did arrive, they were found to be of a very interesting character.

The Rev. James Glásgow of Káṭhiáwád in India, in a letter, dated Rájkoṭ, July 15, 1845, thus wrote of them to my friend the Rev. R. Nesbit of Bombay:—

"On Saturday evening last, in the dusk, and just as a weighty shower was spending itself, my servant came to tell me that two *Christian* lads were at my gate, asking if I would permit them to pass the night in my compound. I sent for them, and with a dreamy recollection of the face of the youngest resembling some countenance I had seen, I accosted them in Gujaráti and Hindustáni. Finding that we did not recognise them as old familiar faces, a trifle would have made them slip away unknown. However, at last, one of them said, we are Gabru and Maricha, and produced a certificate in Dr. Wilson's hand which, drenched though they were with rain, they had kept clean and dry. We brought them in, and provided refreshment and dry clothes. They are now with us, and we are happy to show them hospitality. Their story is simply this: They came first from Abyssinia to an island near the west, in the Red Sea, called Massawah; thence they sailed to Mocha; thence to Aden; from Aden, they embarked in an Arab vessel for Bombay, where they

meant to attend the Free Assembly's Institution for some additional time. For about fourteen or fifteen days, they were greatly tossed with strong winds, and unable, as the captain had intended, to touch at Ras-el-Had, on the Arabian coast near the Persian Gulf. They were at last obliged, with the stern of the vessel broken, to put in at a small port called Mandŕá on the Kach coast. Thence they walked to another port twelve kos (leagues) distant, called Tuniá, and got over to Juriá, from which place, they walked to Rájkot."

At the close of the monsoon, the youths left the province of Káṭhiáwád, and arrived safe in Bombay, from which place they addressed to me the following simple but touching letters. I give them in their genuine form, correcting merely in one of them, a few slips in the spelling. In a spiritual point of view, they are as cold waters to the thirsty soul, as they bear the hopeful impress of true piety,—a piety tried and tested by the degenerate Christianity of Abyssinia, which the youths mourn over with feelings of deepest compassion, after revisiting their native country, and which they ardently long to see reformed and purified:—

"Bombay, *September* 15, 1845.

"Reverend and Dear Sir,—Although it is a long time that I have not wrote to you any letter, and since I departed from you, yet now I am glad to take liberty to inform you these following lines; and may I hope also that this information will find you in the state of your good health.

"As for myself and my brother Maricha, we are thankful to say that we are quite well, since it is, by the blessing of the Almighty, eternal, and everlasting Jehovah, God only; yea, we will thank him more and more; and may we remember him all the days of our lives, for he wonderfully redeemeth our souls before the foundation of the world, and has remembered us among the flock of (the) one Shepherd, which is Christ Jesus, 'who is the same yesterday, to day, and for ever.'

"We must thank you also for your trouble in cultivating our minds. It was by your means, also, that we have the fellowship with the Father, with the Son, and with the Spirit.

"The Churches of Abyssinia are something like the Jewish Churches. Their ceremony is fashionable and extraordinary. Their priests are as bad as the Bráhmans of India. What shall we say, then, unto them? Should we say they are Jews, or Mohammedans, or Heathens? No, they

are not Jews, for they do not perform all the Jewish laws; nor Mohammedans, for they do not believe to (in) that great impostor; nor Heathens, because they do not give the beauty of the Almighty to wood and stones. Alas! they are still ignorant and uncivilized Christians. Though I love them, yet I cannot but help to express their folly. And on this subject I beseech you, reverend Sir, that you should remember them always in your prayers, that they may know the Word of the Lord, saying unto them, 'I am Jehovah thy God, thou shalt have no other god before me;' and that they may hear his sayings, Come unto me, why will ye perish? and I am ready and willing to forgive? and that they may look to his yoke and take (it) upon them, for they shall find rest unto their souls. May, then, the Lord be merciful unto them, and purify them, even as pure gold, and give them the Comforter, that they may be comforted! Then, they will know that there is no remission of sin, but only by the blood of the Lamb. Then, they will be glad and rejoice, saying, Jehovah is our righteousness and our refuge: 'Behold, now is the accepted time, behold, now is the day of salvation.'

"But (it is) not only poor ignorant Abyssinians who have rebelled against God. (It is) both great and small, rich and poor, wise and unwise, kings and subjects, even those to whom God has revealed the Gospel of his dear and only-begotten Son: 'Whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but possess everlasting life.' And men, how miserable they are! comparing (imagining) themselves to be equal with God, saying, we will go by our righteousness, why do we want the narrow passage? we will make a wide and a broad way. So they go, and return no more. But what evil has done the Son? Did he not, for man's sake, take the human nature? Did he not come to this miserable world, from heaven, his high abode? Did he not bear our iniquity, and carry our sorrow? Did he not offer up himself to God on the cross? Where is then the evil? Are all these pains and sufferings for himself, and not for us? If we can do so well, why did he suffer all this? I shall say nothing more on this subject. But it is my daily prayer to God, that he may drive away all the evils from their heart. Our God is dishonoured, yet he will not keep silent. 'He shall come down like rain among the mown grass, as showers that water the earth.' 'But who may abide the day of his coming? or who shall stand when he appeareth?'

"I shall give you also an account of our coming to Bombay. My father is always remembering you. He has had his province again (to govern.) We left him in Gondar. Gondar, you know, is the principal city of Abyssinia. We left Adawa in February, which is our begin

(birth) place. While we were coming we had a very bad storm, near the Island of Socotra. We saw the most powerful and the most awful hand of the Almighty. The form of the ocean was suddenly changed. All the surface became mountainous—hills and valleys. Our soul was melted because of trouble, and our heart fainted; but the Lord heard us, and he is so wonderful and so merciful. We landed at Mandra, and travelled to Rajkot. We take great trouble. We were very glad to meet the Rev. Mr. Glasgow, and the Rev. Mr. Adam; and they kindly received us. Also, Mr. Montgomery in Gogo received us kindly. After all we got to Bombay on the 9th of September, out of all trouble. And now, reverend Sir, I have no more to say; but, I humbly beseech you to give my best regard to Dhanjibhái, and to all the followers of Christ. Remember us also, that the Lord may enable us to do good to our native land, and that he may also help us in all our ways.—I am, &c.

"*P. S.*—I am sorry to say that Roman priest has had a permission to build a church in Abyssinia. I hope you will answer us soon. Please, sir, for a copy of Major Harris's 'Travels in Abyssinia?'"

"Bombay, *September* 15, 1845.

"Reverend and Dear Sir,—It has been more than once my desire to inform you about my native land; but it was very difficult for me to send to Scotland, for there is no mail to Europe or India from our land. But it has pleased God to bring us again to see India and our Christian brethren, with great difficulty.

"The religion of Abyssinia is Christianity, corrupted by a mixture of Jewish, Mohammedan, and Pagan superstition. My brother and myself were brought to you by our father, to Bombay, in April, in 1837, that we might attend the institution, under your care, till the 2d January 1843. Though we were of those that worshipped the graven images, yet, by our coming to you, and by your means, and by the Spirit of God, we have been called to be brought, through Jesus Christ, from darkness to the light, and from the wide and broad gate to the narrow (way) which leadeth unto life. Thanks be to God, greatly through our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom we have now received the atonement of sin. O yes, we are thankful; but what a heavy burden is that upon us—not because we show the light—not because we have the Bible in our hand—not because we read it as we like—not because we watch and pray against temptation—not because we have received the spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father!

"Then, my dear sir, what do you think that heavy burden is? Let me quote to you, and to your fellow brethren in Christ, the language of

the holy apostle, whose witness was on high, and whose record was in the sky, and say :—'Brethren, my heart's desire and prayer to God for Abyssinia is, that her children may be saved.' Is there greater than this burden in this world? O, I don't think, that as for Gabru and myself, there is! This is the only (thing) which makes us weak and wretched. Though we were ready to preach the Gospel as much as we could, we were not ashamed, for it is the power of God unto salvation; and though we have told them often and often that they are out of the way, and that they should worship the true and the living God only, yet, having dark, foolish hearts, they profess themselves to be wise—changing the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man—changing the truth of God into a lie, and worship and serve the creature more than the Creator, who is blessed for ever.

"Then, my dear sir, let your desire, and that of your brethren in Christ be, that the children of Abyssinia may be saved; but by what means? The answer is, by sending a preacher to that dark land, that we may suffer the heavy burden together, and that they may be enlightened through his means, and through the Spirit of God. Perhaps, you may say, 'You may teach them;' but they wont like to hear us, for they say that we have sold our ancestors' religion for money. They love the darkness rather than the light. But are we greater than them, O Lord? In no wise. Then, let me use this language: 'Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.' Again, let me bring you to think what were the West Indies, and Southern Africa—Sandwich Islands, and India? They were just like them, or worse than them. It is only because the General Assemblies[1] were kind to them and not to Abyssinia (that they are what they are.) But, I hope, that from this time they will be kind, and have the desire to bring them to Jesus Christ, who suffered for the guilty of mankind—for the rich and for the poor—for the white and for the black.

I am telling you again and again, and I am free after telling you, though I will not be happy till I leave this world; but I will fall at his feet, saying: 'Hast thou not given thy dear Son for lost sinners? and wilt thou not, with him, freely give us thy Spirit, according to thy promises? Look down with an eye of pity on that land, for without thy grace they must perish. They have destroyed themselves; but our help is to be found in thee, by sending thy Holy Spirit to that land.' This desire and prayer is the love of country; and this love is found in every human being. The Son of God, in him was the love of country. He beheld the city, says the evangelist, and wept over it. May the Lord

[1] Here used as synonymous with Missionary Institutions.

put the same love into you and the General Assembly—may he make you all to pray and to have zeal, and to send a missionary to that dark land! I am sorry that the deceiver is going to establish the Church of Rome in our land, to destroy the work of the Gospel.

"I am sorry to inform you about our journey to this place. After leaving Aden, we enjoyed some wind for some days; but, when we came between Socotra and Coria, we suffered stormy wind for sixteen days continually. We landed in Cutch at Mandra; and, as our ship was not able to come to Bombay, we were obliged to travel from Mandra to Kattawar, to the pious brethren, and then to Gogo. We walked all along; for it was long. We left our land in January, and we came to Bombay in September; but we are thankful in all this trouble we have suffered. I hope God will see our trouble, and prayer, and hear us; for it is not for our glory, but for him who is above all. We were received kindly by Mrs. and Mr. Nesbit, and by the Christian friends. Give my salam to Dhanjibhái and all the Christians. I hope you will answer us very soon.—I am," &c.

These affecting appeals will not be overlooked. Many, I trust, will lift their hearts unto God in fervent prayer in behalf of these youthful and beloved Ethiopian disciples, who have travelled so far, and suffered so much, that the work of their preparation for preaching the Gospel to their benighted countrymen may be completed; and that some herald of the cross, may, in due time, be sent from the highly favoured lands of the West to "bear this heavy burden with them," and to strive with them mightily for the revival of the faith of the Gospel among the mountains of Africa, in which nominal Christianity has found for ages a refuge from the hate and persecution of the heathen and the follower of the false prophet.

II.—THE PAPAL EASTERN CHURCHES.

DEGENERACY OF THE INDEPENDENT EASTERN CHURCHES—PRETENSIONS OF ROME AND HER EFFORTS FOR THEIR INCORPORATION—THE MARONITE CHURCH—GREEK-CATHOLIC CHURCH—THE EASTERN LATIN CHURCH—GREEK-CATHOLIC, OR, SO-CALLED, MELCHITE CHURCH—ARMENIAN-CATHOLIC CHURCH—SYRIAN-CATHOLIC CHURCH—CHALDEAN-CATHOLIC CHURCH—COPTIC-CATHOLIC CHURCH—DOINGS OF ROME IN ABYSSINIA—GENERAL REMARKS.

THE "Independent Eastern Churches," as will have appeared from the preceding Chapter, have, in many matters of essential importance, both in doctrine and practice, departed far indeed from the simplicity of the truth as it is in Jesus, and as it was propounded by his inspired messengers and apostles. When they act in accordance with their principles, as set forth in their symbolic books and liturgies, they, perhaps with a single exception, disparage the Holy Scriptures, by associating with them, almost on terms of parity, the doctrines and commandments of men. Their worship is polytheistic and idolatrous, in as far as it is extended to angels and saints in heaven, and to pictures, crosses, and relics on earth. They substitute, to an alarming extent, bodily ceremony for the work of the truth and Spirit of God in the soul of man. They support a consecrated sacerdotalism, as the direct channel by which all blessings flow from the Saviour to the sinner; which, by the potency with which it is endowed, either transmutes mere symbols into the real body and blood of Christ, which they only represent, or incorporates the material body and blood of Christ with these symbols; and which, in the dispensa-

tion of the sacraments and ordinances appointed by God, or devised by man, is an instrumentality for accomplishing spiritual regeneration, effecting a renewed propitiation, and securing a free or conditional justification. The salvation of Christ, they represent as procurable by the merit or service of men; and they overlook that righteousness of God which is revealed from faith to faith. In all these respects, they are under the influence of the spirit of Antichrist, allied to the Church of Rome, its most perfect embodiment. With this simple alliance, however, that Church is not, and never has been satisfied, since in its lordly Head it professed to have the vicar of Christ on earth, and the veritable successor of the alleged primate of the apostles. It assumes and asserts, that, as the infallible interpreter of the divine word, and conservator of those traditions which are of co-ordinate authority, it is the supreme expounder of the faith, and guardian of the orthodoxy, of the universal Church. It maintains that it is the soul of Christian union and catholicity, of exertion and enterprise. It declares that it has unlimited powers of legislation and absolution, and that it is paramount in the establishment and maintenance of authority and order, and the exercise of discipline. It claims the subjection, the reverence, and the obedience of every portion of the Church of Christ. All beyond its pale are schismatics and heretics; and presumptuous in their hopes of salvation.

In this state of matters, it is easy to imagine that the Church of Rome never can have looked with a tolerant or friendly eye on any of the religious communities of the East which may have disputed its domination, or sought to free themselves from its tyranny. From first to last it has earnestly and perseveringly sought either their subjection or dissolution. It has treated them, according to its means and opportunities, exactly as it had done the more modern Christian communities of the Reformation of the West.

But the success of the Church of Rome in the subjection and incorporation of the Eastern Churches, has not accorded with the measure of either her desires or endeavours. That success, however, has not been small. She has had her converts among every one of them, and some of them she has reduced to small dimensions. She has formed out of each of them a body in communion with herself; and she is now diligently plying the work of further proselytism. She boasts of distinct societies devoted to her interests, occupying the sublime and beautiful ridges of the gigantic Lebanon; seated on the hills of holiness in the land of Israel's inheritance and the Saviour's incarnation; scattered over the fertile plains of ancient Syria, Mesopotamia, and Babylon, and the classic regions of the Lesser Asia; visible on the prolific banks of the mysterious Nile; about to appear on the crest of the mountains of "jealous Abyssinia;" and discernible even on the romantic heights of Malabar and Travankûr in distant Hind. Of these different communities, and the past and present doings of Rome, we shall now give a brief account.

I. THE MARONITE CHURCH.

Of all the Churches in the East in union with Rome, this is the one which she regards with most confidence, and which is most thoroughly devoted to her influence, and boastful of her patronage. Romanists speak and write of it as do evangelical Christians of the Church of the Waldenses. They declare, that, even during the revolt of the other Eastern Churches from Rome, it unswervingly maintained its union and loyalty. They speak of it as a steady and glorious beacon, dispelling the darkness of ignorance, and withstanding the waves and billows of heresy. They are frequently at a loss for terms by which to express their sense of its excellence. Let us take, as an example of the manner in which they not unfrequently

represent it, the following eulogium pronounced upon it by the Jesuit father Fromage, before the Grand Synod of Lebanon in 1736, which we shall afterwards have occasion to mention:—

"Illustrious Maronites! how I love to contemplate the glory and the beauty of your Church! I find in it nearly all the traits which distinguished and which characterized the infant Church of Jesus Christ, whilst it existed in the bosom of Judaism and Paganism by the most surprising of all miracles issuing from the hands of God, its author. I would willingly compare this Church to the mysterious fleece of Gideon, upon which the dew of heaven fell in abundance, whilst all that surrounded it was dried up, devoured by the burning heat. I would willingly compare it to that nation cherished by heaven, which the Lord himself was pleased to conduct through the deserts, the rocks, the mountains. Whilst their haughty enemies marched through the midst of the thickest darkness, a brilliant and luminous pillar dispelled the horrors of the night, and guided their footsteps. . . . It forms a chosen (séparée) flock, of which the sheep, always obedient to the voice of the Sovereign Shepherd, never wander at any time to strange pastures, and who, on account of their obedience, shelter themselves from the rage of the wolves. We say more, and speak without fear,—they form in the very midst of infidelity, an entire people of true worshippers, who withstand the contagious blast, and the infection of schism and heresy; and it becomes me to say of you, what is said in the sacred text concerning the first of the faithful, you persevere unanimously and constantly in the doctrine of the apostles."[1]

Many passages of the same character may be quoted from the writings of priests, prelates, and popes, for nearly the last two hundred years.[2]

The Maronites trace their name to a Syrian monk, Maro, a contemporary of Chrysostom, who lived on the banks of the Orontes about the year 400, but more particularly to John Márún, or Maro, their "Antiochian patriarch," who

[1] Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses, tom. i. p. 422.

[2] The latest which I have seen, exactly corresponding with the above, is in a pamphlet by Nicolas Murad, the Maronite archbishop of Laodicea, the present representative of the Maronites at the Holy See, published in Paris in 1844.—Notice Historique sur l'Origine de la Nation Maronite, et sur ses Rapports avec la France, pp. 6, 7.

flourished about the year 700, and is alleged by themselves to have been in the communion of the Romish Church.[1]

With regard to the origin of their designation, we have no inclination to quarrel with them. Its existence for so many centuries, however, is calculated to throw suspicion on their original connexion with the Roman Catholic Church, which, it is known, denominates its different sections according to their respective countries, and not according to the names of their distinguished partizans.

That the Maronites had a Syrian origin, is evinced by their ecclesiastical language, the Syriac, and by the locality in which, from time immemorial, they have been found. They are doubtless the descendants of the Christians who remained unconquered and independent, and who took refuge in the Mountains of Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon on the invasion and conquest of Syria by the Muhammadan Khalífs in the seventh century. According to Cedrenus, the Maronites or Mardaites, opposed to the Melchite Greeks, took possession of Mount Lebanon about the year 677, and from that time proved very troublesome to the Saracens or Arabs by their predatory incursions into the open country below. The Khalífat at Damascus was greatly distressed by their incursions, and Moáwiyah, in order to suppress them, concluded a peace with the Greek emperor Constantine Pogonatus, with whom he had been carrying on war in Cilicia. About eight years afterwards Justinian III., when he came to the throne, engaged with the Khalíf Abd el-Malek, in furtherance of the treaty of peace with him, which was confirmed, to bring the Maronites under subjection; and with this view he invaded their country and did them much damage, assassinating their chief, and removing from their territories no fewer than about 12,000 persons. From this

[1] For the Life of John Maro, see the Bibliotheca Orientalis of Assemanus, tom. i. pp. 496-520.

time they were content to continue principally within the boundaries of their great mountainous asylum.[1] The same sovereign afterwards sent troops against them under Marcian and Maurice, who destroyed their principal monastery at Ḥamáh, and killed about five hundred of them, carrying war into the interior of Lebanon. They afterwards obtained their vengeance against Maurice, completely vanquishing his troops and destroying himself in battle.[2]

"From this period, [says Volney,] we lose sight of them till the invasion of the Crusaders, with whom they were sometimes in alliance, and sometimes at variance. In this interval, of more than three centuries, they lost part of their possessions, and were reduced to their present limits, paying tribute, no doubt, as often as the Arabian and Turkman governors were able to compel them. This was the case with the Khalíf of Egypt, Hakem Be-umar-Ellah, who, about the year 1014, ceded their territory to a Turkman, Prince of Aleppo. Two hundred years after, Sálah ed-dín (Saladin) having driven out the Europeans from this country, they were obliged to submit to his power and purchase peace by contributions. . . . . The peace they enjoyed under the Memluks was disturbed by Selim the Second; but this prince, occupied by more important objects, did not take the trouble to subject them. This negligence emboldened them, and in concert with the Druses, and their Emír, the celebrated Fakhr ed-dín, they made daily encroachments on the Ottomans; but these commotions had an unfortunate issue, for Murád the Third, sending against them Ibráhím, Páshá of Cairo, that general reduced them to obedience in 1588, and subjected them to the annual tribute they still pay."[3]

Their connexion with Rome, in the earliest periods of their organization, cannot be established from authentic history. On the contrary, there are express testimonies from that source, according to which it is evident, that for long they stood altogether aloof from its communion, and were probably supporters of what has been called the Monothelite heresy. Some of these authorities it is proper to adduce.

[1] Hist. Com. vol. i. p. 437, &c. [2] Volney's Travels, vol. ii. p. 12.
[3] Vol. ii. p. 10.

They are those of ecclesiastical annalists both within and without the pale of the Romish Church.

Sáyíd Ben Batríḳ, or Eutychius, the patriarch of Alexandria, who flourished in the early part of the tenth century, says,—

"There was at the time of Maurice the emperor of the Greeks, a certain monk named Márún, who asserted that there were two natures and one will, and one operation and person, in our Lord Christ, and corrupted the faith of men. Most of those who embraced his doctrine, and, reckoning themselves his disciples, professed the same, were inhabitants of the city of *Ḥ*amáh, and Kennesarín, and 'Awásím, with some Greeks; and his followers who asserted the same with himself were Maronites, a name taken from his own name Maro. Upon his death, the inhabitants of *Ḥ*amáh erected there a monastery called *Deir Márún*, and professed his faith."[1]

Similar to this is the account given in the Arabic history of Makrízí, to whose work I have referred in the former chapter.

"In the time of the emperor Maurice Cæsar," says this respectable Muhammadan author, "a monk named Maro taught that the Messiah (upon whom be peace!) had two natures, *one will*, and one person. The inhabitants of the city of *Ḥ*amáh, Kennesería, and 'Awásím, and many of the Greeks, adhered to him; and those who professed his doctrine were called Maronites among the Nazarenes. Upon the death of Maro, a monastery was built in the city of *Ḥ*amáh after his name."[2]

The celebrated William of Tyre, the principal historian of the Crusades, both distinctly mentions the conversion of the Maronites to the Romish Church in the reign of Baldwin IV., and gives an account of their origin and their devotion to the Monothelite heresy, as it is called, substantially agreeing with that of the Egyptian ecclesiastical historians.

"In the meantime," he says, "when the kingdom enjoyed a temporary peace [A.D. 1180], a certain nation of Syrians in the province of Phenice, about the ridges of Lebanon, living near to the city of Biblus (Jebeil), suffered a very great change in its state. For, though for about five hundred years they had followed the error of a certain heresiarch

[1] Eutych. Annal., tom. ii. p. 190.
[2] Hist. Eccles. Copt. Makrizii, versio. 281-82.

named Maro, and on this account were called Maronites, and separated from the church of the faithful, took their sacraments apart, they repenting by a divine impulse, and having laid aside their languor, became an accession to Aimeric the patriarch of Antioch, who is now the third of the Latins who presides over that church. . . . . There was no small number of this people, but said to exceed the amount of 40,000, who, as we have before said, dwelt in the bishoprics of Biblus, Botrys, and Tripoli, and the neighbouring ridges of Mount Lebanon. They were a brave people and active in arms, and very useful to our people in most of the affairs which they were in the habit of transacting with the enemy. Whence our joy at their conversion to the true faith is very great. The error of Maro and his followers, as is learnt from the Sixth Synod, which it is known was collected against them, is and was, that in our Lord Jesus Christ there was from the beginning, and will be, one will and operation. This article having been reprobated by the church of the orthodox, they added, when separated from the congregation of the faithful, many other pernicious things, for which having separated, they returned to the Catholic Church along with their patriarch and some of their bishops, who, as they had preceded them in impiety, took the pious lead of them in returning to the truth."[1]

This is an important testimony; but though it comes from a Roman Catholic writer of authority and celebrity, it has been assailed by Nairon, Assemanus, La Roque, and other apologists of the Maronites. The grand objection which they urge against it is, that its author blindly followed Eutychius in his impeachment of the orthodoxy of the Maronites. But granting, for the sake of argument, and without proof, that William of Tyre was actually guided by the Egyptian patriarch in his account of the *opinions* of Maron, it ought to be borne in mind, that his testimony as to the *original disagreement of the Maronites with the Church of Rome and their accession to it, in his own day, and at his very door*, remains with all its force. It is the perfection of absurdity to suppose, that he could fall into a mistake about a religious movement of the magnitude mentioned, which is said to have taken place before his own eyes, and that his

[1] Willermi Tyrensis Arch. Hist. lib. xxii. 8.

statements, if incorrect, could have been received by his contemporaries, and those who were his immediate successors.

Jacob de Vittry, another historian of the Crusades, and the bishop of Akká or Ptolemais, who wrote in 1220, and who consequently must have also been well acquainted with the facts of the case, gives an account entirely in accordance with that now quoted, and almost in the same words.[1]

A similar account is given by Marinus Sanutus Torsellus, in 1321.

"The Maronites derive their name from their founder Maro; and they assert that there is only one will and operation in Christ. The author of this error was Macarius, bishop (antistes) of Antioch, who was condemned in the Sixth Synod, that of Constantinople, and rejected as a heresiarch from the community of the faithful. The Maronites, dwelling among the ridges of Lebanon in the province of Phenice, not far from the city of Biblus, and about Bastrus (Botrys) and Tripoli, well accomplished and instructed in bows and arrows, about 60,000 in number, and separated from the holy church and the communion of the faithful, dispensed the sacrament at their own pleasure; but after repenting in the time of the last king Baldwin, they professed the Catholic faith in the presence of the venerable father Aymeric, the patriarch of Antioch, and followed the traditions of the holy Roman (Church.) So that, while none of the Oriental prelates, except the Latins, use a ring (*analo*) and mitre, and pastoral staff, or have the people congregated by bells, but by beating bells by a mallet or staff, the aforesaid Maronites use all the aforesaid for a sign of obedience, and observe all the rites of the Latins. Their patriarch (antistes) was present at the Lateran Council under the venerable pope Innocent III."[2]

These authorities are very express as to the time of the first union of the Maronites to the Church of Rome, which must have been well known to the writers, though they are silent on the particular circumstances which brought about that event. The historian Baronius entirely agrees with them.[3] It is no objection to them, as has been urged by

[1] Jacobi de Vitriaco Histor. Hierosol. in lib. cui tit. Gesta Dei per Francos, p. 1093.

[2] Mar. Sanuti Torsell. Secreta Fid. Cruc. lib. iii. pars 8.

[3] Ad annum 1182, n. 4.

some of the modern Maronites, as Faust Naïron,[1] Assemanus, and others, that the name of Maro does not occur in connexion with the proceedings of the sixth General Council. The historians of the Crusades, it is obvious, refer to that Council principally as condemning the opinions of the Monothelites, imputed to the Maronites. It is obvious that it could not be directed against Maro individually, for it was called by Constantine Pogonatus in the year 680, before Maro had appeared conspicuously on this terrestrial scene. We are inclined to conjecture, that Aymeric, the third Latin patriarch of Antioch, backed, as he must have been, by the Crusaders, gained over the Maronites, through their patriarch and some of their bishops for the time being. The connexion formed between the Maronites and the Church of Rome was probably, in the first instance, of a very slight character, and more nominal than real. The Maronite patriarch, though he may have consented, probably for selfish purposes, to receive the *pallium* of investiture from Rome, did not surrender the original authority which he associated with his office quite independently of that See. To the present day each of his successors has denominated himself "Peter the patriarch of Antioch," thus insinuating that he considers himself as the genuine representative and spiritual descendant of the Apostle Peter in the East. To the ordinary seal of the patriarchate, an engraving of which is given by La Roque, I refer in corroboration of this statement.[2] History is not silent on the difficulties long experienced by Rome in the management of its allies on the ridges of the Lebanon. The papal bulls of Innocent III., of Alexander IV., and of Leo X., accusing them of various errors, both in doc-

[1] Faust Naïron's Dissertation was published at Rome in 1679. It is entitled, "Dissertatio de Origine, Nomine, ac Religione Maronitarum." The sum of the work is given tolerably correctly by La Roque and Le Quien.

[2] Voyage de Syrie et du Mont-Liban, p. 11.

trine and practice, have proved rather troublesome documents to those who argue for the integrity of their attachment to the "Holy See."[1] It is the boast of Marc de Lisbon, in his Chronicle of the Order of the Franciscans, that Father Gripho had to bring them back from heresy and idolatry so late as the year 1450.[2] Unpleasant reports of them, however, still continued to be circulated, so much so that Pope Clement VIII. sent the Jesuit Dandini to Lebanon, in the year 1576, to inquire into their actual condition, and, if necessary, to reduce them to order and submission. He found matters in a much better state than had been reported; and he received the assurance from their patriarch and other ecclesiastical authorities, of their devoted attachment to his master. Some erroneous books which he found among them were disclaimed by them, under the allegation that they had been circulated by the Jacobites; and he was able to give a favourable account on the whole of all that transpired amongst them. That neither they, nor he, at this time, had any persuasion of their unbroken connexion with Rome, is, I think, evident, from the following passage of his report delivered to the Pope.

"I began, after the second day of my arrival, to discourse of my affairs with the patriarch. I explained unto him the design of my voyage, with which he testified himself to be well satisfied. However, he could not forbear to tell me of two things which much troubled him: the first that his holiness had sent him only but a simple brief, instead of addressing to him a large and solemn bull, which might authentically set forth the *antiquity of their belief*, and their *reunion with the Holy See*, as the popes, his predecessors, had done. . . . He complained also that his holiness had sent him no answer to his entreaty of being confirmed in his *ancient title of patriarch of Antioch.*"

It is not uninterrupted communion with Rome that is here supposed to have existed. A "reunion with the Holy See," implies a former separation. The patriarch is not content to lay aside his ancient title, which we have already

[1] La Roque, tom. ii. p. 88. [2] La Roque, tom. ii. p. 64.

seen has not been withheld by Rome from his office.[1] It is curious to notice the explanation of the sanction of the title, which Roman Catholics now submit.

"In the middle of the thirteenth century," says a calm and not undignified writer, in a late Number of the Dublin Review, "Bandicar, sultan of Egypt, got possession of the city of Antioch. His cruelty and fanaticism drove into exile the Catholics who had been living there for years, and with their patriarch Elias at their head, and accompanied by the clergy of the city, they took refuge among their brethren of Libanus. Simon, the patriarch of the Maronites, received them with kindness and hospitality. . . . The holy father manifested his gratitude for the kindness shown to his afflicted children, by *appointing Simon patriarch of Antioch on the death of Elias a few years after.* This dignity was confirmed to the successors of Simon by the pontiffs of later times."[2]

But what would this reviewer, who honestly follows his authority, the present agent of the Maronites at the "Holy See," have said to the claims of the patriarch of the Maronites to have his "ancient title" confirmed? What will he say to the fact, that the great Assemanus himself makes even John Maro the "patriarch of Antioch," so early as the year 700?[3]

In order to increase the influence of the Romish Church over the Maronites, Pope Gregory XIII. founded a college at Rome for the education of a select number of their youth to be brought from Syria for the prosecution of their studies, and who should afterwards return to their native land, to occupy such situations in the Church as might be considered proper for their talents and acquirements. It must be admitted, that, with whatever consequences the expedient was attended in strengthening and extending the power of Rome in the East, it was made to a great extent to subserve the general interests of oriental literature in Europe. Of its many distinguished alumni, Joseph Simonius Assemanus

[1] Dandini's Voyage to Mount Libanus in Pinkerton's Voyages and Travels, vol. x. p. 287.

[2] Dublin Review, March 1845, p. 49.

[3] Biblioth. Orient. tom. i. p. 496.

and Joseph Aloysius Assemanus are the best known. The former is the author of the Bibliotheca Orientalis, in which there is a review and analysis of the Syriac, Arabic, Persic, Turkish, Hebrew, Samaritan, Armenian, Ethiopic, Greek, Egyptian, Iberian, and Malabaric manuscripts in the Clementine Collection of the Vatican, which was mostly formed by his own industry in the East. The latter is the collector, editor, and translator of all the ancient liturgies, both oriental and occidental. The former, who was a native of Tripoli, and born in 1687, was the deputy of Pope Clement XII. at the great Synod of Lebanon, held in the year 1736, by which the affairs of the Maronite Church were finally settled, and according to whose decrees they are still administered.[1]

According to the decrees of the Synod now referred to, the different orders of the Maronite Church are, Cantor, Lector, Sub-deacon, Deacon, Deaconess, Exorcist, Archdeacon, Economus, Presbyter, Parochial or Curate, Periodeute or Visitor, Arch-presbyter, Rural Bishop, Metropolitan Bishop, and Primate or Patriarch.[2] The distribution of titles corresponding with these orders, which are highly valued by the people, forms one of the great sources of ecclesiastical power and influence in the community.

The proper seat of the Maronite community is at present, as it has been for many ages, the mountainous district of Lebanon, from about Tripoli to Tyre. In these parts they form the main portion of the population, except in the more

[1] See Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses, tom. i. p. 406, &c. Speaking of the appointment of Assemanus as the Pope's legate to the Synod of Lebanon, the Dublin Review, following Nicholas Murad, says, "Clement gave him full legatine powers, and after several conferences with the Patriarch and influential clergy, he succeeded in opening the Council on the 30th of September 1736. It was attended by eighteen bishops, of whom fourteen were Maronites, two Syrian, and two Armenian. The Abbots of several monasteries were also present, together with a multitude of the priests and chief people of the country."—Dublin Review, March 1845.

[2] Cod. Liturg. Eccles. Univ., lib. viii. p. 120, &c.

southern ones, in which they are mingled with, or to a certain extent superseded by, the Druses, a sect of mongrel Muhammadans and heathens, who are not only their rivals, but too often their determined enemies. In the country now mentioned they may amount to 150,000 souls. In the district of Rásheiyá, in Anti-Lebanon, they number 360, and in the adjoining district of Hásbeiyá, 580 souls. In the valley of Bàalbek, the amount of their population is reckoned at 250 persons. In the Haurán, they are estimated at 7651 souls. In the páshálik of Aleppo,[1] and in scattered towns and villages of Syria, in the northern part of the island of Cyprus, and in Cairo, and Constantinople, they have certainly not more than a population of 30,000. Altogether, they are to be reckoned at 200,000 souls. The American Missionaries, in an interesting document lately published by them, give them at 220,000 persons. Nicholas Murad, the Maronite agent at the court of Rome, in his pamphlet lately published at Paris, reckons them altogether at 525,000, of whom, he says, 482,000 inhabit the valleys of Libanus. This dignitary, either wittingly or unwittingly, is guilty of gross exaggeration. The Dublin Reviewer seems to hint his dissent from the statement, as he submits for comparison with it the estimate of the Abbé Gerambe, which is 200,000. Colonel Campbell, the British Consul-General of Egypt, proceeding on Government documentary estimates, reckons the whole number of souls connected with the Papal Churches in Syria at only 260,000.[2]

The patriarch of the Maronite Church, enjoys not only all the powers, immunities, and privileges conferred upon his office by the sacred canons, but those rendered according to the use and wont of his own nation. He is elected from

[1] I have not noticed an estimate of the number of the Maronites at Aleppo later than that of Dr. Russell, who reckons them (in 1774) at 3030 souls.

[2] Bowring's Report on Syria, p. 3.

among the bishops, who must all be monks, by a majority of votes, but he receives the robe of investiture from Rome. His summer residence is at the convent of Ḳanobín, in the romantic defiles of the Ḳadíshá; and his winter residence is at the convent Bkerkí, in the Kaṣrawán, or holy land, of the Maronites. He also visits the convent of Dimán, which is likewise his property. He is almost deified by the people among whom he lives; and his income is large for the demands which are made upon him, being estimated at about £2000 per annum. His See extends throughout the whole bounds of the ancient patriarchate of Antioch, over the metropolitan Sees of Tyre, Tarsus, Edessa, Apamea, Hierapolis, Bozra, Seleucia, Damascus, Cyprus, Anazarbus, and Amida;[1] but practically it is much more restricted, much more so in fact than when the Synod of Lebanon was held. His jurisdiction extends over nine metropolitan sees, which are served by individuals elected by the people, and whom he is required to consecrate, when they are chosen in an orderly manner. These sees are those of Aleppo, Damascus, Beirút, Sidon, Eopolis or Bâalbek, Jebeil, Ehden, Tripoli, and Cyprus. The occupants of these sees are styled Metráns (metropolitans.) The same title is given to the two vicars, or assistants of the patriarch, one of whom has to do principally with the temporal, and the other with the spiritual affairs of the Church, to the patriarch's agent at Rome, and to three presidents at the principal monasteries or colleges.[2]

Respecting other matters connected with the Church establishment of the Maronites, the present agent of the patriarch at the See of Rome, gives us, in 1844, the following information :—

"The monasteries or Maronite convents, both of monks and nuns, amount to 82. Those for monks, which are 67 in number, contain 1410 religious. The remaining fifteen contain 330 nuns. All these houses have

[1] Ass. Cod. Lit. Eccles. Univ., p. 161.

[2] Nicolas Murad, p. 17.

very rigorous statutes confirmed by the Holy See. There are, exclusive of convents, 356 churches in the country. They are served by 1205 priests, under the authority of their bishops and patriarch. The people also recognise and reverence the ecclesiastical authority, and discharge with assiduity and piety all the duties of Christianity at the holy season of the Pasch. There are four public seminaries, each of which contains from twenty to twenty-five pupils. . . . . They are gratuitously instructed in the Arabic and Syriac languages, philosophy, dogmatic and (moral) theology. Those who study theology must, however, previously engage to embrace the ecclesiastical state, promise obedience to the patriarch, and devote themselves to the missions of the country. For some years past, the patriarch has been in the habit of appointing a particular spot, where he collects according to his own desire, and under a superior appointed by him, zealous and instructed priests, who go every year to preach in the different districts. This is called *The National Mission*."[1]

When the extent of the Maronite population is adverted to, it must be seen that the number of their monks and nuns is very large, proportionally more so indeed than can perhaps be found in any other portion of the world. The American Missionaries present actual lists, of which they say:—"The number of convents contained in the preceding lists, is fifty-seven; and of cœnobia fourteen; of monks, one thousand one hundred and two; and of nuns, five hundred and seven. These estimates are but approximations, yet probably they are not far from the truth. Among the monks there may be six hundred in priest's orders; the rest are lay brothers."[2]

Connected with the convents and nunneries, some curious and interesting matters are to be noted. These institutions were found to exist in great numbers when the Maronite Church first fell under the domination of Rome; and it was some time before it could interfere to any extent with the settling of their affairs. Father Dandini, in the year 1576, writes of their habits and practices to the Pope as strange and peculiar:—

[1] Notice Historique, pp. 18, 19. [2] Miss. Herald, Sept. 1845, p. 317.

"The religious," he says, "have none of that distinction of order and profession that is used elsewhere; they are all alike: I am persuaded that these monks are the remnants of those ancient hermits which lived separate from mankind, and dwelt in great numbers in the deserts of Syria and Palestine. . . . . and I believe I have myself good proofs to support that opinion. The first are the places of their abode; for in their residences . . . . they are retired to the most abstruse parts of these mountains, separated from all commerce, and living under great rocks; so that they seem to dwell in grots and caverns, fit rather for wild beasts than habitations for men. Their poor and ordinary apparel serves for a second proof; they wear but a pitiful, unvaluable, ill-shaped coat, wherein they wrap themselves, with a black cowl upon their heads; and this vestment descends only from the shoulders to the girdle, without any thing to cover their shoulders withal; neither is there any other habit cut according to the fashion of these, that are used amongst all the community of their religious. Their manner of living furnished us with a third proof: they only live upon what the earth itself produceth, and never eat any flesh, though they be sick and in danger of death. As for wine, they very rarely drink any. They have no particular rules, nor written constitutions to be observed by every one. . . . They make no express profession of the three vows of religion; to wit, poverty, chastity, and obedience. . . . . They have goods and money of their own, and can dispose thereof at their death. If they have no longer a mind to stay in the monastery, they go into another, without the leave of their superiors. In the fourth place, they are never permitted to exercise any ecclesiastical function; they have no spiritual exercise in common for the good of their neighbours, and have no power either to preach or to confess, so that they are only for themselves. In the fifth place, they give to their superiors and chiefs the name of Abbot, as the hermits did of old. Finally, I shall take for the sixth and last proof, the name they bear of the Monks of St. Anthony."[1]

The Pope, it is evident from these statements, had had but little to do with those curious anchorets,—an indirect proof that the Maronites had been long removed from his influence and authority. What the Pope has actually now made of the monks and nuns, will appear from the following account by the American Missionaries:—

[1] Father Jerome Dandini's Voyage to Mount Libanus. Pinkerton's Voyages and Travels, vol. x. pp. 293, 294.

"The Maronite convents are of two kinds, regular and irregular. The regular convents are of three orders, called the Country, Lebanon, and Alepine orders, of which the first is the most, and the last the least, numerous. . . . . The superior-general [of each order] is assisted by four managers. . . . His authority is independent of the patriarch, except by appeal; and the income of the office of the superior-general of the Country order, consisting of some 800 piastres weekly for masses, 130,000 piastres annually from glebes, and half of the contributions to the convent of Khazeiya, is greater than that of the patriarchal see. Each superior-general holds over his order the rank of a bishop over his diocese. He carries high masses, but has not the power of ordaining priests. This is usually done by the bishop in whose diocese the candidate is living. The diocesan bishops have also some other rights over the convents, though very few. Most of the affairs of the convents are under the absolute control of the superior-general, who has a prison of his own in which to imprison culprits. He is chosen by a ballot in a convocation held every three years. The members of this convocation are the superior-general, the managers, the superiors of convents, and those who have formerly held some one of these offices. . . No rule prevents the re-election of the same superior-general. . . The same triennial convocation elects also the managers and the superiors of all the convents. . . . The monks take the vow of chastity, poverty, and obedience, but not until they have passed a term of trial, which with the Country and Alepine orders is two years, and with the Lebanon order one year. . . . . Their dress is a coarse woollen garment, coloured black, with a cowl and a leathern girdle. Silk they are forbidden to put on, nor may any one carry in his purse more than ten piastres. If at death any one is found to have more than that sum about him, he is denied Christian burial. Meat they are never allowed to taste, nor may they smoke tobacco. For the former they substitute fish, and for the latter snuff. Their employment is agriculture and the mechanic arts. . . . . They are generally left in profound ignorance, and are the most stupid class in the community. Hardly one in seven, it is supposed, can read at all. The benefit of the convents to the community at large is extremely small. Among them all there may be a dozen schools, of the most common kind, for the children of the people. They are generally the centre and source of ignorance, superstition, and intrigue. One of the most obnoxious of their habits is that of shameless begging. . . . . At present there is a schism in the Country Order. All the monks north of Ibrahim river, are in rebellion against their superior-general. The movement commenced a year or two ago. They have driven away all the superiors and monks

who belong to the farther south, have armed themselves, and taken possession of their convents. The patriarch's interference to support the authority of the superior-general has only turned their wrath against him. . . . . The irregular convents, or as they are called 'the Convents of Devotees,' are independent of the three orders above described, and of each other. They are founded by particular families, with special conditions, one of which is that the superior in each convent shall be of the family of the founder. Each one has its own superior and laws, independent of every other, and the superior retains his office during life. These convents are in all respects under the superintendence of the bishop of the diocese in which they are situated. . . . . What has been said of convents for men, applies in general to nunneries. They are also regular and irregular. The regular are divided among the same three orders, and subject to the superiors-general. They must be in all cases at least forty cubits distant from any convent for men. An entrance fee is demanded of every candidate for admission, varying from 500 to 10,000 piastres, according to her ability and the necessities of the establishment. The nuns, like the monks, take the vow of chastity, poverty, and obedience. They are all taught to read, at least Syriac, in order to be able to assist in worship at their chapels. In this they take a public part, especially in chanting. Schools for children, or young persons, they have none. Their work is sewing and embroidery; chiefly embroidery of a species of charm, called garments of the Virgin, which they make for sale. Their costume is a dress of cotton cloth, coloured black. The devotee nunneries are like the similar establishments for males; except that the superiors of them are frequently changed. The nunnery at Aintura, though occupied by native females, is subject to European rules, and has its support from abroad. . . . The income of all the convents and nunneries of the sect, is supposed to amount to 6,000,000 or 7,000,000 piastres. Of this, about 1,000,000 are from masses, contributions, and vows; the rest from lands, houses, mills, and the like. The old Emir Beshir is said to have given the monks or the patriarch 600,000 piastres annually for masses for the whole family of the Shehabs. The landed property of the convents is immense."

This notice is necessary to our right understanding of Maronite society. In connexion with it, I call attention to the following striking passage from a communication of Mr. Graham of Damascus:—

"In Lebanon the conventual system is in the most vigorous operation.

In most other countries these institutions have been on the decline since the era of the Reformation; but on the goodly mountain, fanaticism and superstition, like the power of its vegetation, have been increasing and multiplying with startling luxuriance. . . . . Division perverts their councils, and fanaticism stains their conduct, and the heathenish Druze and the superstitious Maronite are hardly distinguishable from each other in the moralities and charities of life. In the extensive district of Kasrawán a Protestant would not be allowed to settle; and, if he could be permitted to pass through it without insult or injury, he might be very thankful. This is the result of the Monastic Institutions, for the peasants are a quiet, tranquil, and industrious race. The whole mountain is filled with convents. Their numbers I do not know; but it must be prodigious. Some of them, like that of the Deir el-Kalla, are very rich, possess the choicest old wines of the country, and the reputation of indulging in the unnatural enormities which brought destruction on the cities of the plain. Many of the monks are totally ignorant, and can neither read nor write. In such circumstances, it may easily be imagined how incompetent their motives, hopes, and fears must be to control, not the vices of our nature only, but its very principles also! Apostolic morality is not sufficient. They aim at the supposed angelic excellency of the celibate, and they fall into pollutions below the level of the brutes."

The number of priests among the Maronites, which the patriarch's agent states at 1205, is given at between 700 and 1000 by the American Missionaries.[1] It is much in excess of the number of churches. The Pope has been obliged to make a compromise with the Maronites in the matter of the marriage of the clergy. As it is no objection to the priests that they take a wife, before entering into sacred orders, most of them are married men. They are not permitted, however, to marry at all, should they happen to take priest's orders before marriage, and not permitted to remarry when they are bereaved after being in the priesthood. The literary qualifications required of the clergy are not of the highest character. They must be able to read Arabic, the vernacular tongue of the people among

[1] Miss. Herald, Sept. 1845.

whom they officiate, and in which the Gospels and Epistles are partly read in the Churches, and Syriac, the language in which the Pope, in deference to that custom with which he doubtless durst not interfere, has permitted their masses and liturgical services, properly so called, to be performed. It is worthy of notice, that they are elected to office by the people of their parishes. The priests are ordained by the diocesan bishops or the patriarch. Their duties are similar to those of Roman priests in general, with the addition, to a great extent, of those of civil judgment and arbitration among the people of their charge. They are not allowed now to follow any secular profession, though they may be occasionally seen working in the fields, gardens, vineyards, and mulberry plantations, for which Lebanon is so celebrated. It is no part of their business as priests to preach to the people, though they occasionally add a few remarks to the lessons which they read. Most of them are quite incapable of composing a sermon. The churches in which they officiate are in general little to be distinguished from those of the better class of residences in Lebanon. They have all bells, tolerably distinct intimations of the comparative independence of their owners of the Turks, to whose ears nothing is more abhorrent than the public call to Christian worship. The priests have parsonage houses of their own; but the produce of their glebes is applied by the church-wardens to defray the ordinary expenses of the churches. Their pay, derived from the produce offered to them by the people, and by fees for baptisms, masses, marriages, and funerals, is, though small according to our reckoning, quite sufficient for their comfortable living.[1] Unmarried priests generally have no parishes, owing to the

[1] The American Missionaries say, "Their income altogether ordinarily amounts to not more than 2000 piastres, but is sometimes as high as 9000."—Miss. Herald, Sept. 1845.

unwillingness of the Maronites to allow their women to approach them in the confessional. They are superiors of convents, or employed, under their superiors, in the discharge of special duty.

The patriarch's agent alludes to the preachers of the Maronites who are connected with the national mission. The American Missionaries mention the names of eight individuals who are at present distinguished for their services in this department.

"These," they say, "have authority to preach wherever they may be. Besides them very few others are known as preachers. . . . Preaching is considered by the Maronites to have been one of the peculiar offices of our Saviour, and a preacher is very highly respected. No one is allowed to undertake this duty without a written permission from the patriarch or the bishop of the diocese. Occasionally permission is given to laymen to officiate as preachers. The head-quarters of the national college of preachers, it is intended should be at 'Aintúra, formerly belonging to the Jesuit missionaries. For the institution the patriarch has already secured certain endowments. Besides the Maronite preachers, certain Latin monks of the Jesuit, Capuchin, and Franciscan orders, also undertake the office of preaching in the convents, and sometimes in the neighbouring churches, as missionaries of the Pope; but in consequence of their limited command of the language (the Arabic) they are imperfectly understood. The people consequently do not respect them, and sometimes treat them with derision."[1]

When I was in Syria, I made some inquiries into the state of education among the Maronites, and visited some of their schools, one of which is generally to be found in every considerable village of the country. These humble institutions are taught sometimes by the priests, and sometimes by lay-instructors. At some places they meet in summer within or around the churches, and at others in houses specially appropriated to their use. The reading of Arabic and Syriac is taught in them, in the olden style, and with a very small supply of books, consisting principally of scripture extracts

[1] Miss. Herald, Sept. 1845, p. 318.

and prayers. Many books for the use of the Maronites and other Eastern Christians, both in Arabic and Syriac, are printed at Rome.

For the information which I possess respecting the higher seminaries of the Maronites, I am principally indebted to the American Missionaries. Of colleges, or high schools, they have eight: three *general;* those of 'Ain Warkah and Rumíah in the Kasrawán, and Már 'Abd Harhariyah in the Faṭúh, which receive pupils from all parts of the country, and from all sects of Christians: three *diocesan;* those of Már Yohánná Máron of the See of Jebeil, Mishmúshah near Jazzín of the See of Sidon, and of Karnet Shehwán in the Ḳatiá, of the See of Cyprus; and two *monastic,* those of Bír Suneih and Kenfán. The Maronites may send six scholars also to the Propaganda at Rome. Attendance at these colleges, on the part of candidates for the priesthood, is not compulsory; and but few persons, comparatively, avail themselves of their advantages. Some of their pupils are the friends and relatives of the Sheikhs, and wish to remain laymen. The branches taught in the higher colleges, according to the American Missionaries, are—

"Syriac, Arabic grammar, logic, moral theology, and preaching; and in 'Ain Warkah, there have been introduced, Latin, Italian, rhetoric, physics, and philosophy. Doctrinal theology was once taught for a time, but being found to lead the scholars into reasoning that inclined them to Protestantism, it was abandoned . . . . . The number already graduated amounts to about 105. . . . It should be remarked, that among these graduates, and especially among those of 'Ain Warkah, there are some of enlightened and liberal minds, who have more or less inclination for evangelical truth. One of our most valued native helpers, who is also an esteemed brother in our little Church, spent eight years in 'Ain Warkah."

This individual, I had the pleasure of seeing in Syria. Asaád esh-Shidiak was also a scholar of the same academy; and the missionaries state that it was his vow of obedience

to the patriarch, which enabled this spiritual tyrant to seize, persecute, and finally to secure his destruction.

It will have been observed, that the Romish Church, in order to get the Maronites to recognise the headship of the Pope, has been obliged to make with them compromises of no insignificant character. To use the words of Cerri, the Secretary of the Propaganda, in his confidential review, presented to Innocent XI., of the Roman Catholic missions throughout the world, they are "governed by a Patriarch, whom they call 'Patriarch of Antioch,' [*with the concurrence of the Pope,*] though the Patriarch of Antioch is a Greek, who resides at Damascus"[1] They have been allowed to maintain most of their own customs and observances, however much at variance with those which Rome is usually content to sanction. They are allowed to preserve their own ecclesiastical language, the Syriac, while Rome has shown her partiality for the Latin rite, by bringing it into use wherever practicable, as in the case of the community to which we shall next have occasion to advert. They dispense the communion in both kinds, dipping the bread in wine before its distribution among the people. Though they now observe the Roman calendar, as far as the time of feasts and fasts is concerned, they recognise local saints which have no place in its commemorations. They have retained the custom of the marriage of their clergy previous to their ordination. Though they profess to be zealous partizans of Rome, it dare not so count upon their attachment as to force upon them all that in ordinary circumstances it thinks desirable. In order to secure its present influence over them, it is subjected to an expense of no small magnitude.

I conclude these notices of the Maronites, by saying that, in a civil point of view, there is much in their circumstances deserving of attention. From the time of their subjection

[1] Cerri's State of the Rom. Cath. Rel. (Steele's trans.), p. 91.

to an annual tribute by Murád the Third in 1584, they have contrived, under many difficulties, and frequently with a display of great valour, to preserve for themselves a large degree of independence. The Druzes, however,—who took their rise about the beginning of the eleventh century, from the propagation in the mountains of Syria of the monstrous doctrines of the apotheosis of the fanatical Khalíf El-Ḥákim of Cairo, by ed-Derází, from whom they derive their name, and Ḥamza, the son of Aḥmad, another Persian Sufi and messenger,—gradually became a more powerful, though not a more numerous body than themselves. Fakhr ed-Dín, the Emir Beshír, or chief noble, of the latter, got the predominance over the Maronite Emir, and sheikhs, and people, about the close of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries; but the Maronites, nevertheless, maintained their ground as a people in their own districts; and, devoting themselves principally to agriculture, they have continued to multiply and increase in numbers to the extent which they have now reached. The family of Fakhr ed-Dín became extinct about the beginning of last century, and the Maronite family of Shehâb, in Wádí et-Teim, which had been allied to it in marriage, was by the election of the sheikhs called to the exercise of authority in the mountains. After serious disturbances with Jezzár Páshá of Akká, which led to various changes, the celebrated Emir Beshír, at first a Druze, got possession, in 1790, of the chieftainship, which he retained for about half a century. This individual, for political reasons, made a profession of Christianity, and joined the Maronites, persuading, at the same time, the Emirs of Metn, and the house of Belimmah, with whom his family intermarried, to follow his example. When Muḥammad Alí, the Páshá of Egypt, extended his pretensions to Syria, this chief declared for his interests, whilst the leaders of the Druzes were friendly to the cause of the Sulṭán.

When the four allied powers of Europe, however, in 1840, determined on the expulsion of Muḥammad Alí from Syria, and the Maronites, who had been armed anew by our country, began to co-operate, the Emir Beshír succeeded to a certain extent in stirring up the Druzes, who had been offended by the treatment which they had received from the Maronites in the few preceding years, to a threatened support of the Páshá. The Emir, in the course of events, was forced to withdraw to Malta and Constantinople, and the Druzes succumbed. The Egyptian rule in the country was terminated; and another Emir Beshír of the house of Shehâb was appointed in the name of the Sulṭán; the chief control of the mountains, however, being reserved for the Turkish governor-general of Syria, the Páshá of the united districts of Tripoli and Sidon. The Maronite patriarch so wrought upon his people, that they proceeded to such a harsh treatment of the Druzes as goaded them to civil war in 1841. Their feuds were renewed in 1845, with a fearful destruction of life and property. The Turkish government has again, as far as practicable, disarmed both parties; but it is probable that matters will not long remain in a state of quietness.

2. THE EASTERN LATIN CHURCH.

Christianity had its early triumphs among the Roman officials and subjects in Syria, and other parts of the East who used the Roman tongue; and when priestly ambition began to influence the Christian community, Cæsarea, the Roman capital of Palestine, gradually asserted its superiority over Jerusalem, where the work of human redemption was accomplished. The great majority of the Christian inhabitants of the country, however, at this time, spoke the Syriac and Greek languages, the first of which, being strictly cognate with the Hebrew, may be said to be almost there in-

digenous; while the latter, in consequence of the conquests of Alexander the Great and his successors, had obtained such a footing, that it was found impossible to dismiss it from use, even in the public business of the Roman empire.

On the conversion of the Emperor Constantine to Christianity, and the introduction of the monastic system into the Holy Land from Egypt, about the same time, great multitudes of pilgrims began to rush to the country, in order personally to survey the hallowed scenes of Bible history, and of the greatest events which have been recorded in the annals of time. These pious, or rather superstitious, devotees came from the very ends of the earth, and many of them from the countries in which the language, as well as the influence, of Rome was predominant. In the year 372, the celebrated Jerome retired to the deserts of Syria, and shortly afterwards he went to Jerusalem and Bethlehem to study the Hebrew language. After having been secretary to the Pope at Rome, he finally took up his abode in the mountains of Bethlehem, where he continued engaged in literary works, some of which were of the greatest importance, till his death in 420. Paula, a noble lady whom he had instructed at Rome, about this time proceeded to the same destination, where she is said to have built four monasteries. These and similar institutions were available to all bodies of the church-catholic, belonging both to the West and the East. Toward the end of the sixth century, when divisions to a considerable extent had appeared in these bodies, particularly in connexion with the monophysite and other controversies concerning the person of Christ, and when the bishop of the new Rome, or Constantinople, began to rival the Pope in his pretensions, Gregory the Eighth sent the abbot Probus to Jerusalem for the erection of a hospice, particularly designed for the accommodation of the Western pilgrims. Other conventual establishments were founded

and repaired by Romanists, as that of Sancta Maria de Latina by the merchants of Amalpi in Italy, about the close of the tenth century. The oppression of the pilgrims by the Saracens soon afterwards reached its height, and the hosts of Europe, scarcely less ferocious than the warriors of the Desert, entered the country, and established their government in the land. They kept possession of Jerusalem for eighty-eight years, and of other parts for a longer period. Though, in their ecclesiastical establishment, they professed to regard the authority of the Christians of the Greek rite, of whom they avowed themselves to be the liberators, they acted always under the strongest Roman bias, and supported the interests of the Pope. They formed an extensive church establishment of their own, embracing the Sees of the Greeks.[1]

The Church of Rome has long ago made new arrangements and dispositions of the Eastern Sees, extinguishing some of them or making them merely titular. The only remains of the Church establishment of the Crusaders at present in the East are the monastic institutions of the Terra Santa, intrusted to the friars Minorites of the Observance, better known among us as the Franciscan monks, who are the recognised custodiers and guardians of the holy places, and the pastors of the small portion of the population which adheres to the Latin ritual. Of these I shall allow the Romanists to give their own account.

"They, [the monks now mentioned,] are indebted for this glorious inheritance to the piety of their patriarch St. Francis, who, with twelve of his earliest disciples, sought in Syria the labours of the apostleship and the crown of martyrdom. This last he failed to obtain, but he secured for his order the privilege of praying and dying between the cradle and the sepulchre of Christ; and to this day these good monks, whose costume even the infidels respect, and whose hospitality calls down the benedictions of numerous pilgrims, have a roof and an altar at

[1] For an Account of this Establishment, see Coustumes de Beauvoisis, pp. 215, 216.

Jerusalem, at Bethlehem, at Nazareth, at Jaffa; indeed, wherever the history of redemption has left a memorial. Their superior, whose title is 'Most Reverend Warden,' and who holds his appointment immediately from Rome, has under his direction about 100 Italian or Spanish priests, divided among twenty-two convents, and having under their pastoral care 11,000 Latin Catholics residing in their vicinity; thirty-eight secular priests and sixty lay brethren take part in their labours: two colleges, raised by their industry, contain more than 460 students. Europe, however, seems to esteem lightly these good deeds, which do her so much honour in the eyes of foreigners. The alms of the crowns of Spain and Portugal have ceased, and the guardians of the Holy Land must have left the post of honour in which the Church has placed them, if the Society for the Propagation of the Faith had not pledged their daily bread."[1]

The grants made to these Monastic Institutions by the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, according to the Report for 1844, was 25,267 francs 16 cents. It is entered "to the Most Reverend Guardian of Jerusalem for the Missions of the Holy Land."

The convents now referred to are those of Jerusalem, where there are two convents, Bethlehem, Ain Karím, or St. John's in the Desert, near Jerusalem, Ramlah, Yáffá, Nazareth, Haifá (now reduced to a nonentity,) Akká, Sidon, Harissa, Tripoli, Latakia, Aleppo, Damascus, Constantinople, Larnica, and Nicosia in Cyprus, Rosetta, Alexandria, Cairo, and Faiyúm in Egypt, and Beirút. The monks of these establishments, with a few exceptions, are quite incapable of communicating instruction in the vernacular languages of the people among whom they officiate; and, at present at least, they make little or no progress in the work of proselytism. Though one or two of their number dispense the papal sacraments among the people of the Latin rite who dwell in their neighbourhood, a great part of their time is occupied in the entertainment of pilgrims and travellers, who generally present them with an equivalent for the attention and kindness which they receive at their hands.

[1] Report of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, 1840.

Besides the Terra Santa monks, we have several other European fathers in the Holy Land, and in the countries adjoining.

"Several monastic orders, [says the Report for 1840 of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith,] have been desirous to be represented by some of their members at this rendezvous of all Christian tradition. They are by no means inactive there. 1. The Carmelite fathers have rebuilt the useful retreat which they have possessed from time immemorial on Mount Carmel, the first seat of their order, and chief place of their missions in Palestine. Five of them reside there. 2. The reverend fathers, the Capuchins, reckon four missions, Beirút, Tripoli, Damascus, lately stained with blood by the murder of one of them; Aleppo, where their charity supports one school; and three other stations on Mount Lebanon. 3. The reverend fathers, the Jesuits, having re-established their ancient residence on Mount Lebanon, are labouring with an effective zeal to found a college at Beyrout. 4. Messrs. the congregation of St. Lazarus have four missions, occupied by six priests; Antoura, with a college; Aleppo, Damascus, with two schools for both sexes; Tripoli, with two stations, and the schools of Eden and Sgorta." All this is exclusive of what is called, "The Apostolic Delegation of Mount Lebanon and Apostolic Vicariate of Aleppo," of which it is said in the same document, "The Latin Catholics of Aleppo, to the number of about 1000, are alone under the immediate jurisdiction of the Apostolic vicar; but the prelate, who bears that title, is also the representative of the Holy See to the patriarchs of the United Communions which are spread through those countries."

The Jesuits commencenced their labours at Aleppo in 1625, and they brought high talent and learning to bear on the work of bringing the Oriental Christians within the pale of Rome. Judging from a manuscript Arabic and Latin Dictionary, in the handwriting of one of their number, bearing the date of 1638, which I procured at Bombay, I should think that they applied themselves to the study of the Eastern languages with a devotion seldom surpassed. As soon as practicable, they established three congregations respectively for the Franks, Armenians, and Maronites and Syrians. They generated and encountered much opposition from the Páshá and the communities among whom they la-

boured. They enjoyed the protection of the French authorities, however, and in 1679, the king of France, in order to give facility to their labours, appointed them chaplains to his consulate. They brought a considerable number of persons within the pale of the Romish Church, and to contentment with the Romish ritual; and they paved the way for the ultimate establishment of the papal Greek, papal Armenian, and papal Syrian sects. About the year 1717, if I can guess the date, they professed to have brought over to their views the patriarchs of Antioch, Damascus, and Alexandria.[1] The Jesuits of Aleppo, says one of my correspondents, are "subtle, insinuating men of the world, mixing with the Frank society, and the upper classes of that voluptuous and profligate city. Their morality is of the loosest kind." He even, on the best authority, gives them a worse character, adding, however, that they are now all removed, with a single exception. The Jesuits established themselves at Damascus about the middle of the 17th century. Respecting that place, Father Rousset, one of their number, when writing a century later, says, that then "there were not more there than three Catholic families."[2] The Cordelier and Capuchin fathers had preceded them; but they durst not extend their labours to any people but the Maronites, whom they served as curates, when they were permitted by the patriarch. The Jesuits opened a public school.[3] As the name of Jesuit in the East, is even perhaps more horrible than in the West, the Jesuits at Damascus, Aleppo, and some other places, denominate themselves Lazarists, or brethren of the company of Paul of Vincent, and so forth, a fact which those who seek to trace their movements in different parts of the world would do well to keep in mind. At present there are at Damascus two con-

[1] See Father Nacchi's communication in the Lettres Edifiantes, vol. i.

[2] Lettres Edif. et Cur. vol. i. p. 118.

[3] Ibid.

vents of Latins, supported entirely by the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, and striving to extend the influence of the Pope. They complimented the Presbyterian missionaries to the Jews, on their establishment in that important city, by denouncing them from the altar. They have a school, into which I looked, with 130 boys learning Arabic, and 36 learning French.

Of the proceedings of the monks and missionaries, comprehended in the "Delegation of Mount Lebanon," the American Missionaries say,—

"In this part of Syria, there are four *Capuchin convents;* namely, one at Beirút, with seven or eight monks, one at Solíma with two or three, one at Ghazir, now empty, and one at 'Abeih, with one monk. They never preach in Arabic, and indeed are ignorant of the language. Nor do they hardly ever have any thing to do with schools. . . All they usually attempt for the natives is to confess such as come to them, and say mass for them.

"A single convent at 'Aintura belongs to the *Lazarists.* In it are three or four monks, who keep a boarding school of considerable value. In this are usually some thirty or forty scholars, all boarders. The Shehab and Khazín families have each the right to send to it two scholars to be gratuitously educated; their expenses being paid by assistance from France. . . The branches taught are Italian, French, Turkish, Arabic grammar, and a little of astronomy and mathematics. . . . .

"Of old the *Jesuits* had establishments at Solíma, Bakfeiyah, 'Aintura, and Zgharta, which had passed into other hands, or become deserted, until about 1836, when the Order made its appearance again in these parts. The number of members which have arrived is still small, not exceeding eight or nine. . . . At Beirút they some time ago bought property for one hundred thousand piastres, built a chapel, erected a bell, and were going on with extensive improvements. But the attention of the Turkish government was directed to them soon after its restoration to Syria, and they were ordered to stop. It turned out that, as a Society, they have no European protection, therein differing from all the other European monastic establishments in the land, which are by treaty under French protection. And as no consul interposed in their behalf, they were obliged to discontinue their building, and take down their bell. But, with the exception of the bell, they retained the ground they had gained. A school they had opened was continued, and

worship in their chapel was not interrupted. The latter is attended by large numbers, chiefly Maronites. The school has upwards of a hundred scholars, who come from all sects, even the Druzes and Muslems. It is only a day-school, and most of the scholars merely learn to read and write. There are, however, classes in Arabic grammar, Italian, and French. . . . The Jesuits themselves conduct the daily worship of the chapel,—which all the Christian pupils are required to attend,—give instructions in religion and morals, and study themselves the Arabic language. They have also bought an Emir's palace at Ghazir for 165,000 piastres, which they are fitting up for an extensive boarding-school. In the meantime, they have established there an extensive day-school, which contains from thirty to thirty-five scholars. . . . In the convent at Salima, now in the hands of the Capuchins, they have another common day-school of about the same size. They have also a small school at their establishment at Bakfeiyah. At Muállat Zahleh they have also made a lodgment. . . . We hear many complaints among the papists themselves, that their scholars do not learn. . . . The Pope is always represented in Syria by a legate, of the rank of a bishop, who resides in a convent at 'Aintura, appropriated to him."[1]

In addition to the monasteries of the Holy Land, and the establishments of the Vicariate-apostolic of Aleppo, sometimes called the Delegation of Lebanon, the Latins have an archbishopric of Smyrna, and bishoprics of Chio, Famagousta, and Babylon in Asia.

Of the state of matters at *Smyrna*, the Rev. Mr. Calhoun gives the following account in a paper forwarded to me by Mr. Adger:—

"There are in Smyrna one Roman Catholic bishop (archbishop) and sixty-seven priests. Of the latter, forty are secular or parish clergy, nine are Capuchins, seven are Zoccalonti, ten are Lazarists, and one is a Dominican. . . There are also twelve 'Sisters of Charity.' In Smyrna there are three large churches and two chapels. One of the latter is in the French Seamen's hospital. There is also a church at Bujah, and another at Burnabát. The churches in Smyrna are usually known by the names of French, Austrian, and Lazarist. The regularly officiating clergy in the French church are the Capuchins; in the Austrian, the Zoc-

[1] Missionary Herald, Oct. 1845.

calonti; and in the Lazarist, the Lazarist priests. The Capuchins and the Zoccalonti have each a monastery. The Lazarite priests have an elementary school of about three hundred boys. The 'Sisters of Charity' have a school of about three hundred girls. . . The college of the Propaganda is under the direction of the bishop, and contains about two hundred pupils, fifty of whom board in the establishment. Most of the professors are of the secular clergy. Among them are three Armeno-Catholic priests. Languages are chiefly taught in the Propaganda. . . Few conversions to the Roman Catholic faith, as far as we know, occur in Smyrna and the vicinity. The system is principally aggressive, we apprehend, by means of the schools. Considerable numbers of youth, even Protestant youth, are thus brought under the influence of the Roman priesthood; and the result will probably be, either that they will become papists, or be indifferent to all religions. Among the Protestants there are few who are decidedly anti-Roman-Catholic. Of the papal population in Smyrna and the adjacent villages, we cannot speak with certainty. There are probably from eight to ten thousand. This estimate does not include a few papal Armenians and Greeks."

When I was at Smyrna a public examination was held of the Jesuit College there. It was attended by the French admiral, then at the place, and by the officers of his suite.

The Roman Catholics, by whom the Latin rite is observed at *Constantinople*, are under the apostolic vicar of that place, and are principally the descendants of the Genoese and Venetians, who have long been established in Pera and Galata, the European merchants, and the members and agents of the different embassies of the countries which profess the faith of Rome. A good many individuals, too, some of high influence and attainments, are connected with the Russian, Prussian, and English embassies at the Sublime Porte. Before the foundation of the Greek-Catholic Church, the Jesuit and other missionaries at this place were successful in bringing considerable numbers of the members of the Greek Church within the pale of the Romish Church;[1] but these now form a distinct community. The Latinists generally enjoy the protection of the European ambassadors, and

[1] Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses, vol. i. passim.

are not considered the direct subjects of the Porte. They are reckoned about 9000 in number at the capital. Another thousand, according to information which I have received from an active and learned member of the American Mission there, Mr. Homes, may be thus distributed:—At Adrianople 170; Rodonto 42; Buyukdereh on the Bosphorus, 419; Dardanelles 30; Brusa 46; Trebizond 36; Enos 33; Nicomedia 20; Erzerum 13; Angora, Sinope, and Samson, 29; Salonica 150; besides a few in other places. This estimate is exclusive of papal strangers. How diligent the Latinists at Constantinople are will appear from the following details furnished by Mr. Homes:—

"There are nine churches. Of these, two are parish churches in Galata, and two are parish churches in Pera. There are also nine 'places of prayer;' of these three belong to the ambassadors of France, Spain, and Naples; two belong to the Franciscans; and four are in private houses. . . . There are churches at Adrianople, Rodosto, and Salonica. In 1843 there were forty-six priests, of whom twenty-one are secular or parish clergy, and twenty-five are regular or monastic clergy. There are two priests at Adrianople, one at Rodosto, three at Buyukdereh, three at Salonica, and all the rest are at Constantinople. The other places mentioned have no priests regularly. . . . Among the Dominicans in Galata there are five monks, with the Franciscans seven, with the Conventuals eight, with the Observantines one, with the Capuchins three, with the Lazarists eight. . . . Three of the parishes have public schools. . . . The Lazarists in the former Jesuit College of St. Benoit at Galata, have a school, where gratuitous instruction is given to three hundred and fifty boys by the 'Brethren of Christian Doctrine,' a comparatively modern order, (Jesuits in disguise.) There is also connected with the same college a school of girls, containing about sixty boarding pupils, and the same number of day-scholars, under the supervision of the 'Sisters of Charity,' who live in the same building, but apart from the males. The Lazarists have also a college at Bebek, under their own immediate supervision, with about fifty pupils. . . . Here they pretend to give a complete academical education, and to fit the students to receive honorary degrees at the Paris universities, the king of France having admitted the college to the same rank with the royal colleges. Young men of merit are also to have the privilege of being sent to France to

be farther educated. . . There is a school for boys and girls at Salonica. There are two or three private boarding and day-schools in Pera, where the teachers and principals are papists. There is also a private boarding and day-school for females of all nations, kept by an English Roman Catholic lady. In the Lazarist convent there are two printing presses, hitherto chiefly employed in mercantile printing, and in issuing reading books, almanacs, and catechisms; but it is now becoming more controversial."

Of the Latins in *Egypt* I can say but little. The Pope has there, with a small establishment of priests and monks, a new "Delegation Apostolic of Alexandria." The Latinists are principally found at Alexandria and Cairo; but the natives of the country belonging to their communion are but few in number. The following is the last papal notice which I have seen of proceedings on the banks of the Nile:—"A new Delegation Apostolic embraces Egypt, Alexandria, Sees opened under the care of the congregation of St. Vincent, a college, and a house of Nuns of Charity. The Fathers Minors preserve their schools and hospitals, and the presence of the Latin clergy sustains the piety of the united Copts."[1] To the Coptic-Catholic Church here alluded to, I shall afterwards refer.

3. GREEK-CATHOLIC, OR SO-CALLED MELCHITE CHURCH.

Of this body the following notice is given in the Report of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith in 1840:—

"This name [Greek Melchites] is given [surreptitiously] to the Catholics of Asia, who are attached to the Greek ceremonial. Their patriarch unites to the title of Antioch, the jurisdiction of Jerusalem and Alexandria. The number of bishoprics was lately nine,—Aleppo, Beirut, Acre, Bozrah, Zahleh and Ferzal, Heliopolis and Baalbek, Damascus. The last is under the administration of a patriarchal vicar. Three new Sees have been erected at Tripoli, and two other points. The clergy is filled up in part from the ranks of the order of St. Basil, which has three distinct congregations in Syria. Catholics 50,000."

[1] Report of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, 1844.

From a more recent document, the General Statement for 1844, it would appear that the number of the superintending authorities of this sect has been lately increased.[1] The American Missionaries estimate the total number of Greek Catholics at between 30,000 and 40,000 souls.

As far as I can ascertain, the Greek-Catholic Church is the fruit of the Jesuit Missions to Aleppo, which, as already said, had their commencement in the year 1625. The crafty fathers soon saw that it was inexpedient to force their converts from the Greek Church to the adoption of the Latin rites; and they, and their other coadjutors in the East, in due time succeeded in getting the Papal authorities to sanction a compromise, on terms even more disadvantageous to Rome than we have seen exemplified in the case of the Maronites. The great object which the Greek-Catholics have sought after in their alliance with Rome, seems to be that of securing its assistance in disseminating among their families the civilization of the West, and securing splendour for their religious services. It has succeeded in getting from them in return little more than an acknowledgment of its supremacy, and the renouncement of the Greek dogma, that the procession of the Holy Spirit is from the Father only. They retain the oriental calendar, regulating by it their feasts and fasts, and according to the computation of what has been called the "old style." In Syria they celebrate their liturgical services in the vulgar tongue, the Arabic, which must be viewed as a desecration, as, according to Papal notions, little is sacred that is not mysterious. They receive the communion in both kinds, using unleavened bread and the cup, like the members of the Greek Church. Their priests are allowed to marry before entering into

[1] "Melchite Greeks. Patriarch of Antioch.—Archbishoprics of Aleppo, Tyre, Bozra, Diarbekir, Seyd (Sidon,) and Beyrouth.—Bishoprics of St. Jean D'Acre, Furzoli, Baalbek, Tripoli, and Homes.—12 bishops, 180 priests."

sacred orders; but their bishops must observe the celibate. They claim the right of the popular use of the Sacred Scriptures, though they too seldom avail themselves of its advantages. They are amongst the most liberal and intelligent native Christians in the East.

It is at Aleppo and Damascus that the Greek-Catholics are the most numerous and influential. In the latter place, where their patriarch usually resides, they have the most splendid church which it contains. It is at present their patriarchal cathedral. In its services it is difficult to recognise the solemnity and simplicity of Christian worship.

"The building inside is elegant, [says Mr. Graham,] and on festival days when brilliantly lighted up, the scene is grand and imposing. The floor is beautifully variegated marble. The roof is ornate and lofty, is supported by a row of stately marble columns on either hand as you go in, and between these and the exterior walls are the female galleries. Seats there are none, save a few chairs around the walls and encircling the altar. Hundreds, I might almost say a thousand, silver lamps fill the house with insufferable brightness; while priests, clothed in rich oriental costume, are walking in solemn procession, and filling the house with incense almost insufferably pleasing, and accomplishing the service before the altar and in the neighbouring recesses. The people, meantime, are not idle. There is no order. They go and come just as they please. Some are kneeling and beating their brows before the *picture* of a favourite saint; others are gazing on the Virgin and her infant, and muttering inarticulate prayers; some are squatting on the marble, crossing, and bowing, and adoring before a hirsute monk of the olden time; some are standing upward making awkward genuflexions, and at intervals prostrating their foreheads on the stone floor; some are talking with one another; all are intent, each at *his own business* whatever it is, and all is done aloud or in a mumbling muttering voice. Quiet silent prayer is not known or practised in the East. The bells are ringing, the priests are reading the service with a loud voice, and with the rapidity of lightning the censers are waving to and fro, filling the house with odours; the people are kneeling, standing, sitting, muttering prayers, talking, prostrating, weeping, sighing, beating their breasts, making the *common prayer* (so called,)—a scene of sound and confusion without parallel, save in the synagogues of Safed and Tiberias. Attached to this

church are very good school-rooms, and an episcopal house, which the patriarch occupies when in Damascus. The popish patriarch is Maximus Mazlúm, and has done more than any other to confirm, extend, and consolidate the papal interest in the East. He is clever, restless, and intriguing, a good oriental scholar, and thoroughly imbued with the spirit of his mission. He published an Arabic grammar at Rome, and presented it to the National Greek Melchite College of Ain-Teráz in Mount Lebanon in the year 1830. I sometimes use it. He was formerly archbishop of Aleppo."

Of the Greek-Catholics in Syria, the American Missionaries, whose estimate of the body I have already mentioned, give some further statistical information:—

"The sect has only about fifty-five priests, of whom a large part are unmarried. The reason of there being so few is, that the duties of their office in cities are generally discharged by monks. . . The Greek-Catholic convents and nunneries are of two orders; viz., the Mákhállisíyeh, and the Shaweiríyeh. Their regulations differ not materially from the Maronites. . . To these fourteen convents and three nunneries should be added about ten coenobia. The whole number of monks is about two hundred and fifty, and of nuns ninety. The Greek-Catholics have one printing establishment. It belongs to the convent of Shaweir, and is worked entirely by the monks. Only one small font of type belongs to it; but for this they have the punches and matrices. . . It has been employed almost exclusively in printing ecclesiastical books; and for the last year or two has done very little. The Greek-Catholics are more generally able to read than the other Christians, though they less frequently have schools of their own. . . . . Their patriarch is an educated man, and some years ago he founded a college for his sect at 'Ainteráz, in the Jurd. But the progress of its organization was slow, and at the time of the Druze war the building was burnt, the valuable library scattered, and the establishment completely ruined. The Greek-Catholics have now no college. But the convent of Mákhallis, having one or two learned monks, and a library of some value, receives scholars and renders valuable service to the cause of education. It did much more before the Druze war than since."[1]

There are a few members of the Greek-Catholic Church in Egypt. I was introduced at Cairo to their bishop, who acts as the representative of the Greek-Catholic "patriarch

[1] Miss. Herald, Oct. 1845.

of Alexandria," a See which, as we have observed, is combined with those of Antioch and Jerusalem. He has, according to the Papal reckoning, the superintendence of 4000 souls.

The Greek-Catholics in other parts of the East generally use the Latin ritual. Of those at the capital of Turkey, estimated as below at 500 families, Mr. Homes gives some curious information:—

The Greek-Catholics now to be found are not the result of any modern missionary operations, but they are chiefly the remains of the Italian conquests in the East; and most of them are emigrants from abroad, many of them having protection as subjects of some foreign power. A small number of Greek-Catholics, subjects of the Porte, of whom the most are originally from Aleppo, were not able to endure being under the Armenian-Catholic patriarch, who by his firman is patriarch of all the Catholics. And accordingly they petitioned for leave to choose one for themselves, who should be their responsible head, and through whom they would communicate with the Porte and pay the poll-tax. This petition being granted, they chose a Musalman to perform this office to them! And this state of things has lasted the past two years. . . . . We have great reason to believe that it was a device emanating from Rome; and that, as the result, not only shall we see that the Armenian-Catholics are acknowledged of the empire, but that Rome has contrived to get Latin Catholics acknowledged as a sect, and the Pope, in fact, acting as their head. The documents that issue from the dragoman of the Diván,—the Musalman who is their surety and deputy,—are in the name of the community called Latins! All these Greek-Catholics follow the Latin or Roman rite on almost all occasions, having no church of their own. And now there occurs a thing which was before unheard of, that foreign (Roman) priests baptize, confess, and bury, the born and actual subjects of the Turkish government. While the Armenian-Catholics, in addition to their civil patriarch, have an ecclesiastical patriarch of their own, these Greek and Latin Catholics, having a Musalman for a civil head, have an Italian bishop and vicar-apostolic sent from Rome for their ecclesiastical head. There is a mysterious connexion, to the bottom of which we have never yet been able to go, between the subject Latin Catholics and some of the embassies, especially with the French. By belonging to this new sect, they obtain a sort of civil protection in case of law-suits and difficulties. And it is

said that the French chancery takes cognizance of the names of all this sect."

The Roman Catholic Missions have for many years been diligently plying their vocation, and not without some success, among the Greek and Armenian Churches which exist in the province of *Georgia*. Owing to the opposition which they there encounter from the Russian Government, which as little respects the principles of religious liberty as the most bigoted nations devoted to the interests of the Pope, they have been much reserved in the publication of accounts of their proceedings. The following paragraph appeared about two years ago in the *Journal des Debats*:—

"The *Revue de Paris* announces the arrival at Friedland, on the 1st ult. of the nine Catholic missionaries expelled from Georgia by the Russian Government. 'They are,' it says, 'monks of the order of Capuchins.' . . . During the last 200 years, Rome has constantly maintained missionaries in that idolatrous country, who generally resided at Teflis. The number of Roman Catholics of the Latin and Armenian rites in Georgia, amounts to about 10,000. . . . . Russia had resolved to compel those monks, by threatening to expel them, to serve her views with regard to the Catholics of Georgia, whom she was anxious to bring under the control of the Schismatic Church. The poor clergymen engaged in so unequal a contest, were exposed to all sorts of annoyance, and their property, convents, and churches were at last confiscated, and given to the Armenian clergy, who have acknowledged the Russian authorities. The Christian Government of St. Petersburgh, less merciful than the Porte toward the Catholics of Armenia, ultimately called on the Capuchins to recognise not only the temporal authority, but also the spiritual authority of the 'Lord-Emperor;' and they were moreover enjoined to submit to the Armenian Bishop, Schakulvoi, the chief of the Georgian Catholics, by the will of the Autocrat. Those injunctions were met by a refusal; the government made every exertion to conquer the courageous resistance of the missionaries, but its offers, as well as its menaces, were unavailing. Finally, after a last summons, addressed to them from St. Petersburgh, the monks, persisting in their refusal, were expelled the country."

THE ARMENIAN-CATHOLIC CHURCH.

In the learned work of Galanus on the conciliation of the Roman and Armenian Churches, there are various notices of the correspondence of some of the adherents of the Armenian Church with that of Rome, from the time of the secession of the Armenian Church from the Catholic body, and its rejection of the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon. On some of these Galanus doubtless lays too great stress. To those of them which are of most importance, it may be proper, however, to allude. The Armenian patriarch Gregory is said to have sent an embassy to Rome in the year 1080, professing his regard to that See, and received a favourable response. In the year 1145, the Armenian patriarch is also said to have actually proffered the subjection of the Armenian Church. He was induced to do so probably in consequence of the advance of the Saracens on the declining kingdom of Armenia, which about the same time caused the patriarchate of the Armenians to be removed from the greater Armenia to Sis in Cilicia. Various proposals, communings, and consultations, were held on the subject; but nothing was permanently decided about the union of the Churches till Leo the Armenian king, wishing to have the concurrence of the Pope in his coronation, got Johannes, the Armenian Catholicus, and a large body of his clergy, formally to declare for Rome. This was about the end of the twelfth century. Though Leo was sometimes opposed to the Latin clergy who came into his dominions, his own family remained in the profession of attachment to Rome. In the Council of Adina in 1314, the union of the Churches is said to have been expressly declared. It was far, however, from being general or abiding. The Romish Missions commenced a few years later. With some intermissions they have been continued to the present day, and

they are represented as freeing many Armenians from the pestilence of heresy.[1] The Catholic-Armenians, however, are not yet, and probably never will be, a numerous body.

The following is the fullest Papal account of their statistics which has been lately published. "Armenians. The patriarch of Cilicia resides at Mount Lebanon. Several bishops assist him as vicars. Two others only have separate dioceses, Aleppo, Mardin. The number of Catholics belonging to this patriarchate amounts to 40,000."

I am inclined to think that even here there is, as usual, some exaggeration. The American Missionaries in Syria say of the Armenian-Catholics, "These are extremely few, and bear the same relation to the Armenian Church that the Greek-Catholics do to the Greeks. They have a patriarch and three bishops. Their convents in Mount Lebanon are three, viz. Beit Khâshboh, el-Kareim, and Bzummâr, all in Kasrawân. The latter convent is the residence of the patriarch. The monks are about fifty in number."[2] Of those at Constantinople, in Asia Minor, and Armenia, which are included in the Papal estimate, Mr. Homes writes as follows:—

"The Armenian-Catholics in the city are estimated at from 10,000 to 13,000 souls. They are found also in Smyrna, Angora, Tokat, Trebizond, and in small numbers in various parts of Armenia. There are perhaps 250 families at Mardin dependent on their own patriarch, who resides in a convent on Mount Lebanon; and this patriarch governs the Armenian-Catholic population of Aleppo and Syria. They have no monasteries in Asia Minor, but they have one at Venice, and another at Vienna. Their priests are for the most part educated abroad at these two places, or at Rome or Padua. Those located in this city can generally, therefore, speak one or more European languages. Their ecclesiastical organization is complete in itself, except that they have a political patriarch appointed from among themselves to represent them at

[1] See the first volume of Galanus, passim. Compare with the accounts of Galanus, Smith and Dwight's Researches in Armenia, p. 423.

[2] Miss. Herald, Oct. 1845.

the Porte, while their ecclesiastical patriarch is appointed by the Pope. Many of their clergy are jealous at the interference of the French and Italian Missionaries. . . We hear now and then of a bishop, a priest, or of a layman joining them; but we hear of perhaps as many who go back and join their ancient sect. . . The great motive of those who join the Papal Armenians is for the sake of the additional protection which they gain as Catholics on account of the interest taken in them, and the aid afforded the sect by many of the Catholic ambassadors. The Armenian-Catholics have one large church in Galata, and a church in Orta Koi. Connected with an hospital belonging to them in Pera, they have also a 'house of prayer.' The Turkish government interposes so many obstacles to the building of new churches, that, though they have made many attempts, they have never been able to get more than permission for a 'house of prayer,' as if for the use of the hospital. But a 'house of prayer' is all that evangelical Christians will ever want. They have also a plague hospital. There is a parish public school connected with the church, and there is now building a college, or high school, at Pera, in connexion with the monks of the Venice monastery."

5. THE SYRIAN-CATHOLIC CHURCH.

The origin of this Church is to be attributed to the different missions sent to Syria during the last two and a half centuries, and especially to that of the Jesuits to Aleppo, which, as already mentioned, was commenced in the year 1625.

A Jesuit missionary, about the middle of last century, when writing of the success of the missions at Aleppo, says, "The half of the Syrian nation is already Catholic; and we flatter ourselves that, in a few years, all the Syrians of Aleppo will be reunited to the fold of the Church."[1] In conformity with this statement, Dr. Russell, in 1794, says, "The Syrians, in matters of faith, are mostly reconciled to the Romish Church; that is, those of Aleppo. They preserve in general their ancient rites, and in their church divine service is performed partly in Syriac and partly in Arabic. None of them speak the Syriac language, and few

[1] Lettres Edifiantes, vol. i. p. 392.

understand it; but they often, in the same manner as the Maronites, write the Arabic in the Syriac characters, [called the Karshûní]. Some few of their youth, who are destined for the ecclesiastic life, are sent to Rome for their education."[1] All things considered, however, the papal Syrians form but a small body. The Society for the Propagation of the Faith[2] estimates them at 30,000 souls. Their ecclesiastical chief is denoted the "patriarch of Antioch," and in addition to his duties as such, he administers the affairs of the patriarchate of Jerusalem. Below him are four bishops, those of Nabah and Homs in Syria, and Mosúl and Mardín in Mesopotamia.

The Romo-Syrians in Malabar and Travankúr in India, which are served by their own bishops and priests, amounted in 1836 to 56,184 souls. The history of the conversion of their forefathers to Rome, which is related at length by La Croze, Geddes, and Hough, and which was brought about by the desperate, cruel, and deceitful measures of the Portuguese ecclesiastics of Goa, is painfully interesting and instructive. The attempt to effect it was first vainly made by the Cordeliers or Franciscan Friars in 1545. It was afterwards, also without success, repeated by the Jesuits. Már Joseph, the Syrian bishop, was circumvented and sent to Europe. He proved an unworthy character; but after various tergiversations on his return to India in the interest of the Portuguese, he was ultimately permitted to go to Rome and obtain ordination from the Pope. A second time he proved unfaithful in the East, and he afterwards died in Italy. Dom Alexis de Menezes, archbishop, and afterwards governor, of Goa, was by most unhallowed measures the instrument of the perversion of great numbers of the native Christians of India, and of the formation of the Romo-Syrian Church, which, with diminished numbers, still exists.

[1] Natural History of Aleppo, vol. ii. p. 33. [2] Report for 1840.

6. THE CHALDEAN-CATHOLIC CHURCH.

The establishment of the Chaldean Church is said by the Romanists to comprehend the "patriarchate of Babylon, and the archbishopries of Diárbekr, Jizeirah, Morab, Aderbiján, and the bishopries of Mardin, Sirid, Amadia, Salmás, and Karkut, with ten bishops and 101 priests. The actual number of Chaldean-Catholics," they also state, "appears to have been reduced to 15,000." These converts are principally the fruit of the Romish missions to the banks of the Euphrates and the Tigris within the last hundred and fifty years. They form, I am sorry to say, a great portion of the Nestorians west of the mountains of Kurdistán. To the title which the Pope has given to them of "Chaldean Christians," they have no exclusive claim, not such a strong claim, indeed, as their countrymen around them, and to the further east, who have not yet acknowledged the papal supremacy. The Roman Catholics are at present making great efforts in the parts of the world to which they belong, and among the Nestorians of the mountains and of Persia; but the presence of several able and devoted bands of American Missionaries at Mosúl and among the uncorrupted Nestorians, bids fair, with the divine blessing, to counteract their efforts and their intrigue. In their late documents, the papal missionaries accuse the American "Methodists" of stirring up persecution against themselves and adherents, particularly in the Persian dominions;[1] but persecution directed even against religious opponents, is the last thing which would be resorted to by our American friends.

7. THE COPTIC-CATHOLIC CHURCH.

The Church of Rome has more or less directed its attention to Egypt since the time of the Crusades. The success

[1] See Annals of the Propagation of the Faith, September 1844.

which it has experienced, however, on the banks of the Nile, has not corresponded with the magnitude of the efforts which it has there made to extend its influence. I have already alluded to the Terra Santa monasteries, which are of an olden date, and to the "Delegation Apostolic of Alexandria," the jurisdiction of which extends over the Frank population of that city, and of all lower Egypt. Besides this establishment there is that entitled the "Vicariate Apostolic of the Copts." Altogether the Papal Church establishment of Egypt is estimated at two bishops and fifty priests. At Alexandria a new college and a house of nuns of charity have been lately occupied. "The Coptic nation, the only remaining fragment of the ancient Egyptians, after so many centuries and so many conquests, professes the Eutychian heresy. Yet twelve or fifteen thousand souls, reconquered by the zeal of the Missionaries, form a Catholic community, which subsists and increases under the conduct of about thirty priests and a bishop at Cairo. This poor but respectable church has preserved its national liturgy."[1] This small progress is rather remarkable, when we consider the great number of Italians and Frenchmen, members of the Romish Church, resident in Egypt, and the influence which not a few of them exercise in connexion with the public services of the country, under the Páshá. It must be remembered, however, that some of them have but little concern about religion of any kind, while others of them, men of enlarged views and liberality, would wish either the faith of the Copts in their own system to remain undisturbed, or exchanged for a purer form of Christianity than that which the messengers of Rome seek to propagate.

8. DOINGS OF ROME IN ABYSSINIA.

Rome commenced her intercourse with the Ethiopian branch of the Coptic Church, through the Portuguese, to-

[1] Reports of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, 1840-1844.

wards the close of the fifteenth century. In the beginning of the next age the Portuguese sent several embassies to Abyssinia, and formed political alliances with its emperor. That chief requested their assistance against the Muhammadans, and when it was rendered to him by Christopher de Gama, the son of the famous navigator Vasco, his subjection to Rome, the surrender of the third part of his kingdom, and his acknowledgment of Bermudes, a Portuguese, as patriarch of the country, were modestly asked of him as the recompense. These demands were indignantly refused. Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Jesuits, when he formed his ambitious plan of conquering the world to the faith and rule of Rome, wished himself to proceed to Abyssinia, as the hero of the Vatican; but he was ultimately content to despatch thither some of the first and choicest spirits of his order, to whom he thought he could commit the enterprise. Thirteen in number, to represent Christ and his apostles, they left the shores of Europe. Three of them, after touching at Goa, entered into Abyssinia as spies in 1555. They returned to the Portuguese settlements in India, without effecting any thing except bringing with them Bermudes, the Portuguese "patriarch of Ethiopia," who had been forced for a time to suspend his pretensions. Oviedo and some of the other Jesuit fathers, however, set out for Abyssinia after the return of the party to Goa. They reached the country, but the emperor Claudius strongly resisted and refuted their claims; and his successor Adam forced such of his subjects as had united themselves to the Catholics, to return to their ancient religion, particularly on account of the destruction which had befallen Claudius from the Musalmán arms, when he was engaged in his controversies with the Jesuits. The missionaries asked troops from India, but their request was not granted; and the fathers, at the suggestion of the Pope, were recalled. A second Jesuit mission

set out from Goa for Abyssinia in 1588; but it never reached the country. Other emissaries of Rome, principally Jesuits, however, entered within its borders. Deception, treachery, mischief, murder, war, and destruction, were the consequence of their movements and labours. The behaviour of the parties was so indiscreet and wicked, that the Abyssinians became aware of their danger, and Ethiopia was lost to Rome in the middle of the seventeenth century. The finale may be given in the words of Gibbon:—

"Fremona, a place of worship or rather of exile, was assigned to the Jesuit Missionaries. Their skill in the liberal and mechanic arts, their theological learning, and the decency of their manners, inspired a barren esteem; but they were not endowed with the gift of miracles, and they vainly solicited a reinforcement of European troops. The patience and dexterity of forty years at length obtained a more favourable audience, and two emperors of Abyssinia were persuaded that Rome could insure the temporal and everlasting happiness of her votaries. The first of these royal converts lost his crown and his life; and the rebel army was sanctified by the *Abuna*, who hurled an anathema at the apostate, and absolved his subjects from their oath of fidelity. The fate of Zadenghel was revenged by the courage and fortune of Susneus, who ascended the throne under the name of Segued, and more vigorously prosecuted the pious enterprise of his kinsman. After the amusement of some unequal combats between the Jesuits and his illiterate priests, the emperor declared himself a proselyte to the Synod of Chalcedon, presuming that his clergy and people would embrace without delay the religion of their prince. The liberty of choice was succeeded by a law, which imposed, under pain of death, the belief of the two natures of Christ. The Abyssinians were enjoined to work and to play on the Sabbath; and Segued, in the face of Europe and Africa, renounced his connexion with the Alexandrian Church. A Jesuit, Alphonso Mendez, the Catholic patriarch of Ethiopia, accepted, in the name of Urban VIII., the homage and abjuration of his penitent, [in 1626.] 'I confess,' said the emperor on his knees, 'I confess that the Pope is the vicar of Christ, the successor of St. Peter, and the sovereign of the world. To him I swear true obedience, and at his feet I offer my person and kingdom.' A similar oath was repeated by his son, his brother, the clergy, the nobles, and even the ladies of the court. The Latin Patriarch was invested with honours and wealth, and his missionaries erected their

churches or citadels in the most convenient stations in the empire. The Jesuits themselves deplore the fatal indiscretion of their chief, who forgot the mildness of the Gospel, and the policy of his order, to introduce the liturgy of Rome and the inquisition of Portugal. In the defence of their religion and liberty the Abyssinians rose in arms with desperate but unmerciful zeal. Five rebellions were extinguished in the blood of the insurgents; whole legions were slaughtered in the field, or suffocated in caverns; and neither merit, nor rank, nor sex, could save from an ignominious death the enemies of Rome. But the victorious monarch was finally subdued by the constancy of the nation, of his mother, of his son, and of his most faithful friends. Segued listened to the voice of pity, of reason, perhaps of fear; and his edict of liberty of conscience instantly revealed the tyranny and weakness of the Jesuits. On the death of his father, Basilides expelled the Latin patriarch, and restored to the wishes of the nation the faith and the discipline of Egypt."[1]

Within these few years Rome has recommenced her mission to Abyssinia. A late announcement of her position there is brief and emphatic, "Five priests of the congregation of St. Vincent, two brothers, a chapel, a school, some hundreds of neophytes, are the humble commencement of this work. But the old resentments are dissipating, the name of Rome is blessed, and the Ethiopians are turning with a pious curiosity towards that supreme chair which has not forgotten them."

I shall not further extend these painful details. The apparent success of the agents of Rome at present in Abyssinia, to a small degree, in the accomplishment of the objects of their mission, I have been informed by those acquainted with these movements, is to be attributed principally to bribery and deception. Let them beware of all unrighteousness and hypocrisy, for the day of reckoning may come sooner than they expect.

I conclude this chapter with some general observations, which the facts which have passed before our notice, and

[1] Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, chap. 47.—For particular information on the matters here referred to, see "The Church-History of Ethiopia," by Dr. Geddes, 1696.

others of a similar character connected with the operations of the papal Churches in the East, have forcibly suggested to my mind.

1. Rome is well aware of the great importance of establishing her influence in the lands in which the Eastern Churches exist, not only because of their great intrinsic importance, but because of the immense influence for good or evil which they are destined to exert on the other regions of the earth. The extensive and expensive efforts which she is making to effect their conversion, are palpable proofs of the fact. Rome herself most distinctly declares the estimate which she has formed of them, and glories in the endeavours which she is making in their behalf. When alluding to Western Asia, the Society for the Propagation of the Faith in 1840, says,—

"These countries are surely the most venerable in the world. There was the cradle of the human race. There the miraculous calling of the human race was accomplished. There was placed, so to speak, the theatre of profane antiquity, the scene of the Illiad, of Cyrus, and of Alexander. But above all, it is the soil which has been fertilized by the Saviour's blood, and consecrated by his tomb; the territory of the primitive churches; the native land of those countless generations of martyrs, of anchorets, and teachers of the faith. Finally, is it not to this region that an irresistible influence seems to be drawing the partialities and interests of modern times, as if the destinies of the human race must be decided in the very places whence they parted to meet again—from the tower of Babel to the valley of Jehoshaphat? So also the Catholic Church maintains a filial regard for that maternal land. She avoids no expense to save her from calamity. She went there to die and conquer in the middle ages, with the millions of the Crusaders; she has watched there for six centuries over the holy sepulchre, with the intrepid monks whom no outrage has discouraged; she shows herself there still, surrounded by all the lights of learning and all the treasures of charity, raising up, from Smyrna to Tauris, from Damascus to Beirût, her schools, her colleges, her benevolent institutions, her apostolic stations. There she encounters all the hostile systems which the spirit of evil has raised up to oppose the truth. Idolatry survives in the mysteries of the Druzes; the Gnostic sects show

themselves at some obscure points of Mesopotamia; Nestorianism sits among the ruins of its ancient greatness; the Eutychian delusion unites half the population of Armenia and Chaldea; the Greek schism still sits in many episcopal chairs; the Muhammadan scourge chases before it the wandering flocks; and, in addition to all the rest, Protestantism has lately come to spread new snares, by scattering in all parts its disfigured Bibles and slanderous tracts. It may be said, that all lies clothe themselves in immortality under the heavens of the East, which seem to smite men and things with an incapacity of change. Yet the signs of better times are too plain to be misunderstood."

Much more to the same effect appears in other similar documents.[1] Would that an equal zeal in behalf of the lands of the Bible, of redemption, and of the ultimate triumph of truth, were manifested by the Churches of a purer faith and a more holy practice! If the Protestant Churches of Britain and the Continent would but do their duty to the Eastern Churches, as those of America, which give the very flower of their missionary body to their evangelical regeneration, do, the efforts of Rome, I am persuaded, would not only be surpassed, but, to a great extent, rendered abortive.

2. Rome has skilfully adapted her measures to the exigencies of the people, whose attachment she has sought to secure. Knowing the jealousy and fear with which she is regarded by the different bodies of Oriental Christians, she has, generally speaking, in the first instance at least, gone very gently to work among them, and sought to secure their attachment and respect by works of charity, gifts of education, and offers of political protection, which her known alliance with France in particular has enabled her to present. Let her example be followed, but only in so far as it can be done openly, sincerely, disinterestedly, righteously. Let the Protestant nations, who, with others, support what is called the "integrity of the Turkish empire," take care that in acknowledgment of their support, ample toleration be grant-

[1] See especially the Report of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith in 1844.

ed within its wide dominions to all who bear, or may choose to bear, the Christian name in connexion with any communions which have been formed, or may yet be formed. Let us seek to secure liberty to the peaceful preacher of the Gospel in those very lands in which, under even the heathen government of Rome, the temple, the synagogue, and the private apartment, the narrow street and the public highway, the open plain and the lofty mount, the garden and the wilderness, the bank of the river and the margin of the sea, were equally consecrated and hallowed by the Heavenly Teacher and his devoted apostles. Let us give the blessings of a Christian and general education in all their amplitude to the Eastern Christians; and let us acquire from them all the information respecting the early history of the Christian Church, which they have it in their power to bestow upon us, who are indebted for almost all the knowledge which we possess on the subject to the Roman and Byzantine Fathers, to the almost total neglect of those of Syria, Armenia, and the East in general. Let us prepare for these Churches, as soon as possible, a body of evangelical literature. The need of such a help for them is great indeed. Mr. Graham, the able and learned representative of the Presbyterian Church at Damascus, has lately noticed, what I myself observed in Syria, that almost all the Christian literature of the East is in the hands of the Romanists; and directed my attention to some striking facts illustrative of the remark.

"The theology of Rome," he says, "her catechisms, and the lives of her saints, have been translated into the Arabic language, and assiduously circulated. I have never heard of, or seen, a lexicon or grammar in the Arabic tongue, the work of a Christian, which does not belong to them. Anshimus, or Onesimus, the Greek patriarch of Jerusalem and all Palestine, did, indeed, in 1792, publish a good commentary on the book of Psalms, and a passable work on general and philosophical subjects; and within the present year, Mr. Joseph Haddad of this city, has, under the auspices of the patriarch of Antioch and the Russian Consul-General at Beirût, translated into Arabic a famous catechism of

the Muscovites. But these are the exceptions, and, generally speaking, the Greeks have neither literature nor learned men amongst them. View in connexion with this statement, the fact, that the Roman priests are a far better educated, more diligent, and intelligent class of men than those of the Greeks. In country districts the Greek priest differs in no respects, save by the imposition of hands, from the peasants who surround him. He cultivates his little farm like the rest of them, and if on Sundays and festivals he is able to read over the church service, nothing more is expected from him. The Romish and Maronite priests, on the contrary, are intelligent and educated men. They have been at 'Aintúra or 'Ainteráz, or the Arabic college of Rome, and are, in consequence, much better qualified to defend or enlarge the boundaries of their church."

Proper attention to the circumstances and situation of the Eastern Churches, on the part of Protestants, would deprive the Romanists of the monopoly of these advantages.

3. Rome has used very dishonourable means, when it has had the opportunity, of arraying the civil and military powers on its side, in the different countries of its proselyting enterprise. Connected with this subject, I might have introduced the most harrowing details, particularly in reference to the procedure of the Romanists on the mountains of Malabar and Ethiopia, to which I have been contented to make a mere allusion. It is alleged by those who watch her movements in Syria, that she is not scrupulous about stirring up opposition to her rivals, and securing for herself the desired privileges, by the basest measures.

"Rome," says Mr. Graham, "has money. Not only has she the States of the Church, but she has also a great and untold revenue from the papal nations and churches throughout the world. If a privilege is to be obtained from the Porte the *only means is money;* if a patriarch is to be recognised and protected, the *only means is money;* if the unjust aggressions of the priests, as in the case of the Nestorians, are to pass unpunished, the *only means is money.* But the Porte has no predilection for Popery? Be it so: the Nestorian, Armenian, Greek, Papist, and Protestant are all the same to the Divan. But 'Nothing for nothing' is the motto, or at least the practice, of the Ottoman Empire; and in no quarter in these lands can *poor* justice enter the lists with

affluent crime. The decision was given in favour of the Protestants of Hasbeiyá. They were ordered to return to their habitations, and the authorities, civil and religious, commanded to respect the principle of religious toleration. I read the order. Next day a hundred thousand piastres reversed all this. In the times of peace, the paths to preferment, in Moslem governments, are gold and sodomy. No officer is expected to do simple justice, much less to confer a favour, without a bribe. You remember when we went to the governor of Nábulus or Shechem, in behalf of the persecuted Jews; they presented him before our face with a bribe of tobacco. This is expressed by the Arabs under the idea of eating. They say of a corrupt public functionary, 'He eats a great deal,' using the word in the sense of devour. Rome hath a sop for Cerberus, and the canine Janitor of the East is never so effectually quieted as by a savoury joint. Rome also has high-sounding names and flattering titles at her command. It is said the Maronites were first brought under fatal influence, by sending a *pallium* to their chief. A school and printing-press in Mount Lebanon is dignified with the title of 'The National Greek-Melchite College of 'Ainteráz.'"[1]

4. Rome, in order to gain the admission of her supremacy in the Christian Church, as may be observed in the case of every one of the Eastern Churches, is ready, for the time being at least, to make no inconsiderable compromise of her principles. Of this compromise and accommodation,

[1] The readiness of Rome, by resorting to bribery, to encourage the Turkish authorities in their unjust exactions here alluded to by Mr. Graham, is well illustrated by the following extract of a letter from one of her own emissaries to the East, M. Eugene Bore. "In Turkey, the Christian can offer to God the prayers and homage appointed by his liturgy, without ever fearing that the governor or the imam, interfering with the interior of the sanctuary, will disturb its rites and ceremonies. But, through a capricious contradiction, this church in which he is so free, he is not free to build. He must, in the first instance, show an anterior title, acknowledged by the Musalman authority, and proving that this place was, before the conquest, dedicated to divine worship; otherwise, the erection of a monument would not be permitted, whose destination is opposed to the faith of the Coran. It is true that we easily elude this legal interdiction, *and then, particularly, we have recourse to the decisive argument of the* richoet, *a special word, which is happily unknown to our language and our usages, as it expresses the present offered to the great and to the judges to purchase their approbation.* This defect has invaded all classes of society, the palace, the ministry, the divan or the tribunal of justice, the mosque, the market, and the artizan's stall."—Annals of the Propagation of the Faith, March 1845, p. 71.

she actually boasts, having, in communion with her in the Eastern Churches, to use her own language, "people of six different rites," with "all their ancient liturgies respected as so many monuments of the unity of belief in the midst of the variety of rites and discipline." There has been scarcely any limit, in fact, to her concessions to the Churches of which we have been speaking; and there is no saying to what extent they may yet be developed. Mr. Perkins in his interesting work, entitled "A Residence of eight years in Persia among the Nestorian Christians," says, "one of the newest measures that has been reported to us, is an order purporting to be fresh from the Pope to his agents in this region, to *canonize Nestorius*, whose name and memory every papist has been required so many centuries to *curse*, and to *anathematize* the Lutherans, *i. e.* the Protestant Missionaries."[1]

5. Great though the missionary efforts of Rome be among the Eastern Churches and the heathen nations,—to which the subject of this chapter does not call me particularly to advert,—it is worthy of notice, that taking them as a whole, those of the Protestant Churches already surpass them in magnitude and importance, as far as the free and open dealing of mind with mind is concerned. Such a statement as this may be entirely novel to some of my readers; but it is one which I do not rashly hazard. The contributions of the whole papal world to the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, which is now the universal nurse and support of all its missions, when reduced to English money, at the most favourable rate of exchange, amounted, in 1843, to no more than £165,131, 7s. 3d. which is not equal to the income of two of our largest Missionary Societies. I am aware that, in aid of this sum, old endowments are to a large extent applied; but, making every allowance for these, the whole sums ex-

[1] Perkins's Residence, p. 23.

pended by Protestants in missionary efforts *in partibus infidelium*, are annually double of those expended by Rome. In the dissemination of education, in the wielding of the press, and in the work of public preaching, Protestantism is actually doing *throughout the world* a greater amount of work than Romanism. It is in the number of her foreign adherents in all parts of the world, principally, that Rome has the advantage of us; but these adherents are the fruit of her missions when the Protestant Churches were doing nothing abroad, and not, generally speaking, of the missionary effort of the present day, extended though it be in the different regions of the earth. In the distribution of her missionary force, which, as in the case of the Eastern Churches, is regulated by consummate wisdom, she excels us too; but Christian union and consultation, I trust, will not long permit her exclusively to possess this advantage.

6. If Protestantism, the religion of the Bible, become soon aggressive to the extent that it might, conversions may be expected from the Papal Eastern Churches, as well as from other communities attached to Rome. The truth of God, let us convey to them in the spirit of humble benevolence. Let us proclaim liberty to the captive, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound; and the acceptable year of the Lord may speedily arrive. In all our dealings with Romanism, let us proceed according to the dictates of principle, and not the injurious impulses of prejudice. Let us show to those who have been subjected to its influence, that we really desire and seek their welfare, their true exaltation and not their humiliation, God's glory and not our own honour. Let us seek the divine blessing; and his own work will prosper in our hands.

III.—THE EASTERN JEWS.

THE JEWS IN THEIR OWN LAND, INCLUDING LIST OF TOMBS VISITED IN THEIR PILGRIMAGE, CATALOGUE OF BOOKS IN THE LIBRARY OF THE CHIEF RABBI OF HEBRON, AND HEBREW LETTER OF INTRODUCTION, NOTICE OF THE FORMATION OF THE PRESBYTERIAN MISSION AMONG THEM, AND LIST OF SITES IN THE HOLY LAND, MENTIONED IN SCRIPTURE, WHICH HAVE BEEN IDENTIFIED—JEWS OF EGYPT—JEWS OF ARABIA FELIX—FALASHA OF ABYSSINIA—BENE-ISRAEL OF BOMBAY—JEWS OF COCHIN—JEWS OF CONSTANTINOPLE, SMYRNA, AND OTHER PLACES IN THE WEST OF THE TURKISH EMPIRE.

A PRINCIPAL object of my journey in the Lands of the Bible, as will have sufficiently appeared from my "Personal Narrative," was that of inquiring into the present position and condition of the Eastern Jews, who have been comparatively neglected by the Christian world. My investigations respecting them, such as they are, have not been confined to that journey. Though I am a missionary to the Gentiles in our great Eastern Empire, I have never felt warranted to overlook the claims of the children of Israel to attention, nor ceased to communicate with them to the fullest extent of my power. In noticing them at present, I shall confine myself principally to the circumstances connected with them, in which those who seek for information respecting their moral state, and who desire to promote their welfare in the highest sense of the term, may be disposed to take some interest.

1. THE JEWS IN THEIR OWN LAND.

There is not a country on the face of the earth which is so dear to the Christian as the land of Israel. It is associated in his mind with reminiscences and anticipations of

the most tender and rapturous interest. From our earliest years we become familiar with its sacred scenes, its wondrous characters, and its unparalleled events. We pass with Abraham, on his first entrance within its borders, after leaving Haran, "through the land unto the place of Sichem, unto the plain of Moreh."[1] We remove with him from thence "unto a mountain on the east of Bethel,"[2] and we proceed in his company, with mysterious reverence, "going on still toward the south."[3] We meet him on his return from Egypt, and follow him "on his journeys from the south, even to Bethel, unto the place where his tent had been at the beginning, between Bethel and Hai, unto the place of the altar which he had made there at the first."[4] We admire his generosity and love of peace, when he leaves his nephew Lot to make a free choice in the land for his flocks, and herds, and tents, and when he permits the appropriation by him of all the plain of Jordan, that was well watered everywhere, and fruitful even as the garden of the Lord;[5] and we rejoice in that gracious communication which was made to the great patriarch,—as he stood on the commanding height, with mountain and valley stretching before him, after Lot was separated from him,—"Lift up now thine eyes, and look from the place where thou art, northward, and southward, and eastward, and westward, for all the land which thou seest, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed for ever."[6] We continue to sojourn with him in "the land of promise, dwelling in tabernacles with Isaac and Jacob, the heirs with him of the same promise."[7] We stand at the dying couch of Israel, and, with his seer's eye, we survey with him the portions of his sons gathered around him,[8] as they stretch before us with all their distinctive

[1] Gen. xii. 6.
[2] Gen. xii. 8.
[3] Gen. xii. 9.
[4] Gen. xiii. 3, 4.
[5] Gen. xiii. 10.
[6] Gen. xiii. 14, 15.
[7] Heb. xi. 9.
[8] Gen. xlix.

boundaries and features,—even at this day to be recognised, —discerning clearly the choice vines and abundant flocks of Judah; the haven of ships for Zebulon, with his border even unto Zidon; the "good rest" and "pleasant land" of Issachar; the "fat bread" and "royal dainties" of Asher; the "fruitful bough" and "the blessings of heaven above, blessings of the deep that lieth under, and blessings of the breast and of the womb, that were to be upon the head of Joseph, and on the crown of the head of him that was separated from his brethren." We stand on the plains of Moab with Moses, and hear him give a divinely inspired description of the country to the tribes whom he had brought from Egypt,—"The Lord thy God bringeth thee into a good land, a land of brooks of water, of fountains, and depths that spring out of valleys and hills; a land of wheat, and barley, and vines, and fig-trees, and pomegranates; a land of oil-olive and honey; a land wherein thou shalt eat bread without scarceness, thou shalt not lack any thing in it; a land whose stones are iron, and out of whose hills thou mayest dig brass."[1] "The Lord sware unto your fathers to give unto them and to their seed, a land that floweth with milk and honey. For the land, whither thou goest in to possess it, is not as the land of Egypt, from whence ye came out, where thou sowedst thy seed, and wateredst it with thy foot, as a garden of herbs: but the land, whither ye go to possess it, is a land of hills and valleys, and drinketh water of the rain of heaven: a land which the Lord thy God careth for; the eyes of the Lord thy God are always upon it, from the beginning of the year even unto the end of the year."[2] We enter into the spirit of the same great prophet and general, when, in the ardour of his soul, he exclaims, "I pray thee, let me go over and see the good land that is beyond Jordan, that

[1] Deut. viii. 7-9.

[2] Not after an annual inundation, as in Egypt. Deut. xi. 11, 12.

goodly mountain, and Lebanon;"[1] and we are strangely and tenderly affected with him, when, after surveying it with longing and wistful eyes from the summit of Pisgah, we hear the divine announcement,—"*This* is the land which I sware unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, saying, I will give it unto thy seed: I have caused thee to *see* it with thine eyes, but thou shalt *not go over thither!*"[2] We join ourselves to Joshua, the valorous successor of Moses, and under his guidance under God, we see, through the divine power, the establishment of the chosen tribes in the land conveyed to them by covenant as an inheritance. The whole country soon witnesses providential dispensations, marking the undiminished care by God of his people, the holiness of his character, and the righteousness of his ways, amidst all the rebellion and repentance which they successively evinced. David, the sweet singer of Israel, appears on the scene; and with the utterance of his song, the whole land becomes vocal with Jehovah's praise,—"In Judah is God known: his name is great in Israel. In Salem also is his tabernacle, and his dwelling-place in Zion."[3] With an admiration inspired by his muse, we look to both the natural and moral glory of this sacred locality, and exclaim with ecstatic delight, "Beautiful for situation, the joy of the whole earth, is Mount Zion, on the sides of the north, the city of the great King;" and, we "walk about Zion and go round about her, and tell the towers thereof."[4] We tread with him the "pastures of the wilderness,"[5] and look up to the "strength of the hills which is God's;"[6] and solemnized by heaven's thunders, we say, "The voice of the Lord is powerful; the voice of the Lord is full of majesty. The voice of the Lord breaketh the cedars; yea, the Lord breaketh the

[1] Deut. iii. 25.
[2] Deut. xxxiv. 4.
[3] Ps. lxxvi. 1, 2.
[4] Ps. xlviii. 2, 12.
[5] Ps. lxv. 12.
[6] Ps. xcv. 4.

cedars of Lebanon. He maketh them also to skip like a calf, Lebanon and Sirion like a young unicorn. The voice of the Lord divideth the flames of fire. The voice of the Lord shaketh the wilderness; the Lord shaketh the wilderness of Kadesh."[1] And, attracted by the universal beneficence of nature around us, we say, "The north and the south thou hast created them: Tabor and Hermon shall rejoice in thy name."[2] With David's son, we see the hand of God clothing the country with its winterly garb, when "he giveth snow like wool, he scattereth the hoar-frost like ashes;"[3] and with him we hail the joy of spring, when "the winter is past, the rain is over and gone; the flowers appear on the earth; the time of the singing of birds is come, and the voice of the turtle is heard in our land."[4] In the majesty and beauty and fragrance of Lebanon, we have a type of Christ,—"his countenance is as Lebanon, excellent as the cedars,"[5] and we hear the bride,—his church, or the renewed soul,—in the earnestness of her desire for communion with him, praying, "Come with me from Lebanon, my spouse, with me from Lebanon: look from the top of Amana, from the top of Shenir[6] and Hermon, from the lions' dens, from the mountains of the leopards;"[7] and yet, when we survey it with its waving forests, and flocks and herds, we exclaim with the prophet, "Lebanon is not sufficient to burn, nor the beasts thereof sufficient for a burnt-offering."[8] The glory which it shadows forth, we claim for the Church of Christ, for "the glory of Lebanon shall be given unto it, the excellency of Carmel and Sharon."[9] The prophets tell us plainly that in this glorious land the Saviour of the world should appear. In the fulness of time the great

[1] Ps. xxix. 4-8.
[2] Ps. lxxxix. 12.
[3] Ps. cxlvii. 16.
[4] Song of Solomon, ii. 11, 12.
[5] Song of Solomon, v. 15.
[6] Jebel Sannin?
[7] Song of Solomon, iv. 8.
[8] Isa. xl. 16.
[9] Isa. xxxv. 2.

mystery of godliness is actually revealed within its borders; and in Bethlehem-Ephratah we behold the coming forth of him who is to be ruler in Israel; whose goings forth have been from of old, from everlasting. Attending the Saviour throughout his ministry of love, we traverse the land in the length thereof and the breadth thereof; and the impressions of his grace become associated in our minds with its most important localities, with the steep brow of the hill of Nazareth, the lowly valley and impetuous flood of the Jordan, the peaceful lake of Gennesareth, the ancient well of Jacob, the compact city, and the glorious temple of Jerusalem, the mount of transfiguration, the secluded garden of Gethsemane, and the place nigh to Jerusalem where he died, the just for the unjust, that he might bring us to God. We ascend with him the Mount of Olives after his rising again; and from its summits, we look stedfastly after him towards heaven, till assured that "the same Jesus which is taken up from us into heaven, shall so come in like manner as ye have seen him go into heaven."[1] At Jerusalem we soon see unexampled wonders in the conversion of multitudes to the faith of that Christ, who by wicked hands had been crucified and slain; and the gathering together throughout the country, by the ministry of the apostles, of the first harvest of the Jews, the remnant according to the election of grace. The awful destruction and dispersion of the unbelieving and impenitent nation under Titus and Adrian follow; and Jerusalem, and the whole land are trodden down of the Gentiles, till the time of the Gentiles be fulfilled. Our interest in its sacred localities does not here terminate; for we remember that the "Lord will remember his land, and have mercy upon his people." We joyfully expect and earnestly long for the day when the Lord shall arise and have mercy upon Zion, for the time to favour her, yea the set time is come.

[1] Acts i. 11.

As his servants we take pleasure in her stones, and favour the dust thereof, believing that when the Lord shall build up Zion he shall appear in his glory. We see her convinced of her own destitution, on perceiving blessings multiplied upon the Gentiles, who have become the children of Abraham by faith, and saying in the deepest humility, "The Lord hath forsaken me, and my Lord hath forgotten me," and receiving the assurance of the everlasting remembrance and unchanging love of her divine Lord, and invited to look to the Gentiles all coming together to her, that she may clothe herself with them as with an ornament.[1] We see, during the latter-day glory of the earth, "Jerusalem, the throne of the Lord, and all the nations of the earth gathered unto it, to the name of the Lord to Jerusalem,"[2] acknowledging the law which has proceeded from it, and praising God for his faithful and gracious dealings in its behalf.

With these, the associations and anticipations of the Christian connected with the Holy Land, the Jew sympathizes, except in so far as they refer to the past manifestation of Christ in the flesh within its boundaries. Others, however, of a powerful and peculiar kind fill and agitate his bosom. The land of promise he views as his own by a perpetual covenant. Of the natural seed of Abraham, he claims it as an inheritance for ever. He mourns over a long though not a final dispossession. The whole history of Israel is the history of his own people. The marks and monuments of his nation's greatness, he traces among its ruins with melancholy interest. The land is holy to him, not merely from its sacred associations, but from its intrinsic purity. He expects to dwell there for evermore, under the reign of the Messiah, whom he still looks for as the visible King of his nation. His attachment to it is thus partly rational and religious, and partly erroneous and superstitious.

[1] Isaiah xlix. [2] Jer. iii. 17.

When I visited the Holy Land, I made particular inquiry into the attachment which the Jews there at present resident have to it as a place of habitation. To the nature of that attachment I have occasionally incidentally referred in my personal narrative; but I shall now mention it with more particularity, especially as considerable misapprehension seems to exist respecting it. I have compared my own observations, and the information which I obtained in the country, with Jewish authorities; and the result is submitted with a considerable degree of confidence in their accuracy.

1. To a certain extent the Jews of the Holy Land think that something like a sacramental use may be made of the country, from the simple historical associations with which it is associated. They conceive that a geographical survey of it confirms their faith in holy writ, as well as illustrates many passages of the divine word. They connect the place with persons and events; and viewing the country as it is at present, they live in the past. They get rid of many abstractions, and find themselves in the midst of realities. In the very desolations of the land, they see the fulfilment of a great part of prophecy; and they expect a similar fulfilment of what remains yet unaccomplished. As an illustration of their views on this subject, the following passage from "The Jews and the Mosaic Law, of Rabbi Leeser of Philadelphia," (p. 154.) may be referred to:—

"Let us consider the following from the Talmud: Rabbi Gamaliel, R. Elazar ben Azariah, R. Tehoshuah, and Rabbi Akaba were one day standing together, when they saw a fox running out of the place where the holies of holies once stood; the three first began to weep, whilst R. Akaba laughed; in astonishment they asked of him the cause of his untimely mirth, but he in his turn inquired: 'Why do you weep?' 'And should we not weep, when we see the curse so clearly verified? for the mountain of Zion, which is desolate, the foxes walked upon it.' (Lament. v. 18.) 'For this reason do I laugh,' answered the wise Rabbi, 'whilst the evil prophecies remained unaccomplished, there

might have been fears entertained for the verification of the good tidings promised through our prophets; but now, since we see the evil coming to pass, can we possibly doubt the eventual fulfilment of the consolation of Zion—and does not God rather reward than punish?' His friends were satisfied, and answered: 'Akaba, thou hast comforted us!'"

2. The Jews believe that prayer offered up within the boundaries of the Holy Land is the most acceptable to God. It is well known that in the different countries of their dispersion they pray toward Jerusalem, which they esteem their Kiblah or centre of worship, as when the Shechinah was there, or as Solomon, at the dedication of the temple, implied they should do; and as Daniel is supposed to have done when he prayed with his windows open in his chamber toward Jerusalem. Prayers offered up within the Holy Land, they believe to be still more agreeable than those which they present to God when they are only turned toward it in the manner here alluded to. Such prayers, the Rabbinical writers teach them to imagine, have something of the merit of the sacrifices which were presented by their fathers, and through which the soil, after a sort, has been consecrated.

3. The Jews conceive that death, or even burial, within the bounds of the Holy Land, will be attended by their absolution from sin.

"The custom of the Jews of bringing the bones of their deceased parents and friends to Palestine," says Mr. Asher, the intelligent translator and commentator of Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela, "arose from the construction put upon the meaning of the verse, Deuter. xxxii. 43. This verse, וכפר אדמתו עמו, 'he will be merciful unto his land and his people,' was translated by some of the Thalmudists, 'the land will reconcile *the sins* of his people,' and this led to the belief, that being buried in 'the land' (Palestine,) was sufficient to do away with all the sins committed during life; and of course nothing could be more meritorious than to convey the remains of parents and friends to *such* a place of rest."[1]

[1] Asher's Benjamin of Tudela, vol. ii. p. 93.

4. The Jews believe that there is great merit in approaching the spots where rest the mortal remains of their ancestors and distinguished rabbis and teachers. A pilgrimage to the tombs of the great departed, they reckon very meritorious, devoting to it particularly the time intervening between the passover and the pentecost. When in the Holy Land, I received from them a curious document, representing the sepulchres which they visit in the ארבע ארצות, or four sacred districts as they are called, Jerusalem, Ṣafed, Hebron, and Tiberias, and containing a list of the sepulchres at these and other places. Standing at the graves, they offer up their prayers to God, not only commemorating the dead, but, what is most to be noticed, soliciting blessings from God on account of the merit of their dead. Uri Ben Simeon of Biel, who resided for some time at Ṣafed, and who published his travels to the tombs, when speaking of the patriarchs, prophets, and other illustrious personages deposited within them, prays that "God may order their righteousness to turn to their good."[1] This is on the principle recognised in Jewish writings, that men form only the members of the same body, and that the services of any particular members should be available to all the rest.[2] The Jews at Hebron, who are not allowed to enter the cave of Machpelah, direct their prayers through a small hole in the wall covering it, kissing that hole, as I have seen, and rendering an idolatrous homage to the place. They act more flagrantly in opposition to the spirit and injunctions of their religion at some other places. When I visited Ṣafed for the second time, I found, as I have elsewhere mentioned, that many of the Jews at Meirûn, in the neighbourhood, at an annual commemoration of Simeon Ben Jochai, had been practising rites of an absolutely heathen character.[3]

[1] Hotting. Cip. Heb., p. 27.
[2] Vide Lib. Cosri., p. 186.
[3] See above, p. 312.

The list of tombs, and other places esteemed sacred, visited on the Jewish pilgrimage, to which I have now referred, may be here inserted as a somewhat curious document.

ירושלים—1. JERUSALEM.

יהי רצון מלפניך יי׳ אלהינו ואלהי אבותינו שיבנה בית המקדש במהרה בימינו ותן חלקנו בתורתך לעשות רצנך בלבבש

Let it be thy pleasure, from before thy face, O Lord our God, and the God of of our fathers, to build the Holy House with speed in our days, and grant us to walk in thy Law, to do thy pleasure with the heart!

בית המקדש The Holy House.
מדרש שלמה Medrash of Solomon.
כותל מערבי Western Wall.
מלכי ב דוד The Kings, the sons of David.[1]
חולדה נביאה Huldah, the prophetess.
חגי הנביא Haggai, the prophet.
שמואל הנביא Samuel, the prophet.
יואב ן צרויא Joab, son of Zeruiah.
רבנו עובדיה Our lord Obadiah.
כלבא שבוע Kalba Shabu'a.[2]
צדיק שמעון Simeon the just.
שבעים מנהדרן LXX. of the Sanhedrim.
מבילה שכנ Pool of the High-Priest.[3]
בעל הנס The Master of the Standard?
רחל אמנו Our mother Rachel.[4]
זכריה הנביא Zechariah, the prophet.
יד אבשלום Hand (pillar) of Absalom.

חברון—2. HEBRON.

נתן הנביא Nathan, the prophet.
גד החוזה Gad, the seer.
ישי א דוד Jesse, the father of David.
בעל ר׳ חכמה Master, the rabbi of wisdom.
בעל מכהונה Master of the place (base.).
בעל זהריה Master of the brightness.
החכמים וצדיקים The Wise and the Just.
רבני אשכנזים Rabbis of Ashkenazim.
מערת כופין The Caves and Holes.
אבנר בן נר Abner, the son of Ner.
אבות העולם Everlasting Patriarchs.

שכם—3. SHECHEM.

יהושע בן נון Joshua, the son of Nun.
כלב ן יפונה Caleb, son of Jephunneh.
פינחס ן אלעזר Phinehas, son of Eleazar.
ואלעזר אביו Eleazar his father.
בהוריתם איתמר In the Olives, Ithamar.
שבעים זקנים The Seventy Elders.
מנשה Manasseh.
יוסף הצדיק Joseph the Just.
אפרים Ephraim.
אהליאב ן אחיסמך Aholiab, the son of Ahisamach.

[1] Nábí Dáwud.
[2] Tombs of the Kings.
[3] Bethesda?
[4] Rachel's Tomb.

מירון—4. MEIRUN.

ר׳ יוחנן הסנדלר Rabbi Jochanan Sandalar.	שמאי ואשתו Shamai, and his wife.
ר׳ שמעון בן יוחאי R. Simeon ben Jochai.	ר׳ בנימן בן יפת R. Benjamin ben Jephet.
ור׳ אלעזר בנו R. Eleazar, his son.	ור׳ יוסי חטופא R. Jose Chetupha.
רבי יבא סבא R. Eba Saba.	ור׳ יוסי ן קסמא R. Jose, son of Kasma.
הלל הזקן Hillel, the elder.	

צפת—5. SAPHET, (Safed.)

ר׳ יוסי חבנאי R. Jose, the son of Benai.	ר׳ שלמה אלקבץ R. Solomon Alkebetz.
הושע בן בארי Hosea, the son of Beeri.	ור׳ משה אלשיך R. Moshe Al-Sheikh.
ר׳דוסא ן הרכינם R. Dosa, son of Hyrcanus.	חסידים וצדיקים The Holy and the Just.
והרכינם אביו Hyrcanus, his father.	בעל הן טוב The Master gracious & good.
ר׳ יוסף קארו R. Joseph Karo.	ורבבני אשכנן Rabbis of the Ashkenaz.
ור׳ יונתן גאלאנטי R. Jonathan Galanti.	מערת כובין The Caves and Holes.
ר׳יעקב אבואלעפ R. Jacob Abu-Alaphia.	בניהו ן יהוידע Beniahu, son of Jehoiada.
ור׳ משה בנו R. Moshe, his son.	אבא שאול Aba Saul.
ר׳ שלמה סאגיס R. Shalomo Sagis.	ר׳ יהודה נשיא R. Judah Nasi.
ור׳ משה ויטאל R. Moshe Vital.	ר׳ פפא ובניו R. Papa and his Sons.
ר׳ יצחק לוריא R. Isaac Luria.	חוני המעגל Hunai Hamaggel.
ור׳ משה קארדובירו R. Moshe Corduero.	ויונתן עזיאל Jonathan, son of Uziel.

מבריה—6. TIBERIAS.

הרמבמזצ״ל R. m.b.a.m,[1] of blessed memory.	ור׳ הונא ובנו R. Hona, and his Sons.
ר׳ יוחנן ור׳ כהן R. Jochanan & R. Cohen.	ר׳ עקיבא וכד אלף תלמידים R. Akiba and his twenty-four thousand disciples.
ר׳ חייא ובניו R. Hiia and his Sons.	חכמים וצדיקים The Wise and the Just.
ר׳ יהודה ור׳ חזקיה R. Judah & R. Hezkiah.	ור׳ חיים ויטאל R. Haiim Vital.
ר׳ אמי ור׳ אסי R. Ame and R. Asi.	מערת כוכין Caves and Holes.

The exact position of several of these tombs has been mentioned in our Personal Narrative. For further information respecting many of them, and their supposed occupants, I refer my readers to the Cippi Hebraici of Hottinger.

5. The Jews are attracted to the Holy Land in the hope of there enjoying peculiar advantages at the resurrection.

[1] Rabbi Moshe ben Maimon (Maimonides.) His bones are said to have been brought to this place.

The Jews claim, as their own peculiar privilege, the possession of Prophecy, the Law, the Land of Israel, and the Quickening of the Dead. None but Jews, they conceive, are ever to be raised from the grave.[1] The general resurrection, they believe, will take place at Jerusalem, on the appearance of the Messiah, at the place at the base, and on the sides, of the mountain of Olives, where the Jewish burying-ground, called the *Beth Haim*, or house of the living, now is, and from of old hath been. Three classes of persons, they hold, will rise from the dead,—the perfectly just, reprobates, and intermediates, whose good and evil works counter-balance one another. The just will rise to life eternal;[2] the reprobates to be cast into hell, if they are ever to be made alive again;[3] and the intermediates to purificatory torments in hell for the space of eleven or twelve months.[4] Those who are interred within the bounds of the Holy Land, and especially at Jerusalem, will be raised directly, and without any difficulty; but those who die and are buried beyond its bounds, must roll, like casks of wine, through the caverns of the earth, or tunnels made by God, till they reach the valley of Jehoshaphat and the Mount of Olives. Hence the Talmud says, צַעַר הוּא גְּלְגּוּל לַצַּדִּיקִים, this rolling is a grief to the just; and hence, as remarked by Buxtorf, it is easy to see how much the Jews are interested in their return to their country, and dying there as pious Jews, that they may be freed from the great pain and grievous labour of the rolling under the deep waters and heavy mountains. A person buried in the land of Israel, says Rabbi Isaac Sangar, in the book Cosri, is like one buried under the altar.[5]

6. The Jews expect that the Messiah will soon appear,

[1] In support of this opinion, they quote Isaiah xxvi. 14, 19.

[2] Daniel xii. 2.

[3] The Jewish authorities differ on this point.

[4] Zech. xiii. 9.

[5] See Buxtorf. Synagoga Judaica, p. 31-38; and his Liber Cosri, p. 73, 74.

and that in the Holy Land, in the neighbourhood of the Sea of Tiberias, from the meaning which they attach to the prophecy in Isaiah ix. 2, 3. The devout Jews repair to the regions of Zebulon and Naphtali in Galilee, referred to in this prophecy, to await his advent, believing that they will be privileged first to join his hosts, and to go up with him to Jerusalem, where they think he will raise his saints, and collect his living people, to reign over them for evermore.

7. The Jews throughout the world believe that they are now under the second great captivity; and that they will not be relieved from the punishment of their sins, which they are now enduring, till the appearance of the Messiah; and that this appearance may be hastened by their bewailing the desolations of Zion, where they are visible to their own eyes, and by offering prayers at the place where he is expected to appear. Scattered as they are throughout the world, they appoint the most devoted of their own number to engage in lamentation and prayer in their behalf. This is the real state of matters, which is hinted at somewhat incorrectly by Burckhardt, the greatest of oriental travellers, as far as personal observation is concerned:—

"Jewish devotees, from all parts of the globe," he says, "flock to the four holy cities, in order to pass their days in praying for their own salvation, and that of their brethren who remain occupied in worldly pursuits. But the offering up of prayers by these devotees is rendered still more indispensable by a dogma contained in the Talmud, that the world will return to its primitive chaos, if prayers are not addressed to the God of Israel, at least twice a-week in these four cities. This belief produces considerable pecuniary advantage to the supplicants, as the missionaries sent abroad to collect alms for the support of these religious fraternities plead the dangers of the threatened chaos, to induce the rich Jews to send supplies of money, in order that the prayers may be constantly offered up."[1]

The Jews, I found, deny that they use such an argument as this in the epistles which they send forth by their

[1] Burckhardt's Travels in Syria, pp. 324, 325.

Shelohim, or messengers; and no such argument have I seen in the epistles which I have examined. It is not the destruction of the world, so much as the non-appearance or delay of the Messiah, which the Jews so much fear, and which they employ the devotees to prevent by mourning and supplication. The most affecting scene altogether which I witnessed in the Holy Land, was the praying of the Khasidim at Tiberias. Their excitement and apparent importunity, as I have elsewhere noticed in this work, were frightful; and they appeared as if determined at once to take heaven by storm, springing upon their toes, beating their breasts, and groaning and crying simultaneously at the highest pitch of their voices. Mr. Graham, who was with me on the occasion, as well as myself, was quite overcome by the scene, and by the manifest delusion under which the poor Jews evidently laboured. Dr. Wolff has given us in his Journals, the prayers which the Karaim chant at Jerusalem, at the place of mourning, in sight of the great ancient stones in the western wall of the enclosure of the temple. When there, I made inquiries about the lamentations used by the Sephardim, who form the largest body of the Jews at Jerusalem; and I was referred to the following affecting passage of their liturgy:—

"Early will I seek my congregation, that is exceedingly afflicted; and visit mine habitation, (to view) the dreadful destruction. The fences are thrown down, and the walls are demolished; (nothing is seen but) gloomy darkness, waste, and desolation. The kiphud[1] wails, and the raven croaks (there); the screech owls, and dragons, howl dreadfully. The wild beasts, together with the lizard, the vulture, and kite, form a horrid and dreadful concert. I asked them, where are the lovely young roes,[2] (innocent) as doves in the chamber? Where are the chambers built with carbuncle, and the tallest cedars? (Where) is the foundation-stone? Where are the oracles, the precious foundations, the courts of the young roes, and the glorious temple? Where are the damsels clothed

[1] Translated Porcupine by David Levy, but see above, p. 335.

[2] Alluding to Solomon's Song, iv. 5, &c.

with embroidered garments? Their honour[1] is buried in the chambers of captivity. Where are the delicate oils, the joyful wines, and the fine flour? Where is the service, the testimony, the priesthood, and the Levites? Where is the kingdom that administered justice with purity without deceit? Where are the faithful, brought up in the lap of truth, lovely as the moon, and bright as the sun? They now witness their covenant with the grave; their dwellings are in the caverns of the young harts, and in the neglected depths. Over them spring up grass and herbage, forming pastures for the wild goats and kids. Morning and evening are they exposed to the cold and drought, or swept away by the strong flood, and carried over the sea, without (seeing) an end to their captivity, by which their souls are afflicted, and their bodies consumed. For the sea through which they passed, destruction is its path, death is its pilot, and the grave its ship. (There is) horror, dread, and fear; for there is no voice, nor any that answereth in all the ship. The lovely congregation was sold to be cut off; bruised and cast to the stretched-out sword. And the seed are dispersed, oppressed, and trampled (under foot): born to plagues and dreadful wounds. Their father also abhorred them and their mother; and besides them, married the daughters of strangers: even the Amorites, the Hittites, the Hagarites, the Chittites, the Midianites, and Moabites. Oh, may their father in his infinite mercy compassionate his orphans, and gather his dispersed to the pure land! For he is high and exalted; he bringeth down and raiseth up; he woundeth and healeth; killeth and restoreth to life. O Lord, return to thy city! build thine oracle, dwell in thine house, and gather thy scattered (flock). O thou who renewest the months, collect the saints, both men and women, to the erected city. O may this month be renewed for good! and may it please God, who is mighty in works, thus to command."[2]

8. Some of the richer Jews of Europe, when they see their relatives and friends involved in poverty, and unable to help themselves, and possessed at the same time of a moderate share of religious enthusiasm, send them to the Holy Land, as to an asylum, where they may live at little cost, give them little trouble, and in services esteemed holy, indulge and cultivate their devotion.

[1] Heb.—All glorious within the chambers of imagery.

[2] See much more in this strain in David Levy's edition of the Form of Prayer for the Fast Days, pp. 198-213.

9. Some Jews are partial to the Holy Land as a place of study, in which they may escape interruption from secular engagements. Many of those at present there are persons of extensive Rabbinical learning; and many of them exert themselves to acquire distinction in this respect. When among them, I had some curiosity to become acquainted with the material on which they feed; and, as already mentioned, I prevailed on the chief Rabbi of the Sephardim at Hebron, to furnish me with a *Catalogue of the Books in his Library*, which is an extensive one of the kind. That curious document, in which the Hebraist and missionary to the Jews may take some interest, I here insert:—

אשלי רברבי
להרב דוד בן שמואל חלוי זל ולהרב
שבתי בן מאיר הכהן זל
אפי רברבי
להרב משה אב ביתדין בעיו וילנא ולהרב
שמואל אבביתדין בעיר פירדא זל
אורים ותומים
שני חלקים להרב יהונתן זל
אמרות מהורות
להרב חיים אברהם ישראל זל
אבקת רוכל
להרב יוסף קארו זל
אורים גדולים
להרב ישראל זאבי זל
אדמת קדש
שני חלקים להרב משה מזרחו זל
אלי הרבה
להרב אליהו שפירא זל
אמר יוסף
להרב יוסף קלעי זל

אהבת עולם
להרב שלמה אלגאזי זל
אבק סופרים
להרב אברהם קונקי זל
אשד הנחלים
להרב וידאל נאחמולי זל
אהלי יאודה
להרב יאודה נאגאר זל
אהבת דוד
להרב חיים יוסף דוד אזולאי זל
אור צדיקים
להרב יוסף קארו זל

ב

בית הבחירה
לרבינו מנחם בר שלמה זל
בית אהרן
להרב אהרן בן שמואל זל
בית המלך
להרב יוסף בן חסון זל
בני דוד
להרב דוד פאלקון זל

ברכי יוסף

שני חלקים "להרב חיים יוסף גם פשום

בית אברהם

להרב אברהם ישראל זל להרב משה בן חביב זל

בן פורת יוסף גם מקושר

להרב יוסף קובו זל להרב משה בולה זל

בית חדש גם מקושר

ארבעה חלקים "להרב יואל מידקש זל" להרב יאודה נבון זל

ותשובות שני חלקים גבעת שאול

בית דוד להרב שאול לובלין זל

שני חלקים "להרב יוסף דוד זל גנת ורדים

בעי חיי שני חלקים "להרב אברהם חלוי זל

ד

שלשה חלקים "להרב חיים בנבנשת זל דרך המלך

בני אברהם להרב יוסף בן רבי זל

להרב אברהם מיוחס זל דרכי משה

ביתלחם יאודה להרב משה אסרלם זל

להרב יאודה אראיה זל דרך עץ חיים

בית יאודה להרב חיים יצחק אלגאזי זל

להרב יאודה עייאש זל דברי דוד

בתי כהונה לרבינו דוד בן זמרא זל

להרב יצחק כהן זל דברי ריבות

בירך יצחק להרב יצחק אדרבי זל

להרב יצחק ברכה זל דברי אמת

בן פדהצור להרב יצחק בבר דוד זל

להרב מנצור מרזוק זל דרכי נועם

בני יצחק להרב מרדכי חלוי זל

להרב יצחק חנן זל דבר משה

ברית אברהם שלשה חלקים "להרב משה אמאריאו זל

להרב אברהם בושעדה זל דברי מרדכי

ברכת טוב להרב מרדכי קריספין זל

להרב טוביה הכהן רופא זל ה

בית יוסף הר"אש

ארבעה חלקים "לרבינו יוסף קאנדו זל להרב רבינו אשר זל

הרש"בא
הרב רבינו שלמה בן אדרת זל שמנה ספרים
הריבש
הרב רבינו יצחק בר ששת זל
הר"יף
הרב רבינו יצחק אלפסי זל
ששה חלקים
הרמ"בם
הרב רבינו משה בר מימון זל
ארבעה חלקים
הרמ"בן
הרב רבינו משה בר נחמן זל
הר"רך
הרב רבינו דוד כהן זל
הר"רבז
הרב רבינו דוד בן זמרא זל
חמשה חלקים
הלכות יום טוב
להרב יום טוב אלגאזי זל
הלכות קטנות
להרב יעקב האגיז זל
הרהמר
להרב משה רבי זל
הלכות גדולות
לרבינו יאוראי גאון זל
הריטבא
הרב רבינו יום טוב בר אברהם זל
שלשה חלקים
ה"רן
הרב רבינו כסים זל
שמנה חלקים

ו

וזאת ליאודה
להרב יאודה עייאש זל
ועד לחכמים
להרב חיים יוסף דוד אזולאי זל

ז

זכרון תורת משה
לרבי משהפיג זל
זכות משה
להרב משה בולה זל
זכור לאברהם
שלשה חלקים ״ להרב אברהם אלקלעי זל
זרע אמת
שלשה חלקים ״ להרב ישמעאל הכהן זל
זרע בירך
להרב ברכיה ברך זל
זרע שמשון
להרב שמשון נחמני זל
זית רענן
להרבם אברהם סגל זל

ח

חק נתן
להרב נתן בורגיל זל
חמרא וחיי
להרב חיים בנ כנשת זל
חסדי דוד
שני חלקים ״ להרב דוד פארדו זל
חקי חיים
חקי דעת
חקי דרך
חקי משפט
ארבעה חלקים אלו להרב משה יקוטיאל זל
חינוך
לרבינו אהרן הלוי זל
חידושי הלכות
להרב שמואל אירלש זל

חסדי דוד
להרב דוד חסאן זל
חשק שלמה
להרב שלמה בכר מרדכי זל
חלק יעקב
להרב יעקב אלבעלי זל
חסד לאברהם
שני חלקים "להרב אברהם אלקלעי זל
חיי אברהם
להרב חיים אברהם קובו זל
חקרי לב
שבעה חלקים "להרב יוסף חזן זל
חום השני
להרב יאיר חיים זל
חות יאיר
להרב הנזכר זל
חכם צבי
להרב צבי אשכנזי זל
חיים שאל
שני חלקים "להרב חיים יוסף דוד אזולאי זל

ם

מורי וחב
להרב דוד אשכנזי זל הלוי
מל אורות
להרב שאול בר דוד זל
מורים
ארבעה וחלקים "להרב רבינו יעקב בן אשר זל

ן דוד
להרב יוסף דוד ויצחיים זל
יד יהודה
להרב יאודה אשכנזי זל
יתר הבן
להרב נהוראי נאדמון זל
יוסף אומץ
להרב חיים יוסף דוד אזולאי זל
יקר השרד
להרב יצחק ארדים זל
ים של שלמה
ארבעה חלקים "להרב שלמה לוריא זל
יבין שמועה
להרב שלמה אלנאזי זל
יעיר אזן
להרב חיים יוסף דוד אלנאזי זל
יד מלאכי
להרב מלאכי הכהן זל
יד המלך
להרב אליה פאלומבו זל
יד אהרן
שלשה חלקים "להרב אהרן אלפנדרי זל
ישועות יעקב
להרב יעקב משלם זל
יד משה
להרב משה אסאריאו זל
יקרא דשמיא
להרב יוסף דוד זל
יד יוסף
להרב יוסף צרפתי זל
יפה מראה
יפה קול
להרב שמואל יפה זל

כ

כפא דחכמים
להרב יוסף דוד אזולאי זל
כנסת הגדולה
שמנה חלקים "להרב חיים בנבנשת זל

כסא אליהו
להרב אליהו ישראל זל
כרתי ופלתי
להרב יהונתן זל
כרם שלמה
להרב שלמה אמאריאו זל
כנסת יחזקאל
להרב יחזקאל מפראג זל
כלי חמדה
כלי יקר
להרב שלמה לאנייאדו זל
כסף נבחר
להרב אביעזרי זעליו זל

לשון הכסים
להרב דוד הכהן זל" המאסף ומקבץ
השטות
לחם סתרים
להרב שלמה אלגאזי זל
לחם משנה
להרב אברהם דיבוטון זל
לב מבין
להרב נאבארו זל
לחם יאודה
להרב יאודה עייאש זל
לב שלם
להרב שלמה שלם זל
לחם רב
להרב אברהם די בוטון זל
לב שלמה
להרב שלמה חלוי זל
לב שמח
להרב אברהם אליגרי זל

לקט שמואל
להרב שמואל פייזו שכהנא זל
לשון לימורים
להרב ברזלי יעבץ זל

מוהר"אנח
שלשה חלקים" להרב אליהו בן חיים זל
מוהר"יבל
שלשה חלקים" להרב יוסף בן ליב זל
מוהר"ימט
שלשה חלקים" להרב יוסף מטראני זל
מביט
להרב משה בן יוסף טראני זל שלשה
חלקים
מוהר"ימץ
להרב יום טוב צהלון זל
מקוכצות
המשרה קוכצים להרב רבינו בעלאל
אשכנזי זל
מראה עינים
להרב רפאל אשכנזי זל
מנחת בכורים
להרב מיוחס בכר שפואל זל
מראה האופנים
להרב יעקב פאיתוסי זל
מזבח כפרה
להרב הנזכר
מראית העין
להרב חיים יוסף דוד אזולאי זל
משנה למלך
להרב יאודה רוזאנים זל
מרכבת המשנה
להרב אהרן אלפנדרי זל

מחנה אפרים

להרב אפרים נבון זל

מכתם לדוד

להרב דוד הסאן זל

ממה יאודה

להרב יאודה עייאש זל

מחזיק ברכה

להרב חיים יוסף דוד אזולאי זל

ממה אהרן

להרב אהרן הלוי זל

מחנה יאודה

להרב יאודה אשכנזי זל

מזבח אדמה

להרב מיוחס בכר שמואל זל

מים שאל

להרב יוסף מיוחס זל

מקראי קדש

להרב חיים אבו אלעפייא זל

ממה שמעון

שלשה חלקים "להרב שמעון בן שלמה זל

מיוחסות

לרבינו משה בר נחמן זל

מורם

לרבינו משה איסולם זל

מעיל שמואל

להרב שמואל פלורנטין זל

משאת משה

להרב משה ישראל זל

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I have not thought it necessary to translate the titles of the above works, as being almost without exception figurative, they convey no idea to the general reader of their respective contents. For information about the subjects of which they treat, and notices of their different authors, I beg to refer my readers to the Bibliotheca Hebræa of Wolfius, and to the Dizionario Storico degli Autori Ebrei e delle Loro Opere disteso dal Dottore G. B. de-Rossi.

The circumstances to which I have now referred account for the residence of some of the Jews in the land of their

fathers; and, when rightly considered, they explain to us the fact, that the Jews there are not more numerous than they actually are. On my visit I found that those within the ancient allotments of the twelve tribes, exclusive of Damascus, did not exceed 8000 souls, the numbers being those which are mentioned in the various places of the Personal Narrative in which their respective abodes are brought to notice. The country in general is viewed as a mere oratory for those who profess and attempt to maintain a sacred character, divested of all secular influences; and only those who seek what may be called complete retirement from the world, and with whom a spirit, I shall not say of fanaticism,—as some have inconsiderately and cruelly termed it,—but of blind devotion and enthusiasm are predominant, and who sincerely rest upon the promises and hopes of Rabbinism, as far as both the Israelitish community and themselves are concerned, are free to enter it, and to sojourn in it without challenge. Persons who may get attached to them, while they follow any worldly calling, they look upon as their inferiors, and as desecrating the soil on which they move, and as hindrances to their prayers. Burckhardt says that they are called Kafirs or infidels. Though I did not hear of such an epithet being given to them, I marked their depression.

It is the peculiar nature of the religious attachment of the Jews to their own land, which is perhaps the strongest reason why multitudes of them do not repair to it, to settle in it as agriculturists or merchants, to redeem that fertile soil, which, in many districts, has so long been keeping its sabbaths, and to dispose of those products which are still reared within its boundaries. This, I say, is apparently the cause, perhaps more than the inadequate government of the Turks, with which, particularly at Constantinople, and in Asia Minor, and on the banks of the Euphrates, and along the northern shores of Africa, so many hundreds of thou-

sands of Jews content themselves, and which, even in the Holy Land itself, views the Jewish community there as a distinct corporation, entitled to regulate its own religious concerns, and to a great extent its civil affairs, under a chief Rabbi, provided it be responsible for its proper amount of taxation. When we were at Nábulus, the ancient Shechem, distinguished alike for its beauty and fertility, we found, exclusive of the Samaritans, only twenty families of Jews, comprising not more than sixty souls, resident at the place. When we expressed our surprise to the Rabbi, at the smallness of the community over which he presided, and expressed our belief, that if Jews were to establish themselves at the place, they might soon enjoy a large share of worldly prosperity and respectability, he said to me, I very much agree with you; but the chief Rabbi at Jerusalem, under whom I act, will not allow a greater number of Jews to settle here than those you see, lest, tempted by the advantages of Shechem, they should forsake the holy places, and, making a secular location of themselves in the Holy Land, disprove the prophecies. When the Messiah comes, he added, we shall still be a nation of priests; and strangers shall stand and feed our flocks, and the sons of the alien shall be our (exclusive) plowmen, and our vine-dressers.[1] A similar expression of opinion we received elsewhere; and the result of all our inquiries amongst the Jews of the East and of Europe simply is, that the Jews throughout the world, in *the present state of their unbelief and prophetical misinterpretation*, utterly disclaim the idea of *colonizing* the land of their fathers, and restrict the grounds of their present limited settlements there to *religious considerations*. I beg the particular attention of philanthropists and the friends of Jewish missions to this statement. A general colonization of the land of Israel by Jews rejecting their

[1] Isaiah lxi. 5, &c.

spiritual King, Jesus of Nazareth, and *cleaving to Rabbinism*, I believe to be impracticable. In saying this, I must add, without entering on any discussions on unfulfilled prophecy, which are foreign to the objects of this work, that I am one of those who look for the restoration of the Jews to their own land, though not under a *temporal* reign of Christ, or with a restitution of the ceremonies, services, and sacrifices, which were designed to adumbrate his work and atonement and intercession, now matters of history and plain authoritative announcement. Their distrust and rejection of Jesus is the main cause of the long desolation of their house, and their dispersion throughout the world. They shall remember God in far countries, and shall live with their children and turn again, that is, be converted, before they are brought into the land of Gilead and Lebanon.[1] The advancement of the Gospel among the Gentiles will be one of the grand means of their conversion, and through our mercy they shall obtain mercy. When, as stated by Isaiah,[2] Christ has proved a light to the Gentiles, and salvation to the ends of the earth, Zion, in the humility of true repentance shall be provoked to jealousy by them that are no people, and by a foolish nation will she be angered, and will say, "The Lord hath forsaken me, and my Lord hath forgotten me;" and at the same time receive the comforting assurance of the Lord's unchangeable and unalterable love, "Can a woman forget her sucking child, that she should not have compassion on the son of her womb? yea, they may forget, yet I will not forget thee." The day of her merciful visitation and restoration is then at hand. The Lord will restore health to her, and heal her of her wounds. The people that are left of the sword shall find grace in the wilderness.[3] They shall come with weeping; and with supplications will God lead

[1] Zech. x. 9, 10. [2] Isaiah xlix.

[3] Jeremiah xxxi. 2.

them. And in that day also, Israel shall say, "O Lord, I will praise thee: though thou wast angry with me, thine anger is turned away."[1] "Their nobles shall" then "be of themselves, and their governor shall proceed from the midst of them;"[2] and Christ himself shall be their spiritual King. Though they can have no monopoly of Christian privileges, they may have great and eminent providential distinctions.

Though, as we have now seen, the number of the Jews in the Holy Land is but limited,—and though, as far as political and secular influences are concerned, there is but little prospect of their speedy increase to any great extent,—I conceive it to be still our imperative duty to give them our attention, our particular attention, in a missionary point of view. The Jews there are the actual and recognised representatives of all the Jews throughout the world. Of the four holy cities in particular, Jerusalem, Hebron, Tiberias, and Safed, it may emphatically be said, that, as far as the Jewish community are concerned, they are cities set upon a hill which cannot be hid. Whatever transpires in the midst of them, becomes known throughout the world. If they surrender the bulwarks of the citadel, others may retire from the out-posts. If their Rabbis and devotees are not able to withstand the Christian argument, Judaism may abandon the contest with Christianity. This was the very inference which the Jew who accompanied me from India to the Holy Land made and expressed, after listening at Tiberias to the conversations there held between the Rabbis and Mr. Graham and myself. (This individual, I have been informed by a letter just received from Mr. D. Daniel at Damascus, has lately made a profession of Christianity by baptism in connexion with the English mission at Jerusalem.) Let us see how the Jews in the Holy Land are actually honoured by their brethren in other places. The letter

[1] Isaiah xii. 1. [2] Jer. xxx. 21.

which I took to them from the Jews of India, a translation of which has been already given,[1] ran in the following strain:—

בעהית בסר עמי עשו

מלכי צבאות" למופת ולאות" מהדרין מן המהדרין" ישרים ותמימים" קופה של בסמים" וקטרת סמים" אנשי חמד והרחמים" כולם קדושים" וקדושה משלשים" אראלים וחרשישים" תורתה בלבם" חושן המשפט על לבם" זרע קדש" קרואי עידה מקרא קדש" דקב"ה חבב ביקריהו" ומשתבח בהו מאריהו" הנאהבים והנעימים" סגולה לכלה עמים" בניחיל יראיאלהים" אוהבי התורה ולומדיה" למחויקים בה ותומכיה" נדולים במעשיהם" אשרבית ישראל נכון עליהם" אחינו בית ישראל אשר באריבע ארצות" ירושלם צפת חברין ומבריה חובבא וחיבכל אחר ואחר" העמודים והמכונות" אשר יוציאם ואשריביאם" ובקצה תבל מלירם" הרבנים המובחקים" המאירים כברקים" מופלאים במעשיהם" יחד כולם" לא יסה מכלם" הצבאות ינן עליהם" יהי שלום בחילם שלוה בארמנותם" ישאו ברכה מאת"ה" ותרים קרנם" ו"ה עורם ומגנם" אבי"ר"

מסדר קדמות אנן דסגינן בשלימותא" שלמים מרובים וכן עצומים" יהיו דגן רבות בשנים" שלוה בארמנותם" תרב נדולתם" והשמחה במעונם" בנף רננים" והופת הרנים" תשיחמו לשרים" מושלים משלים" והיו למאורות" וזכר חסדי אבות" ואתר קידה חמש מאות" לפני שרי צבאות" וינטלם וינשאם" אנם"ו זאת מאחנו הבאים על החתים" נודיע למעלתכם בא לפנינו אחד הוא מאנשי אנגליס והוא במדינת במבא"י יצא והוא אדם נדול ושמו פאדרי נאן וילסן והוא אדם חשוב ונדיב לב רוצה לבוא לארבע ארצות לעשות זיארת בבקשה ממעלתכם תעשו לו כבוד בכל מקום אשר תדרוך כף רנלו ויהיה קידוש"ה" והוא אוהב ישראל והדן הוא בממנו ויעשה חסד עם כל ישראל וכל מה שעשיתם עמו חסד כאלו עשיתם עמנו ודי למבין" ובכן כשא רום מאלתם יתרומם ויתנשא" ואת מלכים לבמא" תרב נדולתם" בחצריהם ובמדרותם" ברך ה"והלם" ופועל ידם תרצה" כקרבן אשה ריח ניחוח לה" וישבו ישרים" ששים ותמחים" במשכיות מבמדים" ישליו אחולים" מרואחלות" כננות עלינדר" כאהלים נטעה" כמעי נעמנים" עוחדות בכל נבולם" וישבתם לבטח בארצכם" ואל נמולות ח"ישלם" ורב טוב לבית ישראל כנה"ר ותנשאה נכתב פה כמב"אי יע"א ד" לח"ו מבת בשנת יח"קע בשופר" נ"דול כי יושיעה" את עמו ישראל

I have already noticed, at sufficient length, the history and plans of the Episcopal mission to the Jews at Jerusalem, in which Christians of all denominations take a great interest. A word now on the proceedings of the Presbyterian Churches with regard to the Jews of the Holy Land. The Church of Scotland acted only according to the dictates of true philanthropic prudence, when it turned its particular

[1] Vol. i. pp. 369-371.

attention to the Jews there, and sent forth its deputations to inquire into their circumstances; and when it resolved, if an opening should be provided in providence, to commence a distinct mission for their benefit. The first survey of the country, made by the honoured and esteemed fathers and brethren, Drs. Keith and Black, and Messrs. Bonar and M'Cheyne, seemed to suggest the choice of Safed as a station; but the second survey made by Mr. Graham and myself, when the question of settlement became a practical one, indicated to us the propriety of looking for a station with a larger population, and possessing more advantages for residence and labour, than that town of Galilee. Our choice, after our full survey of the country and intercommunion with the Jews, lay between Jerusalem and Damascus. What our reasons were for preferring the latter place, will sufficiently appear from a letter which was submitted to the consideration of Dr. Keith, the Convener of the General Assembly's Committee of the Free Church on the conversion of the Jews.

"*Constantinople, August 5*, 1843.

"My dear Sir,—I shall defer entering upon the particulars of the journey of Mr. Graham and myself through the Holy Land, till in the good providence of God we are brought together. I embrace this opportunity of mentioning to you, however, that, after much inquiry, observation, and prayer, we have chosen *Damascus* as the head-quarters of the united Presbyterian mission to the Jews, in that most hallowed and interesting country; and that we fully expect, that all parties will be satisfied with the decision at which we have arrived in this most important matter. Circumstances there presented themselves to our view, much in the following relation.

"1. Damascus is undoubtedly within the bounds of the country particularly embraced in the Abrahamic covenant, as the promised land. It actually became subject to the Israelites in the reign of David, though it did not long continue under their authority. It is clearly within the bounds of the restored Holy Land, as described by Ezekiel, which extends as far north as Hamath, the present *Ha*mâh. It is the subject of a special and encouraging prophecy of Zechariah: "The burden of the

word of the Lord in the land of Hadrach, and *Damascus* shall be the rest thereof, when the eyes of man, as of all the tribes of Israel, shall be toward the Lord." We have sufficient reason, then, for considering it within the territory specially prescribed for the mission by our Church.

"2. Safed and Tiberias, the holy cities of the Jews in Galilee, to which the attention of the members of the deputation of our Church, in 1839, was specially directed, though they are not to be neglected in missionary operations, did not appear to us, in present circumstances, sufficiently inviting as the *head-quarters* of a mission. They are both in a sad state of dilapidation, scarcely affording sufficient accommodation for a European family. One of them is decidedly unhealthy. They are remote from all medical aid. They are not considered by their inhabitants as exempt from the depredations and exactions of the Arabs. The Jews resident within them are but limited in their numbers, amounting, according to their own accounts, to about 1020 at Safed, and 800 at Tiberias, and they are placed under a more than usual vigilant superintendence by their Rabbis. Two missionaries of the London Jews' Society, moreover, have proceeded to settle at them; and, in ordinary circumstances, and with urgent claims of other localities, it must appear that they have thus received ample provision for their instruction. Damascus, on the other hand, is still a most flourishing city. Suitable houses and school-rooms can be procured in it to almost any extent. It is not considered as particularly detrimental to health. Medical assistance of a certain kind can be there obtained. It enjoys a regular government; and its inhabitants, though probably with reason, considered most devoted and perhaps bigoted, Musalmáns, are now tolerant of Europeans, who have there their several consular representatives. Its Jewish inhabitants are supported by their own industry; and though they have not the leisure for study of their brethren in Galilee, they are not so much as they the dupes of superstition and delusion.

"3. Though Jerusalem, when its influence on the Jews throughout the world is considered, is certainly the most important locality in the Holy Land for missionary operations, its claims have already to a great extent been met by the mission of the London Jews' Society, established there, and already in successful operation. For its Jewish population of 4200 souls, there are, including the Anglican bishop,—an able, right-hearted, and zealous agent, as well as superintendent—three accomplished, ordained missionaries; a medical missionary, Dr. Macgowan, whose Christian worth and endeavours are not surpassed by his eminent professional skill and general learning; and several other secular and

spiritual assistants. Both by the professions and practice of all our brethren there, the spirit of a modified Popery which has of late years revived in the English Church, to the alarm and grief of all true Protestants, is restrained and discountenanced, and the general cause of evangelical religion vigorously supported. *As long as this happy state of matters continues, and the Jewish population is so limited*, the claims on our consideration of the other unoccupied districts of the Holy Land become more urgent. For the present, then, our choice fell not on Jerusalem, though we were duly sensible that while so many denominations of Christians have their representatives there, no great fault could have been found with the Presbyterian Church by the Christian world, had it, with a sincere desire to exhibit the truth in its primitive purity, and associated with the simplicity of what we esteem scriptural government and discipline, added to their number. . .

"4. The diffusion of Christian light at Damascus will have a most important effect on the whole posterity of Abraham,—on the seed of Ishmael as well as of Isaac.[1]

"5. But the influence of our mission will not be confined to Damascus, its head-quarters. All the towns and villages of the Holy Land, without any great difficulty, may enjoy periodical visits from the missionaries. The most distant of them is only nine days' journey thence; and the whole of them,—*Hás*beiyá, and Deir el-Kamar in Lebanon; and Tripoli, Beirút, *Ṣ*aidá, Acre and Yáfá, on the coast of the Mediterranean; and Ramlah, Hebron, Jerusalem, Nábulus, Tiberias, and *Ṣ*afed and neighbourhood, in the interior, as we ourselves found, can easily be included in a single tour. Damascus is just such a place, moreover, as inquirers who might wish to avoid rabbinical interference at these towns would like to retire to. Aleppo, with a population of 6000 Jews, and which it might be also proper to include in the sphere of the mission till it is otherwise provided for, is only ten days distant from Damascus.

"6. From the Jews at Damascus we received the kindest possible reception; and even from those of them who were well aware of our ultimate object, as from the chief Rabbi, who, I may observe, holds an English passport. . . They must not be considered, however, as nearly so much liberalized as the European Jews,—among the dry bones of whom there is evidently, in different parts of the world, a "shaking." Most of them are strictly oriental Jews, speaking the Arabic language; and, with the exception of ten or twelve individuals, they all adhere to the ritual of the Sephardim. They are associated together in a manner

[1] In illustration of this statement, various facts are alluded to, which have already been brought to notice in these volumes.

which, I can easily conceive, may present obstacles to the progress of the truth. They are the R'aíts of the Sultán, with the usual powers of internal government. Many of them, individually, are very powerful and wealthy, having a great many subordinate dependents. In one household which we visited, we found no fewer than seventy souls. Peculiar discretion, kindness, courage, and perseverance, I should think, will be required in dealing with them, and also with the Muhammadan population at one of the strongholds of Islamism; but this discretion, there is every reason to believe, will not be wanting in our agents. Of the piety, talents, acquirements, benevolence, prudence, and zeal of Mr. Graham, I formed the highest opinion during the six weeks that I was privileged to be his fellow pilgrim. Mr. Allan arrived at Beirút only a couple of days before my departure; but of him, too, there is every reason to hope that he will prove a worthy fellow-labourer. From the esteemed partners of the missionaries much assistance, in various ways, is to be expected.

"More extended details than these, respecting Damascus, as of other places, you may afterwards expect from me. In the meantime, I have probably said enough to lead you to concur in the judgment at which we have arrived, and to call forth the fervent prayers of the friends of Israel, that the blessing of the Lord may rest upon our beloved brethren, who are about to engage in a work of such importance and difficulty as that of attempting, in the strength of the Lord, to spread evangelical truth in the great and ancient city of Damascus.

"With the kindest regards to Mr. Wood and all the members of your Committee,—I am, etc.

"JOHN WILSON."

The actual formation of the Presbyterian Mission at Damascus has been already noticed.[1] An ordained minister and a medical agent have lately joined it from America. Dr. Kerns is labouring at Aleppo in connexion with the London Society for Propagating Christianity among the Jews.

I conclude this notice of the Jews in their own land, by inserting a *List of the ancient sites in that country, mentioned in Scripture, which, as far as I know, have been identified.* The strict agreement of their Hebrew and Arabic names, in most instances, will be observed. That it may be the more apparent to the general reader, I exclude the vowel points,

[1] See above, p. 344.

which are not essential to these languages, and the power of which is sufficiently marked to the scholar by the English representation of the Arabic; and in connexion with them, I give a reference to the parts of this work in which they are incidentally or particularly mentioned. To the Englishman's Hebrew Concordance, I refer for the passages of Scripture in which they occur, which, on an examination of all of them *seriatim*, I have found to be very correct, although there is some confusion in that valuable work, when more places than one of the same name occur in the Bible. For the sake of identification, however, I give generally a reference to the first passage of the Bible in which the names of the towns and villages are to be noted.

Abel, or Abel Beth-Maachah, אבל, אבל בית מעכה; ابيل, Abíl, (el-Ḳamḥ); Ἄβελ.

2 Sam. xx. 14; compare with 1 Kings xv. 20; vol. i. 166, 168.

Abilene, district, Ἀβιληνη; Abila of Lysanias, town; سوق وادي برد, Súḳ Wádí Baradá, near the hill Nabí Hábíl.

Luke iii. 1; vol. ii. 373, 374. This is to be distinguished from Abila of the Decapolis, noticed at vol. ii. 362.

Accho, עכו; عكا, Akká, (Acre); Ἀκχώ.

Judg. i. 31; vol. ii. 93, 237. See also under Ptolemais.

Achzib, אכזיב; ازيب, ez-Zíb; κεζίβ.

Josh. xix. 29; vol. ii. 232. To be distinguished from Achzib of Judah.

Adoraim, אדורים; دورا, Dúrá; Ἄδωραὶ, Ἀδώρα.

2 Chron. xi. 9. This village did not occur in our routes. It is one of the largest in the district of Hebron. No particular remains of antiquity are discernible at it. Rob. Bib. Res., vol. iii. p. 4.

Ajalon, אילון; يالو, Yálo; Αἰλών.

Josh. x. 12; vol. ii. 265.

Ammon; see under Rabbath-Ammon.

Anab, ענב; عناب, Anáb; Ἀναβώθ.

Josh. xi. 21; xv. 20; vol. i. 353, 380.

Anathoth, ענתות; عناتا, Anátá; Ἀναθώθ.

Josh. xxi. 18; vol. i. 483; vol. ii. 36, 38.

Anim, ענים; غوين, Ghawein; *Ἀνὼν.*

Josh. xv. 50; vol. i. 354. The first attempt to identify this village in modern times, as far as I am aware, is made in our first vol. p. 354. That attempt resting on the essential similarity of the Hebrew and Arabic names, and the agreement with the Scripture localization, is confirmed by Eusebius and Jerome, who mention Astemoe, the present Semu'a, as standing to the north of Anem, and Anim, or Anea, as contiguous to it. Vid. Onomast. sub. loc.

Antipatris; كفر سابا, Kafr Sábá; *Ἀντιπατρίς.*

Acts xxiii. 31; vol. ii. 253.

Ar (of Moab), ער; ربّا, Rabba; *Ἀρεόπολις.*

Numb. xxi. 15; vol. ii. 363.

Arad, ערד; عراد, Árád; *Ἀρὰδ.*

Judg. i. 16; vol. i. 347.

Aroer (south of Judah), ערוער; عرعارة, Ar'arah; *Ἀροὴρ.*

1 Sam. xxx. 28; vol. i. 347.

Aroer, (east of Jordan); عراعر, Arâir.

Deut. ii. 36; vol. ii. 363.

Arbel (or Beth-Arbel), בית ארבאל; أربد, Irbid; *Ἀρβηλα.*

Hosh. x. 14; vol. ii. 138, 309, 362.

Argob, ארגוב; رجب, Rajeb; *Ἀργὸβ, Ραγαβά.*

Deut. iii. 4; vol. ii. 362.

Arimathea. Possibly Ramlah. See vol. ii. 263.

Ashdod or Azotus, אשדוד; اسدود, Esdúd; *Ἐσδώθ, Ἄζωτος.*

Josh. xi. 22; xv. 46, 47; 1 Sam. v. 1, &c. See Kinnear's Cairo, etc., p. 214.

Ashtaroth, אשתרות; تل عستره, Tell-Astarah; *Ἀσταρὼθ.*

Josh. xiii. 31; vol. ii. 359, 360.

Askelon, אשקלון; عسقلون, Askalún; *Ἀσκάλων, Ἀσκαλώνιον.*

Judg. i. 18; xiv. 19; 1 Sam. vi. 17; 2 Sam. i. 20; Jer. xxv. 20; vol. ii. 64.

Baal-hamon, בעל המון, بعلبك, Bâalbek; *Βεελαμών, Ἡλιοῦπόλις.*

Song viii. 11; ii. 377-386.

Baal-Meon, (Beth,) בעלמעון; ماعين, Mááin; *Βεελμεών, Βααλμαους* of Euseb.

Josh. xiii. 17; vol. ii. 363.

Beer and Beeroth, באר, בארות; بيره, Bírah; *Βηρά, Βηρὼτ.*

Numb. xxi. 6; Josh. ix. 17; xviii. 25; Judg. ix. 21; vol. ii. 39, 286, 290.

Beer-Sheba, באר שבע; بير السبع, Bír es-Sebá; *Βηρσαβεέ.*

Gen. xxi. 14, &c.; xxii. 19; xxvi. 23, &c.; xxviii. 10; vol. i. 343.

Berachah, ברכה ; بريكوت, Bereikût.
2 Chron. xx. 26; vol. i. 386.

Bethel, ביתאל ; بيتين, Beitín ; *Βαιθήλ.*
Gen. xii. 8; xiii. 3; xviii. 19; vol. ii. 39, 287-290.

Bethany ; العزرية, el-Aziríyah, (of Lazarus ;) *Βηθανία.*
Matth. xxi. 17; vol. i. 482, 484, 485; vol. ii. 2.

Bethanoth, בית ענות ; بيت عينون, Beit Áinún; *Βαιθανάμ.*
Josh. xv. 59; vol. i. 384, 387.

Beth-Arbel ; see under Arbel.

Beth-haccerem, perhaps Fareidís ; see vol. i. 396.

Beth-Hoglah, בית חגלה ; حجلا, Ḥajlá ; *Βαιθαγλαάμ.*
Josh. xv. 6; xviii. 19, 21; vol. ii. 15.

Bethhoron, (upper,) בית חרון ; بيت عور, Beit-Úr (el-Foḳa ; *Βηθωρών, Βαιθωρων.*
Josh. x. 10; xvi. 5; 1 Chron. vii. 24; 2 Chron. viii. 5. See Map.

Bethhoron, (lower,) Beit-Úr (el-Taḥtá.)
Josh. x. 11; xvi. 3; xviii. 13, 14; xxi. 22; xiii. 18. See Map.

Bethlehem, (Judah,) בית לחם ; بيت لحم, Beit-Laḥm ; *Βηθλεέμ.*
Gen. xxxv. 19; xlviii. 7; Josh. xix. 15; vol. i. 389-400; vol. ii. 282.

Bethshean, בית שאן ; بيسان, Beisán ; *Βαιθσάν*, (Scythopolis.)
1 Sam. xxxi. 10, 12; 2 Sam. xxi. 12; vol. i. 87; vol. ii. 362.

Bethshemesh, (Joshemesh,) בית שמש ; عين شمس, Áin-Shems ; *Βηθσάμη.*
Josh. xv. 10; xix. 22, 38; xxi. 16; Judg. i. 33; vol. ii. 265.

Beth-Tappuah, בית תפוח ; تفوح, Teffúḥ ; *Βαίθαχού.*
Josh. xii. 17; xv. 53. See Rob. Bib. Res. vol. ii. 428.

Bethzur, בית צור ; بيت صور الدروة, Beit-Ṣúr, ed-Dirwah ; *Βηθσούρ.*
Josh. xv. 58; 1 Chron. xxii. 45; 2 Chron. xi. 7; vol. i. 385, 386, 389.

Bozrah, Buṣrah ; the Bostra of the Greeks.
Sometimes confounded with Buseirah, the Bozrah of Scripture. Compare the situations in the maps of the Holy Land and Arabia Petræa.

Cana (of Galilee), כנה ; قانا الجليل, Kaná el-Jalíl; *Κανα τῆς Γαλιλαίας.*
John ii. 1; vol. ii. 94.

Capernaum, perhaps Tell Ḥúm ; see vol, ii. p. 142.

Carmel (south of Judah), כרמל ; كرمل, Karmal ; *Καρμηλος.*
Josh. xv. 55; 1 Sam. xv. 12; xxv. 2, &c.; xxiii. 4; vol. i. 379, 380.

Cesarea (of Palestine); قيصاريه, Ḳaisáríyah; *Καισάρεια.*
Acts viii. 40; vol. ii. 250-253.

Cesarea Philippi; بانياس, Bánías; *Πανεάς.*
Matth. xvi. 18; vol. i. 165, 174-181.

Chesulloth, or Chisloth-Tabor, כסלות; اكسال; *Σαλώθ*, of Joseph.
Josh. xix. 12; vol. ii. 90.

Daberath, דברת; دبوريه, Debúríyah; *Δαβιρὼθ, Δέββα, Δαβίρ, Δαθειρά.*
Josh. xix. 12; xxi. 28; 1 Chron. vi. 72; vol. i. 90, 100.

Damascus, דמשק; دمشق الشام, Dameshk esh-Shám; *Δαμασκός.*
Gen. xiv. 15; xv. 2; 2 Sam. viii. 5, 6; vol. i. 306; vol. ii. 325-369.

Dan (or Laish), דן; تلّ الكاذي, Tell el-Kádhí; *Δάν.*
Gen. xiv. 14. This place is now associated also with the name of Nahr edh-Dhán. Vol. ii. 172.

Dibon, דיבן; ذيبان, Dhibán; *Δαιβών.*
Numbers xxi. 30; xxxii. 3, 4; xxxiii. 45, 46; Josh. xiii. 9, 17; vol. ii. 363.

Dor, or Dora, דור; طنطورا, Ṭanṭúrá; *Δῶρα, Δῶρ.*
Josh. xi. 2; xii. 23; xvii. 11; Judg. i. 27; 1 Chron. vii. 29; vol. ii. 249.

Edrei, אדרעי; اذرعات, Edhráát, or Edhráà; *Ἐδραεῖν, Ἐδραΐν.*
Numb. xi. 33; Deut. i. 4; iii. 1, 10; Josh. xii. 4; vol. ii. 359, 360.

Eglon, עגלון; عجلان, Ajlán, *Ἀγλών.*
Josh. x. 3, 5, &c.; xii. 12, &c.; vol. ii. 361, note.

Ekron, עקרון; عاقر, Áákir; *Ἀκαρὼν, Ἀκκάρων.*
Josh. xiii. 3; xv. 11, &c.; xix. 43; Judg. i. 18: 1 Sam. v. 10; vol. ii. 265.

Elealah, אלעלה; العل, el-Al; *Ἐλεάλη.*
Numb. xxxii. 3, 37; Isaiah xv. 4; xvi. 9; Jer. xlviii. 34; vol. ii. 363.

Eltekon, perhaps Tekoah, which see.

Endor, עין דור; اندور, Endór; *Ἔνδωρον.*
Josh. xvii. 11; vol. ii. 94, 106, 107.

Engannim, עין גנים; جنين, Jenín; *Γιναία.*
Josh. xv. 34; xix. 21; xxi. 29; vol. ii. 84, 303.

Engedi, עין גדי; عين جدي, Ain Jidí; *Ἐγγαδδί, Ἐγγαδδέ*, etc.
Josh. xv. 62. Near the borders of the Dead Sea, on the west.

Eshtemoa, אשתמוע; السموع, es-Semúà; *Τεμά.*
Josh. xxi. 14; vol. i. 353.

Etam, or Etham, עיטם; ارطاس, Arṭás; *Ἠταμέ* of Josephus.
2 Chron. xi. 6.

Gaba, גבע ; جبيبيا, Jíbíá.
Josh. xviii. 24; vol. ii. 40, 41.

Gadara, (country of the Gadarenes) ; ام كيس, Umm Keis.
Mark v. 1.

Gaza, עזה ; غزّة, Ghazzah ; *Γάζα.*
Gen. x. 19; Deut. ii. 23; Josh. x. 41; xi. 22; xv. 47; vol. i. 336; vol. ii. 64.

Gebal, גבל ; جبيل, Jebeil (dimin.) ; *Βύβλος.*
Josh. xiii. 11; Ezek. xxvii. 9; vol. ii. 400-403.

Gedor, גדר ; جدور, Jidúr ; *Γεδδὼν.*
Josh. xv. 58; 1 Chron. iv. 39; xii. 7; vol. i. 386.

Gibeah, (or Geba of Benjamin,) גבע נבעת ; جبع, Jibà ; *Γαβαὼθ* (*Γαβαάθ.*)
Josh. xviii. 28; Judg. xix. 12, &c.; vol. ii. 38, compare with p. 41.

Gibeah (of Judah), גבעה ; جبع, Jibà ; *Γαβαθά.*
Josh. xv. 57; (south-west of Bethlehem.)

Gibeon, גבעון ; الجيب, el-Jíb ; *Γαβαών.*
Josh. ix. 3, 17; x. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 10, 12, 41; xi. 19; xviii. 25; vol. ii. 38.

Gilboa, גלבוע ; جلبون, Jelbún ; *Γελβουέ, Γελβοέ.*
1 Sam. xxviii. 4; xxxi. 1, 8; 2 Sam. i. 6, 21; xxi. 12; vol. ii. 86.

Gilead, גלעד ; جلعاد, Jelád ; *Γαλαάδ.*
Hosh. vi. 8; vol. ii. 364.

Gilgal (in the region of Dor), גלגל ; جلجولة, Jiljúlah ; *Γάλγαλα, Γαλγουλή.*
Josh. xii. 23. See Rob. Bib. Res., vol. iii. 47.

Gimzo, גמזו ; جيمزو, Jímzú ; *Γαμζώ.*
2 Chron. xxviii. 18; vol. ii. 263.

Golan, גולן ; جولان, Jaulán ; *Γαυλωνῖτις.*
Deut. iv. 43; vol. ii. 92, 105, 318.

Halhul, חלחול ; حلحول, Halḥúl ; *Αἰλουὰ.*
Josh. xv. 58; vol. i. 384.

Hamath, חמת ; حماة, Hamáh ; *Ἐμάθ, Αἰμάθ, Ἡμάθ,* (Epiphania.)
Numb. xiii. 21; vol. ii. 357.

Hammath, or Hamath Dor, חמת ; حمّام, Ḥamám ; *Ὁμαθα, Ἀμμαθ,* (baths near Tiberias.)
Josh. xix. 35; vol. ii. 138.

Hebron, חברון ; بيت حبرون, Beit-Habrún, el-Khalíl ; *Χεβρών.*
Gen. xiii. 18; vol. i. 306, 355-380.

Heshbon, חשבון ; حسبان, Ḥesbán ; *Ἐσεβών, Ἐσσεβών.*
Numb. xxi. 25, &c. ; vol. ii. 363.

Ijon, עיון ; مرج عيون, Merj-'Ayún ; *Ἀΐν.*
1 Kings xv. 20 ; vol. ii. 166, 167.

Ir-shemesh, עיר שמש ; عين شمس, 'Ain-Shems ; (Alex. MS.), *Σαμές.*
Josh. xix. 41 ; vol. ii. 265. See also under Beth-shemesh.

Jaazer, יעזר ; Sár, (or perhaps 'Ain-Házír) ; *Ἰαζήρ.*
Numb. xxi. 32. Near Salt.

Jabesh (Gilead), יבש, יביש ; In Wádí Yábes ; *Ἰαβείς, Ἰαβίς.*
Judg. xxi. 8. See Map, near Jebel-'Ajlún.

Jabneh, יבנה ; يبنا, Yebna ; *Ἰάμνια, Ἰάμνεια.*
2 Chron. xxvi. 6 ; vol. ii. 120.

Japhia, יפיע ; يافا, Yáfá, (near Nazareth) ; *Φανναί,* (var. lec. *Ἰαφαναί.*)
Josh. xix. 12 ; vol. i. 91.

Japho or Joppa, יפו, יפוא ; يافا, Yáfá ; *Ἰόππη, Ἰόπη, Ἰώππη, Ἰώπη.*
Josh. xix. 46 ; vol. ii. 64, 256-259.

Jarmuth, ירמות ; يرموك, Yarmúk ; *Ἱερμοχώς.*
Josh. x. 3 ; Rob. Bib. Res., vol. ii. 344.

Jattir? יתיר ; عتير, 'Attír ; *Ἰεθειρά.*
Josh. xv. 48 ; vol. i. 353, 380.

Jericho, יריחו, ירחו ; اريحا, Eríḥá, Ríḥá ; *Ἰεριχώ.*
Josh. ii. 1 ; vol. ii. 6.

Jerusalem, ירושלם ; اورشليم, Aurshalím, القدس, el-Ḳuds ; *Ἱερουσαλήμ, Ἱεροσόλυμα.*
Josh. x. 1 ; vol. i. 370, 504 ; vol. ii. 269-287.

Jezreel, יזרעאל ; زرعين, Zeráín ; *Ἰσραήλ, Ἐσδραήλα.*
Josh. xv. 56 ; vol. ii. 85-88, 94, 303, 304.

Joppa ; see under Japho.

Jutta, יטה, יטא ; يطا, Yattá ; *Ἰεττάν*
Josh. xv. 55 ; vol. i. 380.

Kanah (of Asher), קנה ; قانا, Ḳáná ; *Χελκανά.*
Josh. xvi. 8 ; vol. ii. 230.

Kedesh, (Naphtali,) קדש ; قدس, Ḳedes ; *Κάδης.*
Josh. xii. 22 ; vol. ii. 178.

Kenath, קנת ; قنوت, Kenawat ; *Καάθ,* (Alex. MS. *Καανάθ.*)
Numb. xxxii. 42 ; vol. ii. 361.

Kirjath-Arba ; see under Hebron.
Gen. xxiii. 2.

Kirjath-Baal ; see under Kirjath-Jearim.

Kirjath-Jearim, קריית ישרים; قريت العنب, Karyet el-'Enáb; *Ἰαρίν*.
Josh. ix. 17 ; vol. ii. 267.

Kir-Moab, קיר; كرك, Kerak.
Isaiah xv. 1; vol. i. 395; vol. ii. 363.

Laish ; see under Dan.
Judg. xviii. 7.

Lebonah, לבנה; ليبان, Lebbán ; *Λεβωνᾶ*.
Judg. xxi. 19; vol. ii. 41, 293.

Lod, לוד; لد, Ludd ; *Λυδία*, *Λύδδα*, Lydda.
1 Chron. viii. 12; vol. ii. 263.

Lydda ; see under Lod.

Mahanaim, מחנים; ماحنه, Maḥanah ; *Μαναέμ*, *Μααναίμ*.
Gen. xxxii. 2; 1 Chron. vi. 80; vol. ii. 362.

Maon (of Judah), מעון; معين, Máin ; *Μαών*.
Josh. xv. 55; vol. i. 379.

Medeba, מידבא; مادبه, Mádebah ; *Μηδαβά*.
Numb. xxi. 30; vol. ii. 363.

Megiddo, מגדו; لجون, Lejjún ; *Μαγεδδέ*, *Μαγεδδώ*.
Josh. xii. 21; xvii. 11; Judg. i. 27; v. 19; 1 Kings iv. 12; vol. ii. 86.

Michmash, מכמש; ماخماس, Makhmás ; *Μαχμάς*.
1 Sam. xiii. 2; vol. ii. 38.

Migdal-el, and Magdala, מגדל-אל; ماجدل, Majdel ; *Μαγδαλά*.
Josh. xv. 38; Matth. xv. 39; vol. ii. 136, 306.

Mizpeh, מצפה; نبي سمويل, Nabí-Samwíl ; *Μασφὰ*, *Μασσηφὰ*.
Josh. xviii. 26; vol. i. 483; vol. ii. 36.

Moladah, מולדה; ملح, Milḥ; *Μάλαθα*.
Josh. xv. 26; vol. i. 347.

Nain, נאין; نين, Nein ; *Naΐν*,
Luke vii. 11; vol. ii. 94, 107.

Nazareth ; ناصرة, Náṣirah ; *Ναζαρέθ*, *Ναζαρέτ*.
Matth. ii. 23; vol. ii. 91-99, 305.

Neballat, נבלט; بيت نبالا, Beit-Nebálá? (Alex. MS.) *Ναβαλά*
Neh. xi. 34. N.E. of Lydda.

Nezib, נציב; بيت نصيب, Beit-Nasîb; *Νασὶβ.*
Josh. xv. 43. East of Eleutheropolis.

Nimrah, נמרה, נמרים; نمرين, Nimrín; *Ναμρὰ.*
Numb. xxxii. 3. In the Belkâ.

Ophni, עפני; جفنا, Jufná; *Γόφνα, Γουφνα.*
Josh. xviii. 24; vol. ii. 40.

Ptolemais; see under Accho.
Acts xxi. 7.

Rabbah, or Rabbath of the children of Ammon, רבה, רבת בני עמון; عمان, 'Ammán; *Ραββαθ, Φιλαελφία*, Euseb.
Deut. iii. 11; vol. ii. 363. The capital of the Ammonites.

Rakkath, Tiberias? see vol. ii. 117.

Rabbath, (Moab), רבת; ربا, Rabbá. See under Ar. Vol. ii. 363.

Ramah (of Benjamin), רמה; الرام, er-Rám; *Ραμαθά.*
Josh. xviii. 25; vol. ii. 38.

Rehoboth, by the river, רחבות הנהר; رحبه, Raḥabah.
Gen. xxxvi. 37; vol. ii. 358.

Riblah, רבלה; ربله, Riblah; *Ῥαβλαὰμ.*
Numb. xxxiv. 11. This place is in the district of *Homs*. It was lately visited by the Rev. Mr. Thomson of the American Mission at Beirût.

Samaria, שמרון; سبسطيه, Sebastíyah; *Σαμάρεια, Σεβάστη.*
1 Kings xiii. 32; vol. ii. 81, 82, 301, 302.

Saphir, שפיר; السوافير, el-Sawafir? In the Septuagint an inhabitant of Saphir is called "*Κατοικοῦσα καλῶς τὰς πόλεις αὐτῆς.*"
Mic. i. 11. See Map, S.E. of Ashdod.

Sarepta; see Zarephath.

Shalem, שלם; سالم, Sálim; *Σαλήμ.*
Gen. xxxiii. 18; vol. ii. 72.

Shechem, Sichem, Sycar, שכם; نابلوس, Náblus or Nábulus; *Συχὰρ, Συχέμ, Νεάπολις.*
Gen. xii. 6; John iv. 5; vol. ii. 45-79, 296-300.

Shiloh, שילה; سيلون, Seilún; *Σηλώ, Σιλώ, Σιλοῦν, Σηλών.*
Josh. xviii. 1; vol. ii. 41, 293-295.

Sidon, צידון; صيدا, Saidá; *Σιδὼν.*
Gen. x. 19; vol. ii. 213-217.

Shunem, שונם; سولم, Súlam ; *Σουλήμ, Σωνὰμ.*
Josh. xix. 18; vol. ii. 88.

Siloam, שלח; سلوان, Silwán ; *Σιλωάμ, Σιλωά.*
Neh. iii. 15; Isaiah viii. 6; vol. i. 500.

Socoh, (mountains of Judah), שוכה; شويكة, Shaweikah, (dimin.) *Σαωχὼ.*
Josh. xv., 48; vol. i. 353, 380.

Socoh (of Dan, N.E. of Eleutheropolis.)
Josh. xv. 35; vol. ii. 265.

Taanach, תענך; تعنك, Taánuk ; (Ox. MS.) *Τανάχ.*
Josh. xii. 21; vol. ii. 86.

Tadmor, (Palmyra,) תדמר; تدمر, Tadmur, *Τάδε, Θοεδμὸρ, Παλμιρά* of Josephus.
1 Kings ix. 18; 2 Chron. viii. 4; vol. ii. 358.

Tamar, תמר; كرنب, Kurnub ; *Θαιμὰν, Θαμαρα* of Ptolemy.
Ezek. xlvii. 19; vol. i. 343.

Tekoa, תקוע; تقوع, Tekúà ; *Θεκώα.*
2 Sam. xiv. 2; vol. i. 381, 397.

Tiberias, תבריא; طبرية, Ṭabaríyah; *Τιβεριάς.*
John vi. 1; vol. ii. 113-134, 305, 306.

Thebes, תבץ; طوباس, Ṭúbás ?
Judg. ix. 50. See Map, south of Jenín.

Timnah, Timnath, תמנה, תמנתה; تبنه, Tibnah ; *Θαμνά.*
Gen. xxxviii. 12. See Map, near Beth-Shemesh.

Tyre, צר, צור; صور, Ṣúr ; *Τύρος.*
Josh. xix. 29; vol. ii. 219-227.

Zarephath, צרפת; صرفند, Ṣarafand ; *Σάρεπτα.*
1 Kings xvii. 9, 10; vol. ii. 218.

Zedad, צדד; صدد, Ṣadad ; *Σαραδάκ,* Ald. cod *Σαδαδά.*
Numb. xxxiv. 8; Ezek. xlvii. 8; vol. ii. 358.

Zelzah, צלצח; بيت جلة, Beit-Jálá ?
1 Sam. x. 2; vol. i. 401.

Zidon ; see under Sidon.
Gen. x. 19.

Zanoah, זנח; زانوع, Zánúà ; *Ταvὼ.*
Josh. xv. 34. See Map, west of Jerusalem.

Ziph, זיף ; زيف, Zíf ; Ὀζίβ.
Josh. xv. 24. Near Hebron.

Zoar, צוער,צער ; ذرع, Zeghar, (Ruins in Wádí ed-Dhrà;) Σεγὼρ.
Gen. xiii. 10; vol. ii. 24.

Zorah, צרעה ; صرعة, Ṣarâh ; Σααρὰ, Σαρδὰ.
Josh. xv. 33; Judg. xiii. 2; vol. ii. 265.

Zuph, Zophim, Ramathaim-Zophim, צוף ; صوبا, Ṣûbá? Σὶφ.
1 Sam. ix. 5. West of Jerusalem.[1]

It is impossible for any person to cast his eye over the preceding list, and to compare it with the Map, without perceiving that the geography of the Holy Land is strikingly confirmatory of its scriptural notices. The Israelites have furnished us with a history extending to the most ancient times, such as no other people have furnished, and they have left us memorials to establish the credibility of that history, which for their number and unequivocal character, are not surpassed by those of any other portion of the earth.

On the general questions connected with the *boundaries* of the land *allotted* to the Israelites, it is not necessary for me here to enter. All that I shall do is to give a plain paraphrase and comparison of the two passages of Scripture in which they are precisely mentioned.[2] Respecting that on the WEST there is no room for dispute. It is universally allowed to be the Mediterranean. "*As for the western border you shall even have the great sea for a border: this shall be your west border.*" That on the NORTH is to us of the present day not so definitely marked. "FROM *the great sea you shall point out for you Mount Hor* (Hor ha-Hor)," probably some prominent peak or shoulder near the extremity of Lebanon, seen at a distance inland when the spectator stands on the shores of the Mediterranean, and not Mount

[1] Besides these, the names of a few other places mentioned in Scripture are now recognised in their Arabic equivalents; but their exact position has not been ascertained.

[2] Num. xxxiv. 6-12; Ezek. xlvii. 15-20.

Casius, itself a promontory stretching *into* the Mediterranean. "*From Mount Hor ye shall point your border unto the entrance of Hamath,*" not, I think, along the entrance of the Orontes into the Mediterranean, by way of Antioch, much to the north of Ḥamáh, for in the parallel passage of Ezekiel, it is said, "*The west side also shall be the great sea from the border till a man come* OVER AGAINST *Hamath.*" And "*the goings forth*" of the northern border "*shall be to Zedad,*" identified as Ṣadad.[1] "*And the border shall go on to Zephron, and the goings out of it shall be at Hazar-enan* (now unknown): *this shall be your north border.*" The border on the EAST is specified in the first instance, it must be remembered, after the tribes of Reuben and Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh had got their possessions east of the Jordan. "*And ye shall point out your east border from Hazar-enan to Shepham; and the coast shall go down from Shepham to Riblah, on the east side of Ain. And the border shall descend and shall reach unto the side of the sea of Chinnereth,*" the lake of Tiberias "*eastward; and the border shall go down to Jordan, and the goings out of it,*" along the course of the Jordan, "*shall be at the salt sea: this shall be your land with the coasts thereof round about.*" When the twelve tribes are viewed as reinstated in the land by Ezekiel, however, the eastern line is drawn close on Damascus, Gilead, and Hauran. "*And the east side ye shall measure from Hauran and from Damascus, and from Gilead, and from the land of Israel by Jordan,*" that is, the land beyond Jordan formerly possessed by the Israelites, "*from the border unto the east sea,*" that is, a line from the southern extremity of the Dead Sea, called the East Sea, in contradistinction to the Mediterranean or West Sea. Of the SOUTH, it is said, "*The boundary on the south side southward,*" from the line now mentioned, "*from Tamar,*" identified as Kurnub,[2] "*to the waters*

[1] See above, p. 358.

[2] See vol. i. p. 343.

of strife in Kadesh,[1] *the river,*" or brook, or valley, (as נחל is often rendered,) Wádí el-Arísh "*to the great sea,*" where this Wádí terminates at the Mediterranean.[2] The actual possessions of the Israelites, it is scarcely necessary to remark, fell much short of these boundaries, even when the conquests of Solomon were most extended. In some passages of Scripture, the country intermediate between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean, is spoken of as belonging to the Abrahamites; but how much of the line of the river to the south-east is referred to in these passages, is not mentioned. The addition of the deserts contiguous to the land of Israel to that country, is, comparatively speaking, of little consequence. This may be the reason why they seem sometimes included, and sometimes excluded, in the statement of the boundaries.

2. THE JEWS OF EGYPT.

The limited space now left to me, in this volume, forces me to refrain from alluding to the general history of the Jews in this country. This is not much to be regretted, however, as that history is comparatively well known.

I was sorry to find, when at Cairo, that the Jewish po-

[1] See above, vol. i. p. 343, note.

[2] Should this line be drawn onwards to the mouths of the Nile, it will make little difference in the size of the country, and include nothing of Egypt, as these mouths, speaking generally, are about the latitude of el-'Arísh, or rather a little to the north of it. Rabbi Saddi Gaon, and the Samaritan Arabic version, both make the נחל of Egypt the Wádí el-'Arísh.

Dr. Keith, in his interesting work on the Land of Israel, (p. 85-151,) draws the southern line of the Holy Land from the north of the *Red Sea* to the *Nile*. But how can such a line terminate at the "great Sea," or Mediterranean, as intimated in the passage above quoted, and yet be a southern boundary of the Land of Israel? Does not the Doctor's theory, by making the north of Egypt, east of the Nile, or its Pelusian branch, part of the allotment of the Israelites, place them in the land of promise before they had left the house of bondage? Judah, it will be allowed, had its allotment in the south of the land of Israel. The line of its southern border is drawn clearly from the southern extremity of the Dead or Salt Sea. See Josh. xv. 1-5.

pulation there has been much reduced of late years, especially by the plague. The Talmudists reckon themselves at about 1000, the Karaites at 350, and the Franks at 60,—in all 1410 souls.

The TALMUDISTS are governed by one of their own number, Joseph Moshe al Ghazí, alias Rabbi Mercator, who is directly responsible to the Páshá for their conduct, and for the payment of the contributions which are exacted from them by the government. I experienced much kindness from him during the several interviews which I had with him; but I did not ascertain how far he is inclined to act on the principles of toleration in reference to religious inquiry among those who are placed under his authority. He wields, it was said to me, almost irresponsible power as to fine, imprisonment, and excommunication, both civil and sacred. He sent his son round with me to show me the different synagogues. They are twelve in number, but not remarkable either for their size or their comfortable accommodations. They contain a very large number of manuscripts, both of the Law and of the other sacred books, some of which are said to be at least a thousand years old. That which claims the highest antiquity, I was left myself to unfold from some score of silk covers in which it was enveloped, it being alleged that no Jew can touch it without dying within the year of his application to it of his hand. In the synagogues, or in small apartments adjoining them, are kept the schools, four in number, in which the children are instructed. The effort of the masters, like those at Aden seemed, with one exception, to be more directed to teaching the young idea how to *shout* than *shoot*, as there is a repetition of Hebrew constantly going on in them, without any regard to the meaning of particular words, or the general sense which they convey. The humble seminary in which a better system was observed, had lately been instituted by a respectable

French Jew, M. Cremieux, who, from charitable motives, had made provision for its support. There are few men of learning among the Talmudists, and only five or six of them bear the title of Rabbi. Few, if any of them, are the descendants of the ancient Egyptian Jews; and most of them belong to families which, either in the present or past generation, have come from Candia, Asia Minor, Constantinople, or Jerusalem. One or two of them are thought to be opulent; but they carefully conceal their possession of riches. Their occupations were stated to be those of the money-changer, shopkeeper, travelling-merchant, jeweller, and mechanic.

The KARAIM, (*Karaites*) or Textuarians, are the native Jews of Cairo. They represented themselves to me as descendants of the ancient Jewish settlers in Egypt; and in doing this they probably gave a true account of themselves, for they belong to an ancient sect, which probably originated in the country, and which has for many ages made few proselytes. In reference to worldly circumstances they are evidently inferior to the Talmudists, though their occupations are of a similar character. They are under the authority of Nási Eliahu Levi, and Hakham Joseph ben Abraham. Their liturgy, which appeared to me very voluminous, is in manuscript; but as far as I examined it, it seems to agree with the printed edition of the Karaim of the Crimea. It principally consists of Scripture extracts. Though the Karaites reject tradition, and protest against the fictions and fables of the Talmud, and other Rabinical works, they appeared to me to shrink even from a literal or proper interpretation of the Bible, and to use it more as having a charm in its sound than power in its sense. I was sorry to form this opinion of them, as it is commonly thought that the rejection of the word of man by their sect has originated in a spirit of commendable inquiry, and in veneration for the

word of God.[1] They seemed comparatively indifferent about the question of the advent of the Messiah as past or future. "All things," they said, "remain as they were, and we have principally to *read* the Bible." Whether this was said by them sincerely, or from a desire to prevent me from discussing with them a disagreeable subject, it was sufficiently calculated to awaken compassion, and a desire that the attempt should be made to arouse them from their lethargy. One circumstance connected with them afforded me pleasure. They professed their utmost readiness to send their

[1] The Talmudists do every thing in their power to heap contempt upon the Karaim for their rejection of the Oral Law. Menasseh ben Israel, in his Conciliator, accuses them of being so unlearned, that they cannot even compose a book touching their belief, and reproaches them with being "separated from the whole congregation of Israel, who, wherever they may be dispersed, uniformly and invariably follow the Oral Law, which we otherwise term Cabala or Tradition." Mr. Lindo, his translator, says, "Since our author wrote, they have published some works, but they only exhibit their errors. For their regulation, they have a book of rules founded on precedents. Is not this Tradition, which they consider inadmissible? They obtain no increase to their numbers; for men, endowed with the least common sense, will sooner be guided by the opinions of the many (in which there cannot possibly be collusion) than by those of a few disappointed persons. Their moral conduct is irreproachable; but the source they derive it from (the Holy Scriptures) renders it impossible to be otherwise." He goes on to say, "the necessity of an Oral Law (when the points are carefully discussed) cannot be better exemplified than in the three following cases of the *lex talionis*, stated in Exodus xxi., 'Eye for eye.' Supposing a man having but one eye was to strike out an eye of a person having two, is the injurer to be made blind, or is he to make what judges may decide to be an adequate compensation? 'Wound for wound.' May not a similar wound prove mortal to one person and not to another? in which case what justice demands will not have been executed; for if the injurer should die, and the injured recover, or *vice versa*, the law which exacts that life was to be taken for life would in neither case be fulfilled. Besides, who could exactly determine the extent of the injury? 'If a man's ox kill another's the two oxen are to be divided.' Let us suppose a fine stall-bred ox worth £50 to kill one worth only £10, is the owner of the latter to receive three times its value, and be paid £30. The above proves there must be something besides the Written Law to elucidate what at first sight appears clear, but on reflection is found to be difficult and to require explanation. SUCH is the Oral Law."

Such, a Karaite may say, is Common Sense.

children to any school which might be efficiently superintended by a Christian. At present they have only one school of about 30 or 35 scholars, which is taught according to the indigenous system. They offered to sell me one of their ancient manuscripts of the Hebrew Scriptures, of which they have many; but, as elsewhere mentioned, I preferred purchasing from them an old manuscript copy of the translation into Arabic of the Pentateuch, made about 900 years ago, by Rabbi Saadias Gaon.

A very interesting and correct account of the manners and customs of the Karaim of Egypt, is given in the itinerary of Rabbi Samuel ben David Jemsel, who visited the banks of the Nile and the Holy Land in the year 1641.[1]

I have already referred to certain works which treat of the Karaim.[2] The articles of their creed are the following;—

"All the Karaim, with one consent, acknowledge and confess these ten fundamental Articles. 1. That all material existences, the worlds, and all that in them are, have been created. 2. That the Creator of these has himself not been created. 3. That he has no likeness, and that he is in every respect one alone. 4. That Moses our Rabbi (peace be to his memory) was sent by him. 5. That with and by Moses he sent to us his perfect law. 6. That the faithful are bound to know the language of our law, and its exposition, that is, the Scripture and its interpretation. 7. That the blessed God guided by his Spirit the other prophets. 8. That the blessed God will quicken the sons of men at the day of judgment. 9. That the blessed God will render to every one according to his ways and the fruit of his works. 10. That the blessed God has not abandoned his people in their captivity, although they lie under the chastisement of God; but it is proper that every day they should secure their salvation by Messiah the son of David."[3]

The FRANK or EUROPEAN Jews of Cairo, appeared to me to be both polite and respectable persons. The native Jews, however, complained of them as having the fear neither of

[1] This document is published in Hebrew, with a Latin translation, in the Bibliotheca Hebræa of Wolfius, iii. p. 1080-1094.

[2] See vol. i. p. 459.

[3] Triglandii Diatribe, p. 153, appended to Wolfii Notitia Karæorum, p. 283.

God nor man. Their disregard of the Sabbath is probably the circumstance connected with them which is most shocking to their brethren. We hear a great deal of the worldliness of the Jews; but I question much whether, if they were more systematic in their means of gaining a livelihood than they are, they would be more deserving of condemnation on this account than many professing Christians.

The Jews of Cairo informed me that they estimated their brethren at Alexandria at 1200 souls.

No distinct Christian mission for the Jews of Egypt, owing to the comparative paucity of their numbers, has been yet established. A combined mission to them and the Coptic Christians, is perhaps most to be desired.

3. THE JEWS OF YEMEN OR ARABIA FELIX.

In the "Specimen Historiæ Arabum" of Abul Faragius, published, translated and illustrated by Pococke; in the Arabic Ante-Islamic Annals of Abulfeda;[1] in the Excerpta from these Annals, edited by Sylvestre de Sacy; in the Essai de Tables Chronologiques des Anciens Rois de l'Yemen of Michaelis; in the "Mémoire sur divers Evenemens de l'Histoire des Arabes avant Mahomet" of de Sacy;[2] and in "Price's Essay towards the History of Arabia, antecedent to the birth of Mahomed, arranged from the Tarikh Tebry, and other authentic sources," there are various notices of the early existence and spread of Judaism in the south of Arabia. The study of the whole of these authorities leads me to acquiesce in the remark of Jost, that "the history of the Jews in Arabia, before Islám, is in the highest degree obscure, and historians differ greatly, and even contradict one another, with regard to the Jewish kings, yea with regard to the religion and its propagation."[3]

[1] An edition of this work, with a Latin translation by Fleischer, was published at Leipsig in 1831.

[2] Mémoires de Littérature, tom. 48.

[3] Jost's Geschichte der Israeliten, ix. Ind. p. 14.

The Muhammadan writers agree in setting forth that Kaḥṭán or Joktan, the son of Eber of Genesis x., and his sons, the names of whom are still borne by different provinces in the south of Arabia, settled in that country. By them, as by Hud or Eber, their grandfather, the patriarchal faith was upheld in some degree of purity. Kaḥṭán had a son named Yárab, the inventor of the Arabic language, from whom are descended all the Arabs of Yemen. Yárab left a son called Yashhab, who was succeeded by his son Abd Shems, "an adorer of the sun." This prince had several sons, as Kahlan, Amru, and Ḥemyar. From the latter of these were descended the whole race of princes who reigned in Yemen till the time of Islám.

The patriarchal faith, though perilled by idolaters, was subsequently countenanced by Abraham and Ishmael, who when they appear on the scene, are feigned to have visited the Káabá, the antediluvian temple at Mecca let down from heaven, and also to have advanced the interests of piety in Arabia. The Hemyaritic princes were at first divided in their rule, having, for several generations their own special provinces, till the supreme power of Yemen was concentrated in the person of el-Hareth ul Ráyesh, who first assumed the name of Ṭobbá, and reigned at Sheba. The Queen of the latter place, who visited Solomon, is denominated by the Arabs Balkís, and is said to have embraced Judaism.

Major Price, when detailing the information given in the Táríkh Ṭabarí respecting the proceedings of Lohorasp or Darius Hystaspes, writes as follows:—

"On the evanition of Key Khossrou, the diadem of the Persian empire was, at the tacit recommendation of that mighty prince, conferred upon Lohorasp, to whom we are more particularly led to refer in these pages, because he is generally considered to have been the monarch who employed Bakhtunusser, Nabukhtunusser, or Nebuchadnezzar, in that invasion of Syria and Palestine, which terminated in the former destruction of Jerusalem. On the consummation of that event, a remnant of

the Jewish nation presented themselves to the prophet Ermeia or Jeremiah, whom they besought to implore the Almighty for pardon and mercy. The prophet was instructed to apprize them, that if they hoped for pardon they would abide at Jerusalem, there to continue to worship the God of their fathers. This was, however, an inconvenience to which they did not choose to submit; alleging, that as their sacred city was become a heap of ruins, a scene of utter desolation, they did not perceive how this injunction could be complied with. Thus disregarding the counsels of their prophet, they withdrew into Egypt, where they implored the protection of the king of that country; representing themselves of the stock of Israel, the children of prophets and kings, whose country, with the greater part of its inhabitants, a prince from the East had totally destroyed. The king of Egypt readily granted them an asylum, and otherwise treated them with great generosity, which drew upon him, however, the immediate anger of Bakhtunusser; for that conqueror becoming apprized of the circumstance, instantly wrote to the king of Egypt, claiming the unhappy fugitives as subjects who had fled from their allegiance. 'Send them to my presence without a moment's delay,' said the haughty tyrant, 'or I will come to thine with such an army as shall render the land of Egypt, like that of Syria, a land of horror and desolation.' The king of Egypt replied with becoming magnanimity, 'that so far from being the slaves of Bakhtunusser, the people who had sought his protection were illustrious freemen, descended from the prophets of the true God, and that he could scarcely be expected to deliver them up to the most implacable of their enemies.'

"Upon this, Bakhtunusser shortly afterwards invaded Egypt, and having killed the king in battle, and put vast numbers of his people to the sword, then evacuated the country, taking with him an immense booty, together with innumerable captives. *And here it is that we learn what is more to the purpose of these pages, that most of those Jews who fled from Syria, and latterly from Egypt, on this occasion, found their way into Hejauz, and from that day established themselves in the territory and vicinity of Yathreb, or Medeinah then so called, where they founded several towns, and among others Khaybar, Forsizah, or Fareizah, and Wady-ul-Kora.*"[1]

We learn nothing more from the Muhammadan historians respecting the Jews of Arabia till they notice the propagation of Judaism in Yemen, by one of the Hemyaritic sove-

[1] Price's History of Arabia, pp. 98, 99.

reigns, who were surnamed Tobbà, but respecting whose person and era their accounts are not harmonious.

The most precise, though somewhat fabulous, account of this Tobbà, is that given in the Táríkh Ṭabarí.

"Yemen was governed by a king of the race of the Tobb'as of the *H*emyarites, named As'a. He was called the last Tobb'a, because after him there were no other Tobb'as, and because with him the empire of the *H*emyarites ended. This prince having collected a great army in Yemen, formed the project of leaving his kingdom to go into *H*ejáz, to pass into Mekkah and Medínah, to go through the country of the Badawín Arabs, to enter into Syria, and advance towards 'Irák, in order to make himself formidable to the kings of the Syrians, of the Greeks, and of the Persians, and to have his authority acknowledged by the inhabitants of Arabia and of *H*ejáz, as they had acknowledged that of his predecessors the Tobb'as. Accordingly he left Yemen, and advanced towards *H*ejáz with a numerous army. He was an idolater; the inhabitants of Mekkah and Medínah, and all those in the environs of Arabia, were also given up to idolatry, except in the neighbourhood of Medínah, where there were some Jews who were originally from Syria, and whose ancestors had fled before Bakht en-Nasar (Nebuchadnezzar,) and having retreated into *H*ejáz, had formed several villages near Medínah, such as Khaibar, Fadak, Karaitah, Wádí el-Kurí, Nadhír, and Yamba'a. These Jews followed the laws of the Pentateuch and the religion of Moses. In the whole of this country there was no one who feared the true God, with the exception of these Jews of Khaibar, and of the other villages before named of the territory of Medínah. The religion of Moses, or Judaism, was then abrogated, and the true religion was that of Jesus, the evangelical law; it was established in Syria towards the north, also towards the south and the east; but no person had come into *H*ejáz to preach there the gospel of Jesus; and the kings of Syria and of Greece no longer extended their authority over these countries. Tobb'a then left Yemen, which happened a long time before Kobád, the father of Anusherwán, and before Jodheimah el-Abrash.[1] He went at the head of a numerous army into *H*ejáz, and passed by Mekkah; seeing that this town was situated between the mountains, devoid of water and of trees, he did not think it advisable to stop there, and continued his

[1] This, says de Sacy, establishes the fault of the chronology of the historian. Jodheimah el-Abrash, or the Leper ought to be the contemporary of Ardeshír Babek, or of Shápur I., about the year 230; and Kobád ascended the throne of Persia in 491.

journey without entering it. Having arrived at Medínah, he saw a flourishing town surrounded with gardens and plantations of palm trees. The chief was of the family of Béni el-Majar, of the tribe of Khazaraj, who was called 'Amrú, son of Thulla. When Tobb'a had arrived at Medínah, that town pleased him; he there left one of his sons to be king, and went on further. But when he was in Syria, and far from Medínah, the inhabitants of Medínah killed his son, and brought him the tidings of it. He then formed the resolution to destroy Medínah on his return, and to extirpate all the inhabitants. He still pushed on as far as possible, and then retraced his steps. Having returned to Medínah, he collected his army and encamped before the town, where the troops arranged themselves for the siege. Then one of his soldiers went into an enclosure, climbed up a palm-tree, and gathered some dates. The proprietor of the enclosure observed him, killed him, and threw him into a well. Tobb'a having heard of this, commenced an attack upon the inhabitants the day after, and he continued to make war against them for a month. The besieged being strictly shut up could do nothing. Every day, from morning to night, they were occupied in repelling the besiegers; but when night came, these returned to their camp, and the inhabitants opening their gates, sent to the camp some asses laden with dates, for the support of Tobb'a's army. A month having passed in this way, Tobb'a's soldiers said to him, 'How can we make war upon these people? during the day they repel our attacks, and as soon as night comes, they treat us like their hosts.' It is true, said Tobb'a, it is because they are generous men; and he was sorrowful because he fought against them.

"Two Jewish doctors, inhabitants of *Koraïzah*, one of whom was called Ka'ab, and the other As'ad, came to him and said,—'O king! if it is your wish to ruin that town, you will not be able to accomplish it.' 'Why so?' said the king. They replied, 'Because the God of heaven protects this town, and punishes all who try to destroy it; because a prophet of the race of the *Koreish* of Mekkah will come out of it, who will be called Muḥammad; banished from Mekkah by the *Koreish*, he will take up his abode at Medínah, which will be his dwelling-place whilst he lives. It is on his account that God watches over this town; we see all that in the Torát.' What is the Torát? asked the king. They answered him, That it was what God had given to Moses; and they pointed out to him in what the religion of Moses consisted, and the law contained in the Torát. This religion pleased the king; he embraced Judaism, and entirely renounced the worship of idols; he also exhorted his army to choose the religion of the Jews, to which all his

army agreed. The king afterwards proposed to the two Jewish doctors to accompany him into Yemen, to convert to their religion all the inhabitants of the country. They replied they would go into Yemen with his army. Tobb'a loaded them with presents, and then said to them, Why do you not first preach your religion to the inhabitants of Medínah, who are all idolaters? They answered, that these people would at some time believe through the ministration of the prophet of whom they had spoken to him, and who would come from Mekkah to Medínah; that they would receive his religion and believe in his doctrine. The king then set forth with his army to return into Yemen, taking also with him the two Jewish doctors. . . . From thence [after a visit to Mekkah] he recommenced his march with his army and returned to Yemen; but the inhabitants of the country being gathered together, said to him, We will not suffer you to enter into the town, and we do not wish any longer to have you for our king, because you have changed your religion, abandoned the worship of idols, and introduced another religion; and they all wished to go to war with him. Now they had in Yemen a funeral pile, and there was at Sán'aá a fire in a mountain. Under this mountain there was a cavern; whenever two persons disagreed, and it was impossible to distinguish the oppressor from him who told the truth and was oppressed, the king sent the two parties to this mountain to sit down in the cavern. Fire then came forth from the cavern, and consumed the oppressor without hurting the oppressed, after which the fire returned again into the cavern, and no one knew from whence it came, or whither it went. Tobb'a then said to the people of Yemen, 'Let us go and submit to the judgment of the fire. If the religion which I bring to you is acknowledged as the true one, you will believe in it; if the fire declares in favour of yours, I shall return to it.' They considered the proposal to be a just one, and agreed to it. The king afterwards sent for the Jewish doctors, and told them of this agreement; they acknowledged that it was just. The inhabitants of Yemen then brought all their idols towards this cavern. The king was present with all his army. As for the Jewish doctors they suspended from their neck the books of the Torát, and placed themselves at the door of the cavern, reading their books. A greater fire than had ever before been seen came out of the cavern, surrounded the idols, and consumed them all; at the same time a great smoke filled the air, and the two doctors came out safe and sound from the midst of the smoke with their books. Then all the people embraced Judaism, abandoned the worship of idols; and the Jewish religion became famous."[1]

[1] *Mém. de Littérature*, pp. 670-675, compared with the Persian, pp. 735-753.

However fabulous this account may be in some of its particulars, especially in its references to the forthcoming Islamism, it may be gathered from it that a prince named Tobbá, the last of the number, was a great instrument in propagating Judaism in Yemen, through means of two Jewish doctors of Medina, in which place, and its neighbourhood, Judaism had been to a great extent established from the time of Nebuchadnezzar. It overlooks the alleged profession of Judaism in Yemen, noticed in other Muhammadan works, by Balkís the Queen of Sheba. Michaelis, on the authority of the Arabic writers who make Abu Karb commence his reign 700 years before Muḥammad, places him on the throne 128 years before Christ. De Sacy, who calculates that he was a contemporary of Ardeshír Bábegán, makes him flourish from about 220 to 238 years after Christ, or, at the utmost, thirty years later. The Baron, however, admits that Judaism was introduced into Arabia before this time. He even thinks that there may be some foundation for Abulfeda's story,—probably a corruption of Saul's punishment of the Amalekites,—that the Israelites, who under Moses pursued the Amalekites, were forced by their brethren ultimately to settle in their territories, in consequence of their having spared the son of one of their kings, and concealed him in the Israelitish camp! He attaches more importance to the representations which place a body of the Jews in Hejáz in the time of Nebuchadnezzar. He adds, that the Jews would betake themselves to Arabia, after their vanquishment by Titus, Hadrian, and perhaps the defeat of Zenobia by Aurelian.[1]

The successors of the Tobbá who propagated Judaism in Yemen, were violent supporters of that system of faith. Dhú Nawás, one of their number, proved an eager opponent and persecutor of Christianity, then fast gaining ground in the

[1] Mémoires de Littérature, tom. xlviii. pp. 596, 597.

country. His cruelties provoked the entrance of the Christian king of Ethiopia into the land, who overcame the tyrant, to the extent of rendering him so desperate that he rode violently into the sea and perished. This was about seventy years before the birth of Muḥammad. His son, Dhú Yadhan, was unable to recover his father's kingdom; and the country was governed by four Ethiopian princes in succession, till Seif, the son of Dhú Yadhan of the tribe of Hemyar, through the help obtained from Khosru Anushirwán, king of Persia, which had been denied him by the emperor Heraclius, recovered the throne, and expelled the body of the Ethiopians. He was slain by some of them who remained behind. The Persians appointed his successors, till Badhán, the last of them, submitted to Muḥammad, and embraced his religion.[1]

So much for the accounts by the *Muhammadans* of the early Judaism of Arabia Felix. I shall now mention what I have been able to learn of it from *Jewish sources*.

When Dr. Wolff was in Bombay in 1837, he showed me a manuscript history of the Jews in Yemen, written in the Arabic language but Hebrew character, by David Manṣur of Tawílah, near Sáná. Joseph Alkárí, the chief rabbi of Sáná, who presented the interesting document to Dr. Wolff, informed him that the Jews settled in Yemen shortly after the Babylonish captivity, and that their descendants have continued there till this day. "Ezra," says Dr. Wolff's informant, "wrote a letter to the Princes of the Captivity residing at Tanaa, one day's journey from Uzal, *i. e.* Sáná, inviting them to return to Jerusalem and the Temple. They replied, 'Daniel predicts the murder of the Messiah, and another destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple, and therefore we will not go up until He shall have scattered the

[1] See Introduction to Sale's Koran, and authorities quoted by De Sacy and Price.

power of the holy people, until the thousand two hundred and ninety days are over.'" [1] The rabbi has here probably added a legend to what may be historical fact—the settlement of the Jews in Arabia about the time of Nebuchadnezzar.

Previous to my visiting Aden, I forwarded to Captain Haines, a list of queries to be proposed by him to the Jews at his leisure, if he should think fit to assist me in my inquiries. In reply to the first of them, it was stated by the Jews, that their forefathers, according to memorials in their possession, came to Yemen *immediately after the first destruction of the Temple*, and that they did not return to the Holy Land along with Ezra; and Rabbi David Beth Hillel, whom I afterwards met in Cairo, told me that this is the universal belief of the Eastern Jews.

Mr. Samuel, a highly respectable Israelite, a relative, I believe, of Rothschild, who visited the Jews at Aden a few months before me, and who did much in collecting their local traditions, and of whose valuable notes a copy was presented to me by Captain Haines, does not give such an antiquity as Rabbi Joseph Alkárí to the immigration of the Jews into Yemen. He synchronizes it with the dispersion of the Jews in the second century by Adrian, after their first rebellion and subsequent defeat.

"The greater portion of them," he says, "fled along the Arabian shore of the Red Sea, where they dispersed themselves over the country near Mocha, and gradually settled down in distinct colonies." "Their numbers," he adds, "were increased by many of those in the same reign from Alexandria who were ineffectual in the support of the impostor Bar-Kokhoba at Jerusalem, and who fled when defeated to their expatriated brethren in Yemen.

"The accession of numbers so greatly strengthened the position of the first fugitives, that after a lapse of fifty years, we are informed through their oral traditions, they alone had advanced their conquest as

[1] Wolff's Journal, London, 1839. P. 392.

far as Sán'a. In their progress and warfare with the native tribes, they were accustomed to deal with their enemies, as their forefathers had dealt with the Canaanites when they went out of the land of Egypt, putting to the sword all except the children and the virgins, whom they made proselytes and admitted to the full rights of their Church.

"The extension of territory thus acquired rendered necessary a corresponding change in their political union, that separate interests might be bound up together, and unity and strength preserved to the whole. They, therefore, as most congenial to their circumstances and feelings, established a patriarchal form of government on the model of the commonwealth of Judea, by which they were enabled to maintain their position in Yemen for nearly 300 years. During this period their prosperity was at its height. Their trade extended from the shores of the Red Sea to those of the Persian Gulf, and the adjacent coasts of Abyssinia and Hindustán. Their richest merchants dwelt in 'Aden, which they selected as the principal emporium of their trade, in opposition to Mocha, which remained in the possession of its original masters."

The Jews of Yemen, as far as I have been able to observe, have scarcely the form and features peculiar to the tribes of Israel throughout the world. Climate, no doubt, has had its effects upon them, and they have probably a mixture of Arab blood. "Tradition," it is observed by Mr. Samuel, "says that the virgins whom they proselytized were engrafted into their own Church, and for want of direct descendants of their own nation, lawfully adopted as their own wives, which is highly probable, when we reflect upon the obstacles which the precipitate flight of the first fugitives must have interposed in the transport of their families from Judea and Egypt." Intermarriages with the natives of Arabia, it is understood, have not been practised by them for many hundred years.

Sánâ, the capital of Arabia Felix, may be considered as from time immemorial the head-quarters of the Jews of Yemen. I have received different estimates of their numbers there, varying from four to ten thousand. The individuals who are educated at the college at that place, are held in the greatest respect throughout the country. They

have had many learned men among their number, whose writings, unknown in Europe, are still preserved.

The Jewish population of the whole of Yemen and Hadh-aramaut or Hazermaveth, was represented to me by an Aden Jew, and also by the heads of the Baghdad Jews in Bombay, as consisting of not fewer than 300,000 souls. Mr. Samuel supposes that there are at least 125,000 families, which will give a population of about half a million. Dr. Wolff reckons them at 200,000 souls. I possess lists, furnished to me by some of their body, of a considerable number of the towns and villages in which they are said to reside; but they contain so many discrepancies, that I refrain from publishing them.

The profession of Judaism in Yemen has been tolerated by the Arabs ever since the overthrow of their sovereign power and the establishment of Muhammadism. The Jews there, however, are said to be rather depressed in many places,—limited in their property, insecure in its tenure, and afraid to make of it a free enjoyment. Those around Aden have had their liberty in every respect greatly increased since the English took possession of the place.

The Jews at Aden have no fewer than seventy manuscript copies of the Law of Moses. I expected to find them to a great extent free from Talmudic fables, fictions, and speculations; but I was entirely disappointed. There is scarcely, it would seem, any limit to their credulity when the Rabbis are their authority. Mr. Samuel says:—

"The Talmud rules supreme among them. Their education is religiously conducted to perpetuate the authority of their traditions. They obey the mandates of their spiritual superiors, and all the terrors of our law are insufficient to remove a single word or command uttered by the elders. All matters, civil or religious, are decided by the elders, and they therefore sign themselves 'Judges of the Court of Justice of the Holy Congregation of 'Aden,' and their sentence is irrevocable. Should any dare to disobey these judges, he would meet the severest punishments. The judge, whose words are slighted, would proceed, for the

first time, and proclaim that such and such a member is not permitted to see us in the worship of God. This is sufficient to cause every man, woman, and child to be disconnected with them, and not to allow them to come nearer than four feet to them. Should he persist in his disobedience, after thirty or forty days he would be excommunicated, which is worse to the individual than death itself, for no man would speak to him or meet him on the street, and his own wife would look upon him as accursed; and he could not repent, even if it were his first offence, in less than three years, during which he would wander as an outcast and a vagabond on the earth, which is according to the Talmud." Such is the view taken of their discipline by a liberal European Jew. That discipline is that of the Eastern Jews in general.

The Jews of Aden regard all the feasts and fasts of the Jewish calendar. The Sabbath they observe with the greatest strictness. In reply to one of my queries on this subject, they said to Captain Haines, "We do not cook, or even twist the hair of our heads on Sabbath; we would not eat, if threatened with death; if our houses were burning, we would not put out the fire." In their forbearance from labour, they strive to exhibit the greatest cheerfulness. They are seldom if ever seen on the streets on the day of rest, except on their way to the synagogue. Much of their time they devote to reading at their own houses, or listening to the exposition of their elders.

The liturgy which they use is that of the Sephardim. When celebrating marriages they follow the order of the Jews at Baghdád, abstaining, however, from all music and dancing. In the days of Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela, they were under the spiritual authority of the "Prince of the Captivity at Babylon."[1] They will not intermarry except with the Jews of their own province. Their wives they treat with lenity and affection; but they entirely neglect their education except as connected with household duties, and instructing them to spin, weave, embroider, and act as tailors. Their females make many articles for sale.

[1] Asher's Benjamin, p. 102.

In reference to inheritance, the Aden Jews observe the law of Moses. The first-born has peculiar rights and privileges, and is entitled to two shares of his father's property. Females receive their dowry on marriage, and have no more claim on the property of their parents. Widows have no legal right to any thing but the sum settled upon them in their marriage contracts. Marriages are negotiated by the parents. Polygamy is disallowed and punished.

The dress of the Aden Jews is generally scanty. The women have a few ornaments occasionally on the neck and ancles, but none on the head. Their articles of household furniture are of the simplest kind,—a few low benches, which serve both for seats and beds, coarse mats for the floor, cups, plates, and cooking vessels of tin and copper, earthen pitchers, and leathern bottles. Their water they generally bring from springs in skins. Their food is far from being luxurious, being generally confined to bread, rice, fish, and dates. The only regular and substantial meal which they have is in the evening. Seldom do they use animal food. They will eat with other Jews and Christians, but they will partake of no meat which has not been consecrated by themselves.

Most of the Jews at Aden are petty traders, shopkeepers, and tavern-keepers. They all learn, however, some handicraft as a resort in the time of need. Some of them are artificers in gold and silver, some masons, and some engravers. A few of them support themselves by keeping and hiring cattle and asses for burden. About fifty of them are common labourers. None of them are tillers of the ground, though a few of them rent fields at a distance. One or two of them profess to have some knowledge of physic, and of the properties of plants. As soon as they acquire the smallest capital, they set upon bargain making.

Their temporal condition will doubtless improve under the

English government; but we cannot look for much progress among them till their education is bettered. One of their indigenous schools I have elsewhere noticed.[1] Their attainments in general knowledge are extremely limited. One of the first objects of the missionary, either periodically visiting them, or residing among them, should be that of gaining their confidence. As our own subjects, in our only Arabian settlement, they have peculiar claims on our benevolent regard. They have much intercourse with the Jews of Arabia Felix in general; and a mission embracing them could be easily extended to these Jews, at least to such of them as reside in the towns on the coast, which can be safely visited by sea. Their claims have been admitted by the Free Church of Scotland, to whose attention I have had several opportunities of having them brought; but hitherto no suitable agents have presented themselves for the important sphere of labour which they afford. In the meantime, copies of the Hebrew Scriptures are being introduced among them from Bombay, as has now been the case for the last eighteen years. The Scriptures in Arabic, their vernacular language, but in the *Hebrew character*, which alone, generally speaking, they understand, are needed by them, as by the Jews of Damascus, Baghdád, Egypt, and the north of Africa. On my urgent recommendation, since my return to this country, the British and Foreign Bible Society has just published an edition of the Gospels of Matthew and John, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistle to the Hebrews in this form.

4. FALASHA OF ABYSSINIA.

One of my Abyssinian pupils, in writing to me under the date of December 1845, says, "You inquire about the Jews or Falásha. Their dwelling is in the Amhára country. They

[1] See vol. i. p. 17.

are different from the Jews of Arabia and India. For the Amhárá country there is no other house-builder except the Faláshá. There are other nations [of professed Jews?] beside the Faláshá. There is a tribe called Kimmaunt, dwelling around the city of Gondar. They say that from their seed Christ shall spring. They are Yan-chat-Leiji, the offspring of wood." This people are, I should suppose, the descendants of some Ethiopian proselytes to the Jewish faith, like the body of the Faláshá, or "Exiles,"—for this is the meaning of the designation by which they are known.

Of the Faláshás the following account is given by the Rev. Mr. [now Bishop] Gobat.

"They live chiefly in the neighbourhood of Gondar and Shelga, and to the north-west of the Lake Tsana. I have done all I could to procure information concerning them, but have been able to ascertain one thing only, viz. that they are still much more ignorant than the Christians. . . . They have, on the whole, the same superstitions as the Christians; they are only a little modified, after a Jewish fashion. I have never observed that they took the least interest in the idea of the Messiah; and when I examined them on this subject, they coldly replied that they expected him in the character of a great conqueror, called Theodoros, who must soon appear, and whom the Christians also expect; but the poor Faláshás do not know whether he will be a Christian or a Jew. . . . They have a dialect among themselves, which has no similarity either with the Hebrew or with the Ethiopic; but all of them, except some females, speak Amharic. I have seen but one book in the Faláshá dialect, written in the Ethiopic character; they told me that it was a book of prayers. In fact, they must be very ignorant, having no books except in the Ethiopic language, and being surrounded with innumerable difficulties, which prevent them from learning that language. I have, however, seen some individuals who know pretty well the contents of the books of Moses. They read the Psalms, with all the repetitions of, "In the name of the Father, the Son," &c. which the Christians have added to them, as well as the songs of Mary and Simeon; but they do not join to them the Oodassé Mariam of Ephrem. They are much more laborious than the other Abyssinians. . . . They do not allow the Christians to enter their houses, except by force; nor do the latter desire to enter them for fear of their supernatural influence. . . . The Faláshás, after having spoken with Christians, never enter

their own houses without first washing their bodies and changing their dress. All the provisions they buy in the market are washed by them before they make use of them. Their intercourse with the Mahomedans is a little more free than with the Christians. . . . They maintain their own poor, and never suffer them to beg."[1]

Dr. Wolff reckons the Falásháa at 290,000 souls; but he was not able to visit them in their own settlements.[2]

Of the *Kimmaunt*, referred to by the Abyssinian youth, Mr. Gobat writes as follows:—

"They are a people few in number, inhabiting the mountains about Gondar. Their principal occupation is agriculture; but the women, with immense brass ear-rings, and their ears hanging down to their shoulders, furnish the market of Gondar with wood. . . . I believe them to be Deists, satisfied with the idea of the existence of one God, without thinking of the relation he sustains to man. . . . They nevertheless have a species of priests, and assemble themselves in their own private houses, where they have a repast, which they call Corban, communion or eucharist. . . . They eat meat with the Christians and Mahomedans, provided the animal has not been killed on a Saturday; but they never eat fish."[3]

Mr. Gobat does not mention any thing about the belief of the Kimmaunt relative to a Saviour expected to arrive amongst them, to which Gabra refers; but this is noticed by Dr. Wolff. "There is another sect in Abyssinia, especially in the Amhárá country called *Kimmaunt:* they believe that the Lord will be born out of their midst."[4]

An interesting and pretty extended account of the Falásháa is given in the fourth volume (for 1845) of the Bulletin de la Société de Géographie. It forms a communication from the learned Jesuit Antoine d'Abbadie at present in Abyssinia. He says that their physical type and language evidently show that they belong to the Hamitic race of Agau; and that the names of the kings of Ethiopia, before Bazen, with whom they were intimately connected, cannot be

[1] Gobat's Journal of a Three Years' Residence in Abyssinia, pp. 361-363.
[2] Dr. Wolff's Journal, vol. v. p. 359.
[3] Gobat's Journal of a Three Years' Residence in Abyssinia, pp. 363, 364.
[4] Wolff's Journal, *ut sup.*

explained by the Shemitic languages. He seems, on the whole, to consider them the descendants of converts to Judaism, made before the Christian era, or shortly after the Babylonish captivity, by the Jewish merchants of Egypt.[1]

5. BENI-ISRAEL OF BOMBAY.

Of this curious and interesting people, of whom so little is known in Europe, I submitted an account to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, on its anniversary meetings in 1838 and 1839. An abridgement of that document I here present to my readers.

The Beni-Israel possess no historical documents peculiar to themselves; they have no charters granted by native princes, which are often a source of curious information; and their traditions are extremely vague and unsatisfactory. Their ancestors, they say, came to the coasts of India, from a country to the northward, about sixteen hundred years ago. They were in number seven men, and seven women, who were saved from a watery grave, on the occasion of a shipwreck, which took place near *Chàul*, about thirty miles to the south-east of Bombay. The place where they found a refuge, is named *Navagáum*. They and their descendants met with considerable favour from the native princes, though they conceived themselves to be sometimes forced to conceal their principles. As they increased, they spread themselves among the villages of the Konkan, particularly those near the coast, and lying between the Bánkot river, and the road which traverses the country between Panwel, and the Bhorghát. In this locality, and also in Bombay, in which they began to settle after it came into the possession of the English, their descendants are still to be found. The population on this island amounts to about 1932 souls; in the English territories in the Konkan, to about 800; in the districts belonging to Angria, to 870,[2] in certain villages below the ghát, of the Pant Sachiva, to 209; in the districts of the *H*abshí to 444; and, in the Bombay army, including women and children, to about 1000. These numbers, which amount altogether to 5255, I take principally from a census made under my own direction. They fall short of the general native estimate by nearly 3000, and possibly some houses may have been overlooked by the persons sent forth to collect information.

[1] Bulletin de la Soc. Géog. Trois. Ser. tome iv. pp. 42-57, 65-74.

[2] These are now part of the British territories.

The Beni-Israel in their physiognomy resemble the Arabian Jews, though they view the name *Yehud*, when applied to them, as one of reproach. They are fairer than the other natives of India of the same rank of life with themselves; but they are not much to be distinguished from them with regard to dress. They have no *shendí*, like the Hindús, on the crown of their heads; but they preserve a tuft of hair above each of their ears. Their turbans, angrakhás, and shoes are like those of the Hindús; and their trowsers like those of the Musalmáns. Their ornaments are the same as those worn by the middle class of natives in the Maráthá country. Their houses do not differ from those of other na-

Beni-Israel of Bombay.

tives of the same rank. They do not eat with persons belonging to other communities; but don't object to *drink* from vessels belonging to Christians, Musalmáns, or Hindús. They ask a blessing from God both before and after their meals, in the Hebrew language.

Each of the Beni-Israel, generally speaking, has two names, one derived from a character mentioned in Scripture, and another which has originated in deference to Hindú usage. The Hebrew names current among the *men* are the following:—Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Reuben, (which is said most to abound) Joseph, Naphtali, Zebulun, Benjamin, Samson, Moshe, Aaron, Eliezer, Phinehas, David, Solomon, Elijah, Hezkiel, Daniel, Sádik, Haim, Shalom, and Nashim. The name Judah, it is to be remarked, is not to be found among them. The Hindú names, by which they are most commonly known among the natives, are Saku, Jítu, Rámá, Bápú, Sáwandobá, Táná, Dhondá, Abau, Bandu, Nathu,

Dádá, Dhambá, Bálá, Bábá, Vitu, or Yethu, Phakira, Yeshu, Satku, Apá, Bháu, Bápsháh, Gaúriá, Pítá, Báwá, Anandiá, Kámá, Jangu, Abá. Among these there are only a few which correspond with those of the heathen gods. Sarah, Rebecca, Rachel, Leah, Saphira, Milcah, Zilchah, Miriam, and Hannah, are the Hebrew names given to the *women*. Esther, the favourite Jewish name, does not occur among them. The names derived from the Hindús which are found among them, are Bálkú, Abái, Amá, Yeshí, Zaitu, Tánu, Hásu, Ládi, Bainá, Aká, Ránu, Bayewá, Baiá, Nanu, Raju, Thakú, Kálábáí, Maká, Saku, Gowaru, Dúdí, Saí, Samá, and Bhiku, Pithu, Wohu, Dhakalu. The Hebrew names are first conferred on the occasion of circumcision; and those of a Hindú origin about a month after birth. The sirnames of the Beni-Israel are generally derived from the villages in which they originally settled.

The vernacular language of the Beni-Israel, is the Maráthí. A few of them, however, are able to converse in Gujaráthí and Hindústaní.

The Beni-Israel resident in the Konkan, principally occupy themselves in agriculture, or in manufacturing oil.[1] Those who live in Bombay, with the exception of a few shopkeepers, are artizans, particularly masons and carpenters. A few are blacksmiths, goldsmiths, and tailors. Some of them, generally bearing an excellent character as soldiers, are to be found in most of the regiments of Native Infantry in the Bombay Presidency; and few of them retire from the service, without attaining to rank as native officers. There are not many of them who possess much property. Their head-man in Bombay, however, is believed to possess one or two lakhs of rupees. A considerable number of families are supposed to be worth from 1000 to 5000 rupees. Like the Párśís, they do not tolerate professional begging beyond their own community.

In the Company's territories, the Beni-Israel enjoy all the toleration which they can desire. In the district of country belonging to the petty Hindú prince Angria, in which many of them are to be found, they take the same rank as Musalmáns. In that belonging to the *Habshí*, or Musalmán Chief of Jízírí, they are viewed as on a point of equality with the agricultural Maráthás.

All questions respecting the caste, and religious discipline of the Beni-Israel, are determined, in a meeting of the adult members of the community in each village, by their Mukadam, or head-man, who has a kind of magisterial authority in the community, and the Kádhí, who is the president in religious matters, and the conductor of public worship,[2]

[1] Hence the Beni-Israel in general are not unfrequently denominated *Téli*, or oilmen.

[2] Kádhís are to be found only in the villages in which a considerable number of the Beni-Israel reside together.

and whose duty it is to entertain the complaints which are made to them. The Mukadam and Kádhí, have generally the assistance of four *chogalé*, or elders. Any of the people present at an investigation, however, may express their sentiments on the subjects under discussion, record their dissent, and, in certain circumstances, procure a new trial.

The Beni-Israel all profess to adore Jehovah, the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob. Many of them, however, till lately, publicly worshipped, and some of them at the present time secretly worship, the gods of the Hindús, particularly those who are supposed to have a malevolent character; and a few of them practise divination. Though they have remained quite distinct from the people among whom they have been so long scattered, we see the applicability to them of Deuteronomy xxviii. 64, 'Thou shalt serve other gods, which neither thou nor thy fathers have known, even wood and stone.'

The Beni-Israel have in their synagogues no *Sepher-Torah* or MS. of the law, like the Jews. They admit, however, the divine authority of all the books of the Old Testament. It is only lately that they have become familar with the majority of the names of the inspired writers; and it was not without hesitation that they consented to acknowledge the latter prophets. From the Arabian Jews, they have received the Hebrew Liturgy of the Sephardim, which they use in their religious services. A few copies of the Cochin ritual, printed in Amsterdam about the end of the seventeenth century, are to be found in their hands. One of their number has a copy of one of the Targums, but I do not know that it is turned to any account. Parchments bearing small passages of Scripture, are sometimes worn on different parts of their bodies. It is understood, that of late they have almost universally abandoned the use of charms, to which the example of the heathen had made them in some degree partial.

When a birth takes place in any village in which the Beni-Israel are not very numerous, they almost all visit the house, and are entertained with sweetmeats or fruits. Circumcision is performed by the kádhí on the day appointed by the law of Moses. The rite is considered as marking descent from Abraham; but no spiritual meaning is attached to it, except by individuals who have had intercourse with Christian missionaries. The ceremony is attended by a considerable number of people, who are hospitably entertained, and invoke the health of the child over the juice of the grape. The kádhí generally receives from eight annas to two rupees for his services. Small presents are sometimes given to the infants.

The marriages of the Beni-Israel generally take place as early in life

as among the Hindús. The arrangements connected with the betrothment, are those of the parents. The ceremonies of marriage continue for five, instead of seven, days, as with the ancient Jews; and they are in some respects of a heathenish character. On the first day, the bridegroom is restrained from going abroad, is bathed, and gets his hands stained red with the leaves of the *Mendí* (Lawsonia inermis,) and the front of his turban ornamented with yellow or white paper, cut in the form of the flowers of the *champá* (Michelia champaca,) while he is visited by his relatives, who begin to feast and rejoice. On the second day, his neighbours, without distinction, are invited to participate in the hospitality of his father's house; while he is required to have his hair dressed, and to array himself in his best apparel and ornaments. He is then mounted on a horse, and conveyed, with the usual clang and clatter of the natives, to the place of worship, where a part of the marriage prayers of the liturgy is read, and a blessing pronounced by the kádhí. From the masjid, he is conveyed to the house of the bride, where he is received by her father, and seated among the assembled multitude. A dress and ornaments for the bride are presented in his name, and by the hands of his father, to the bride, who immediately turns them to use. A couch covered with clean cloth is then produced; and on it the happy pair are seated together. All the visitors stand before them. The kádhí takes a cup containing the juice of the grape, which is viewed as a token of the covenant about to be entered into; invokes the blessing of God upon it; and puts it into the hands, first of the bridegroom, and afterwards of the bride, who both drink a little of it, as soon as they have been questioned as to their willingness to enter into the married relation, and faithfully to discharge their respective duties. The marriage covenant, drawn out in the form usually observed by the Jews, is then produced and read; and after being signed by the individual in whose hand-writing it is, and three other witnesses, it is placed by the bridegroom in the hands of the bride. She holds one end of it, while he holds the other, and declares it to be a legal deed. He then folds it, and gives it into her possession. She disposes of it, by committing it to her father's care. The cup is again tasted; certain passages of the Psalms are read; a ring is placed by the bridegroom on the fore-finger of the right hand of the bride; and the religious part of the ceremonies is closed. The kádhí blesses the espoused seated together; and they receive offerings, principally in small sums of money, from their acquaintances. Feasting and rejoicing conclude the labours of the day. Next evening, the bridegroom and bride leave the bride's house,—the former seated on a horse and the latter in a palanquin,—and proceed amidst

the firing of squibs and rockets, to the masjid, where they receive a fresh benediction from the kádhí, before going to the house of the bridegroom, where they dine along with their assembled friends. Amusement and feasting continue during the two subsequent days. The marriage covenant is in general rigidly respected, even though its violation is but slightly punished. The innocent member of a family is allowed a divorce, and the liberty of remarriage. The offending party in the lax discipline of the community, is seldom prevented from having similar privileges, when he has the means of purchasing them! Polygamy is practised in a considerable number of families; but there are no instances known of a man having more than *three* wives. A few individuals keep concubines. Barrenness, as of old, is reckoned a great misfortune; and children are adopted by written covenant on a failure of issue. Females are not so degraded among the Beni-Israel, as among the Rabbinical Jews; but they are not allowed to go to the masjids for the purpose of worship.

The interments of the Beni-Israel quickly follow the death. They bury, without coffins, in graves of three or four feet in depth, the head of the corpse being placed towards the East. They sometimes make offerings to the deceased of rice, milk, and cocoa-nuts, and sprinkle water mixed with flour, at the time of the interment; and they visit the grave on the third, fifth, and seventh days after it is closed, for the purpose of prayer. They have also an annual ceremony in behalf of the dead, like that of the Hindú *Shráddh*. Their formal mourning for the dead lasts seven days.

The Beni-Israel reckon their day from sunset to sunset. They now denominate their months by the Hebrew names.

The weekly Sabbath is, in some degree, observed by about a third of the population. At six in the morning they assemble for worship in the masjid, where they remain for two or three hours, principally engaged in reciting prayers or parts of the Scripture after the Reader, and practising genuflexions. A few of the more devout of their number may be seen in the masjid about mid-day, or about two or three in the afternoon. The evening service is that perhaps which is best attended. It lasts for about two hours, and is frequently concluded by the persons present touching with their lips the cup of blessing.

The day of the new moon is very little observed by the Beni-Israel, unless it may happen to fall on the Sabbath. In a few houses, and also in some of the masjids, the prayers and lessons appointed for the day, are read, as they are given in the liturgy of the Sephárdim. On the fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, or tenth of the month, when the

moon is seen to increase, the readers of the synagogue, and a few other individuals read the blessing of the moon,—springing on their toes with their faces toward that luminary. This custom, like most of the others connected with their worship, is allowed by the Beni-Israel to have been derived from the Arabian Jews.

The annual religious festivals and fasts of the Beni-Israel, I shall mention, according to the order of the months, beginning with the commencement of the ecclesiastical year, which takes place about the vernal equinox.

1. *Abib* or *Nisan*. The great Jewish festival of the Passover, commences on the fourteenth of this month. It is a curious fact, that the Beni-Israel allow, that their fathers in India, even till a late period, were entirely ignorant of the objects for which it was originally instituted, and that the only regard which they paid to it, was on the eighth day, from its commencement, when they indulged themselves in eating and drinking. At present, particularly in Bombay, about one-third of their number imitate, on a small scale, the mode of observance of the Arabian Jews, paying special regard to the two first and two last days.

The twenty-third of this month, the Beni-Israel denominate *Isru-Hág*, ("bind the festival-sacrifice," as in Psalm cxviii. 27); but for what reason they do not know. It is spent nearly universally by them as a day of rejoicing.

2. *Jyar* or *Zif*. In this month falls the second passover of the Jews, (Numbers ix. 10, 11) observed by those who cannot attend to the first passover. It is never regarded by the Beni-Israel.

3. *Sivan*. The feast of weeks, or Pentecost, commences on the sixth of this month. They partially observe it for two days, as a season of rejoicing, remaining awake at the masjid during the intervening night, and spending the time principally in reading and praying. They have no ceremonies connected with the produce of their fields, though a few of them use the prayers of the Jews which refer to them. They have no acquaintance with the Rabbinical legends associated with the festival.

4. *Thammuz*. The Jews observe the seventeenth of this month as a day of fasting, in remembrance of the breaking of the Tables of the Law, and the ceasing of the regular sacrifice; and the Beni-Israel have begun to be their imitators.

5. *Ab*. On the ninth of this month the Jews fast, because it is said that the temple was first burnt on it by the Chaldees, and afterwards by the Romans, and because on it God declared, in the time of Moses, that none of those who came out of Egypt should enter into the promised land. Some of the Jews of London, who lately opened a cor-

respondence with the Beni-Israel, have exhorted them strictly to observe it, to which for many years they had not been disinclined, having been admonished to the same effect by the Cochin Jews.

6. *Elul.* The Beni-Israel observe some customs during this month, and the nine days of the following one preceding the day of the atonement, which, as far as I am aware, are peculiar to themselves. Except on the *Rosh Hodesh*, and the weekly Sabbath, they professedly fast with great strictness during the time that the sun is above the horizon. Numbers of them attend the masjid for prayer long before sunrise.

7. *Tisri.* The civil year of the Jews commences on the first of this month. The Beni-Israel devote to feasting and rejoicing the whole day, with the exception of a few hours, during which some of them attend the masjid, for the purpose of offering up prayers, and blowing horns and trumpets. Like the Jews, they use honey and sweetmeats at their evening meal. The second day of the year, they spend in the same manner as the first. About three o'clock in the afternoon, some of them repair to the shore, and worship toward the ocean.

On the third of Tisri, the fast of Gedaliah, the son of Ahikam, whose murder is mentioned in the last chapter of 2 Kings, is generally observed by the Beni-Israel, as well as by the Jews.

The fast of the day of Atonement on the tenth day, is strictly regarded by the Beni-Israel. A few families, in deference to some Rabbinical legend, which they have heard from the Arabian or Cochin Jews, sacrifice a cock, to which they give the name of the *kappárah*, or expiation, on the preceding evening. They spend much time, both during the night and day, in confessing their sins, and supplicating the Divine mercy, agreeably to the forms of the liturgy. In the course of the night, they offer up prayers to God, for the Sovereign of Britain, the Governor of Bombay, and all the authorities of the country. The day following the Kippur is distinguished for the exercise of hospitality and charity.

On the fifteenth day of this month, the feast of Tabernacles is celebrated by the Beni-Israel for nine days, being two in excess of the time prescribed in the Old Testament. A booth covered with the branches of the palm, and ornamented with flowers and fruit, is erected in every village near the masjid, in which the people assemble for the purpose of singing Psalms, and receiving the cup of blessing; but their prayers are recited in the usual place. The eighth night, those who attend the tabernacle devote to watching. The two first and the two last days of the festival are those which are most regarded, and during them little secular work is performed.

8. *Bul*, or *Marcheswan*. In this month, the Beni-Israel observe neither fast nor festival.

9. *Chisleu*. On the twenty-fifth day, commences the festival of the Purification of the Temple, which lasts for eight days. Few, or none, of the Beni-Israel illuminate their houses like the Jews. They keep lights burning, however, at the masjid, whither, morning and evening, they partially repair for worship. A few of them have some knowledge of the godly zeal of Judas Maccabæus, which the Jews celebrate at this season.

10. *Thebeth*. On the tenth day, a few of the Beni-Israel fast, in commemoration of the siege of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon.

11. *Shabath*. This month is not distinguished by any holiday.

12. *Adar*. On the fourteenth day, the Beni-Israel fast, preparatory to the feast of *Purim*, or Lots, which takes place on the following day, and which they partially observe, in imitation of the Arabian and Cochin Jews, as a festival commemorative of the great deliverance wrought through the instrumentality of Esther. They do not, like the Jews, repeat the feast of Lots, when the intercalary month *Ve-Adar* happens to occur.

The Beni-Israel practise occasional voluntary fasts, particularly when they are inclined to make vows. They observe no Jubilee.

The brief survey which we have now made of the observances of the Beni-Israel, might appear to warrant the conclusion that they are *Jews*, unconnected with the descendants of the Reubenites and Gadites, and the half-tribe of Manasseh, who were carried captive to Halah, and Habor, and Hara, and Nahar-Gozan, (1 Chron. v. 26,) by Pul, king of Assyria, and Tiglath-pelneser, king of Assyria, and unconnected also with the descendants of the ten tribes, who were carried captive to the same and neighbouring places, by Shalmanezer, after the fall of Samaria, in the reign of Hosea (2 Kings xvi. 6); for they commemorate events with which it is difficult to see how these exiles could be connected, and some of which occurred posterior to the return of the Jews to their own land from Babylon, to which they were removed by Nebuchadnezzar. *It is only at first sight, however, that such an inference seems to be authorized. The Beni-Israel most readily admit, that to this adoption of their present practices, they have been led by the example and precepts of the Arabian and Cochin Jews, who from time to time have come to visit them, or to reside in their neighbourhood. The very fact that they required to be instructed by foreigners in the most solemn and interesting ordinances of their religion, as well as in other

customs universally observed by the Jews throughout the world, is a presumption that they have been established for many ages in this country, and really belong to the long exiled sons of Israel. The Jews of Cochin, who say that they came to India immediately after the destruction of the second temple, or according to their own historical notices, in the 68th year of the Christian era,[1] have all along considered themselves distinct from the Beni-Israel of Bombay, of whose circumstances they have from time immemorial been well aware; and the black Jews of Cochin, descendants of proselytes from among the Hindús and the Jewish families which mixed with them, informed the late Dr. Claudius Buchanan, when he was making inquiries about the Ten Tribes, that it was "commonly believed among them that the great body of the Israelites is to be found in Chaldea;" but "that some few families had migrated into regions more remote, as to Cochin, and *Rajapur* in India."[2] The last mentioned place is the district of country bordering on the Nágotná creek, in which many of the Beni-Israel are even at present settled. The want of a MS. *Sepher-Torah*, or Book of the Law, among the *Beni-Israel*, places them in a situation in which we do not see any congregation of Jews throughout the world. The repudiation, to this day nearly universal among them, of the designation *Jew*, of which no doubt, they would have been proud, had they merited it; and the distinctive appellation of "Beni-Israel," which they take for themselves; the non-occurrence among them of the favourite Jewish names Judah and Esther; and the predominance of the names principally connected with the early history of God's highly-favoured people, appear to me to be circumstances strongly corroborative of the opinion that they are indeed Israelites, a remnant of the posterity of the tribes, which were removed from their homes by the Assyrian kings.

In the view which we have been led to take of the Beni-Israel, they must be considered as possessed of peculiar interest, even among the seed of Abraham, connected with whose destinies the most wonderful providences, noticed either by sacred or profane history, have been developed. Amongst Christians, they must be "beloved for the fathers' sakes;" and it must be our desire and endeavour, that "through our mercy, they may obtain mercy." Their situation, if properly explained to the Hindús among whom they dwell, might facilitate the illustration of the historical testimony to the truth of the Scriptures, which the general ignorance of events which have occurred beyond the bounds of this country, renders it a matter of difficulty for many to understand.

[1] See Oriental Christian Spectator, September and October, 1839.

[2] Christian Researches, p. 212.

They have never, as a body, proved averse to Christian education; and they have always been ready to receive and peruse the Bible.

About twenty years ago, the American Missionaries took several of the Beni-Israel into their employment as Maráthí teachers; and from about 100 to 140 of their pupils were of the children of that community, and till 1836 instructed in reading, writing, and accounts. About thirty individuals began the study of Hebrew at Alibág in 1829, but they did not long persevere.[1]

Mr. Sargon, a converted Cochin Jew, instituted for the Madras Jews' Society, six schools for their benefit in 1826, which at one time were attended by 165 scholars. They continued in operation for about four years.

The Church [of England] Missionary Society, has a Hebrew and Maráthí school in Bombay, which a few months ago was attended by about 70 or 80 scholars, from which more than the half, however, have been withdrawn, in consequence of some misunderstanding in the Beni-Israel community.

The Mission of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, under arrangements proposed by myself, commenced the work of Christian education among the Beni-Israel in 1837; and 210 pupils,—159 boys, and 51 girls,—are now receiving instruction in connexion with its schools. Of these, 19 youth have entered on a course of superior study in the English Institution in Bombay. The others, with the exception of 14 girls of this place, belong to the villages of Panwel, Alibág, Revadandá, and Ambepur.

The education of the Beni-Israel, the dissemination among them of the Scriptures, and the addresses of missionaries, are producing visible effects throughout their community. They have already nearly banished from it the idolatry and divination which were formerly practised, and they have done much to awaken in it a spirit of liberal inquiry. I have heard several individuals declare that they could not show reason for refusing to acknowledge that Jesus is indeed the Messiah.

At the time of my leaving Bombay, in 1843, there were upwards of 300 children of the Beni-Israel, as there are at present, attending the schools of the mission now connected with the Free Church of Scotland. I received on that occa-

[1] A good number of youth in Bombay, and in some of the villages on the neighbouring coast, read Hebrew fluently, without, however, being able to understand the meaning. As a help to their studies, I composed and published, in 1832, the "Rudiments of Hebrew Grammar in Maráthí,"—a little work which they gratefully purchased.

sion from the community to which they belong, an affectionate address, thanking me for the efforts which I had made on their behalf; but with this document, to which I allude as an indication of their kindness, I need not trouble my readers.

Besides the Beni-Israel at Bombay, there are about 350 Jews resident at that great mercantile emporium. Most of them are originally from Baghdád and Mesopotamia. It was from them that I received the Hebrew letter quoted in this chapter.

6. THE JEWS AT COCHIN.

The researches of the late Dr. Claudius Buchanan among the Jews of Cochin, and the valuable biblical acquisitions which he made from them, are well known.[1] In the year 1839, I received from the late T. H. Baber, Esq., of the Bombay Civil Service, a gentleman who took a great interest in their affairs, several valuable documents illustrative of their history and condition, which were published, in an undigested form, in the Oriental Christian Spectator for that year.

Some extracts from them will throw sufficient light on a colony of Jews established in India in very early times.

"After the destruction of the second temple," say the Jews in a communication addressed to Mr. Baber, "in the 3828th year of the creation, 3168th of tribulation, and 68th of the Christian era, about 10,000 Jews and Jewesses came to Malabar, and settled themselves at Caranganore, Paloor Mahdam, and Poolootto; and three-fourths of this population remained at Caranganore, then called Mahodranapatna, and subsequently Chingly, under the Government of Cheruman Perumal.

"In the year 4139th of the creation, 3479th of tribulation, and 379th of Christ, Cheruman Perumal, Eravy Virma, granted to the Jews the honour and privileges they were to exercise, and which was engraved on copperplate, called Chempeada in Malayalim, and thereby appointed Joseph Rabbaan the head of the Jews, and called him Srianandam Mapla; and that same Raja divided his country into eight divisions."

A fac-simile of the copperplate grant, here alluded to, is

[1] Buchanan's Christian Researches, pp. 204-221.

published in the Bombay periodical above mentioned. It is in an ancient form of the Malabaric alphabet; but the late C. M. Whish, Esq., of the Madras Civil Service, succeeded in the attempt to decipher and translate it. As rendered by this promising orientalist, who was cut down in the midst of his days, it runs thus:—

"Swasti Sri! The king of kings hath ordained it! When Rájá Sri Bháskarah Iravah Varma, was wielding the sceptre of royalty in an hundred thousand places, in the 36th year above the second cycle, he vouchsafed, during the time that he sojourned in Moyil Kottah, to perform a deed, the subject of which is as follows: From Yusuf Rabba and his people, in five degrees of persons, we exact the tribute of due and deference to our high dignity, and of the usual present to our royal person. To these we allow the privileges of bearing five kinds of names; of using day-lamps; of wearing long apparel; of using palanquins and umbrellas; copper vessels; trumpet and drums; of garlands for the person; and garlands to be suspended over their roads; and we have given in full, seventy and two separate houses; and we have relinquished all taxes and rates for these; and also for all other houses and Churches in other cities; and independent of this bond to him, we have made and given a Copper Instrument for these latter, separate, and distinct. These are to be enjoyed after these five modes of descent, *viz.* by Yusuf Rabba, himself and his heirs in succession: *thus*, his male children, and his female children, his nephews, and the nephews of his daughters, in natural succession, an hereditary right to be enjoyed as long as the earth and the moon remain. Sri! I, Govarddhana Martándan, of Venádar, witness this deed; I, Kotaigiri, Karrun, of Venapa-i-nádá, witness this deed; I, Mana Vepala Manuviyan, of Erádu-nádá, witness this deed; I, Irayan Chattan, of Vállava-nádá, witness this deed; I, Katai Iravah, of Nedambataryar-nádá, witness this deed; I, Markan Chattan, inhabitant of Kilpaduí Nayukam, witness this deed.—This is the hand writing of Pozanaya Kezavaya Kellapan. Engraved by Vandra Sherry Kandapa."

"The date of the Jewish document," says Mr. Whish, "is unalterably ascertained to be fixed in the year of the Christian era 231. The Jews themselves say, that Mar Thomas, the Apostle, arrived in India in the year of our Lord 52, and themselves, the Jews, in the year 69; and if we consider the extent which the colony had attained at the period of this

grant of indulgences, their arrival at that early period is rather to be considered necessary than merely not improbable." Perhaps one of the witnesses, Markan Chattan, was a Christian.

Continuing their history, the Jews of Cochin say to Mr. Baber,—

"Until the arrival of the Portuguese, they lived on the sea-shore; but when the Portuguese had taken Cranganore, and they experienced great oppression and persecutions, they left Cranganore, in the 5326th year of the creation, and 1565th of the Christian era, and settled at Cochin, where the Raja granted them places to build their synagogue and houses next to the Raja's palace, in order to protect and advance them best. The grant of the ground allotted, was given in the names of Samuel Casteel, David Baleha, Ephraim Salah, and Joseph Levy; and their buildings were completed in the 5328th year of the creation, or the 1567 of the Christian era; but still they continued to suffer oppression from the Portuguese, as they were not allowed quietly to enjoy their customs, and the privileges granted them, nor were they suffered to follow their trade and to go about unmolested. . . . And thus the Jews underwent the greatest hardships and sorrows until the arrival of the Dutch at Cochin in 1662, when the Jews afforded them every assistance they wanted, and obtained a livelihood; but as at that time a disagreement occurred between the Dutch and the Cochin Raja, and they killed the Raja, the Dutch on that account left Cochin and went over to Ceylon. On their departure, the Portuguese, driven by their spleen and connected with the native Malabarians, set fire to the Jews' synagogue and houses, robbed and killed them on account of their having given the Dutch some provisions; and as at that time the Jews had a book called Sepher Jahshar, containing a detailed account of all the Jews' proceedings ever since they came into Malabar to that period,—which book was kept in the synagogue with the rest of their rituals,—it was totally burned, so that they were driven away in despair, and on the point of sacrificing their lives, when fortunately the Dutch again returned to Cochin, and in a very few days, the town of Cochin was taken possession of by Commodore Peter de Peter and Admiral Van Goes, on the 8th of January 1663. . . .

"Ever since, the Jews obtained every favour and protection from the Dutch, and the native Raja; and in trading with them, as likewise serving them, the Jews obtained a livelihood and every comfort at Cochin.

"In the Christian year 1686, when Gilmer Vosberg governed Cochin,

four merchants arrived from Amsterdam, namely Moses Fereira de Silva, Isaac Irgas, Isaac Mookat, and Abraham Vort, of the Sephardim; and having visited the Jews of Cochin they were glad, and consented to live with them. They wrote to Amsterdam whatever they had seen and heard of the Jews in Malabar, and desired to get all the books that were required; and when the congregation of Amsterdam (on whom may rest the blessing of God) received those glad tidings, they immediately sent the books of Moses and of the Prophets, prayer books,[1] and of the laws and other books, then wanted, which proved a great rejoicing to the Cochin Jews' congregation; and from that time they entered into close intimacy with those of Amsterdam, and annually corresponded with them, and received from them all such books as they required from time to time, and sent copies to be printed in Amsterdam; in return for which the Cochin Jews remitted all that was desired from them. Thus, the Cochin Jews' customs are of the Sephardim.

"Now of the numbers of the white and black Jews of Malabar.

"Cochin was considered the metropolis of Malabar in India. Those called the WHITE JEWS are a people coming from the ruins of the Holy Land,[2] and they have one synagogue and no more.

"Those called the BLACK JEWS, are of the natives of Malabar, that were in Cranganore, and its vicinity, and who of their own spontaneous will joined from the beginning with the white Jews; and of slaves emancipated by the white Jews. These, in connexion with each other, formed that people; but the white Jews were never connected with them by intermarriages; nor have they any of the Cochin or Levi family among them; nor have they any of the Levitical ceremonies in their synagogues, or any relationship in other countries, so that they are a separate nation of themselves in Malabar. Still they have the Mosaical Laws (Torah;) and their customs and usages are like those of the white Jews, with a few exceptions and differences in their prayers and songs, and greatly differing from the manners and proceedings of the common people of the country of Malabar. They inhabit the following seven places, viz. Cochin, Anjecaimal, Paroor, Moottum, Chanotto, Mala and Tirtoor; and their head or leader at that time was Samtob Casteel."

The number of white Jews at Cochin, is stated by themselves at 183, and of black at 856. This number is smaller

[1] A Hebrew liturgy, a copy of which I have seen, was expressly printed for the Cochin Jews at Amsterdam by their brethren there.

[2] Not all of them. The names of "Samuel Casteel" and "David Baleha," are obviously corruptions of Spanish names.

than we expected to find it; but in reference to this point Mr. Baber says,—

"Their numbers at a very early period were very considerable, but owing to intestine feuds, and even wars between the white and black Jews, because the former would not allow the latter, who were converted slaves, the same privileges as themselves; and extensive emigrations since the downfall of the Dutch at Cochin, who invariably treated them well, they have been reduced to the number they themselves state."

The Jews in Cochin, in their communication to Mr. Baber, notice gratefully a school for their benefit, founded by Mr. Resident Cassamajor, in 1835. It was attended by forty pupils. The Rev. Mr. Lasseron is now employed as a missionary among them by the Established Church of Scotland, and is promoting in their behalf the cause of education and Christian instruction.

7. JEWS OF CONSTANTINOPLE, SMYRNA, AND OTHER PLACES IN THE WEST OF THE TURKISH EMPIRE.

On the cruel expulsion of the Jews from Spain in the year 1492, by Ferdinand and Isabella, great numbers of them fled to Turkey and the Levant, where, on the whole, they met with a kind reception. They proved useful to the Turks as interpreters, agents, and physicians; and they received from them the kindly designation of *visitors*, while that of *slaves* was allotted to Christians. Their descendants are numerous in those parts of the world. They still use an impure colloquial Spanish, mixed with Hebrew, Turkish, and Italian.

Of those at Constantinople an interesting account was published in the "Algemeine Zeitung des Judenthums" for 1841. The portion of it, which personal observation and inquiry at Constantinople certified to me to be correct, I here insert. After noticing the influx of the Spanish Jews, upwards of three and a half centuries ago, it thus proceeds:—

"They found, on their arrival, 100 families of Greek Jews already

there, who were extremely poor; they themselves brought great riches with them.

"Politically the Jews of Constantinople occupy the same station as the other Rayahs. Their number is estimated at 60,000; there are several thousand families in each of the following quarters,—Balat, Chaskoi, Ortakoi, Kuskunick, and Galata; in other quarters there are some hundreds; but in Pera, Therapia, and Bujukdere there are no Jews to be found. You immediately know a Jewish house by its appearance of decay, broken windows, and more especially by the linen hanging out of the windows to dry. . . . The Jews of Constantinople are partly employed as mechanics and tradesmen. They employ exclusively persons of their own nation as masons, carpenters, smiths, bakers, etc. Some branches of business are confined entirely to the Jews, such as glass-grinding and diamond-cutting. They are also brokers, especially for Christian merchants, and are in fact the most skilful and active, without whom the Christian merchant could not transact business. They are, besides, victuallers and dealers of every kind. The Jews are compelled to wear dark coloured garments. . . .

"All the Jews of Constantinople are placed under the authority of a Khakham Pasha, who represents his community at the Porte, collects the haradsh, administers justice, and has power over life and death among his own nation. His rank is equal to that of the Patriarchs of the other Rayahs, and he takes even precedence of them at Court. He is assisted in his office by a Synedrium of Khakhams. The chiefs of the various congregations elect a person to fill the office, and endeavour always to select one whom they think likely to submit to their influence: they even exact a promise to this effect; their choice is generally confirmed by the Porte. The salary of the Khakham Pasha is very small, about 2000 piastres; but he receives many presents. He issues excommunications, and releases again from them. Woe to the Jew who neglects any of the religious observances—he may be sure of the bastinado!

"The Jews here cannot be called rich. If a few are rich, they are surrounded by immense numbers of the middle classes, and by those who live in extreme poverty. Yet they have no special institutions for the poor. There exists an hospital for those attacked by the plague, but it is not in a very good condition. They have the reputation of being honest, and they certainly are so, at least if compared with the Greeks and Armenians. . . .

"Every quarter, with the exception of the three above-mentioned, having a distinct congregation, has also a principal synagogue, besides

a great number of small ones, and the private places of worship which every merchant has in his house. A khakham is appointed to each. The service is conducted with much greater solemnity, and better order, than is usually found in the German synagogues.

"A school is attached to each synagogue; and a more strange appearance than the school-room presents cannot be imagined. The teacher sits on a woolsack at the upper end of a room destitute of every kind of furniture, with crossed legs, and a cane in his hand; around him are perched from fifty to sixty children on the bare earth. All they are taught is to read Hebrew. It must however be admitted, that they are taught this admirably. The children attend this school until their eighth year. They are then afterwards brought up to some business, or sent to the Beth-Hamidrash in order to become khakhams. Their religious observances are very regularly attended to. Certainly nobody will be found publicly transgressing against the laws relating to the Sabbath or forbidden food. . . .

"There are about 200 Caraite Jews at Constantinople, which number, they maintain, is never increased or diminished. The Porte has also placed them under the khakham pasha, by whom, however, they are much oppressed, on account of their peculiar views. Their honesty, integrity, and activity, is universally acknowledged. They enter their synagogue—the floor of which is covered with the most expensive Turkish shawls—only in their stockings. . . .

"There are, besides, about 400 (1000) European Jews from Constantinople, who consist, however, chiefly of the dregs of the neighbouring nations, and their conduct certainly does not contribute to raise their character.

"We must now say a few words respecting the domestic life of the Jews. . . . A chief evil is their early marriages. A youth marries at the age of thirteen, after having been betrothed already long before. The new married couple then live for some years in the house of one of their parents, which is one of the causes why so many families are crowded together in a narrow space. . . . Every thing depends upon how the mother and daughter-in-law agree together. . . .

"From the above, it will appear that the Jews of Constantinople are labouring under three very great evils, viz., the unlimited power of the khakham pasha, who wields at pleasure the flaming sword of excommunication and the bastinado,—incredible ignorance,—and early marriages. But these are deeply rooted evils, clothed with all the authority and power of sacred superstition, and upheld by the state itself."[1]

[1] Jewish Intelligence, August 1841; pp. 254-256.

The Rev. Mr. Schauffler has for many years been labouring with much zeal and ability among the Spanish Jews of Constantinople, in connexion with the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, but principally through the medium of the press. He has adapted the Spanish translation of the Old Testament to their use, and superintended its printing in the Hebrew character at Vienna. It was published in 1843, and was at first welcomed, and then coldly received, by the Rabbis. When I visited Constantinople, the Rev. Mr. Schwartz, as I have elsewhere mentioned, was zealously labouring there among the German Jews, in connexion with the Free Church of Scotland; but he has since removed to Prussia. He has been succeeded by the Rev. Messrs. Allan, Thomson, and König, some of whom, and another coadjutor to be soon sent to their assistance, will, as is most desirable, direct their principal attention to the Spanish Jews, whose influence throughout the Turkish empire in general is very great.

A few Spanish Jews of Constantinople, including Mr. John Cohen, with whom I staid at Smyrna, embraced Christianity in 1829. The Jewish community there was in consequence roused to a state of high exasperation; and the converts were first maltreated and imprisoned, and afterwards banished to Asia Minor, through the sentence of their chief Rabbi, confirmed by the Porte.[1]

The Jews of Smyrna, it was said to me, amount to about 9000 souls. Mr. Cohen had acquired a great influence among them, in consequence of the aid he had given them in seasons of distress. The Rev. Mr. Solbe arrived among them as a missionary from the London Society for Propagating Christianity among the Jews, when I was there; and very encouraging accounts of his faithful labours among them have since been published.

[1] See Oriental Christian Spectator, (published at Bombay,) vol. i. p. 153.

The following is an estimate of the number of Jews at several places on the west of Asia Minor and east of Europe, furnished to me by Mr. Cohen :—

Vourla, 40 souls.
Chesmit, 50 to 60 souls.
Scio, 250 to 270 souls.
Scala Nuova, 50 to 60 souls.
Aidin, 300 to 350 souls.
Tiria, 150 houses.
Casobá, 170 to 180 souls.
Baindir, 50 souls.
Magnesia, 350 houses.
Bergamo, 60 to 70 houses.
Dardanelles, 200 houses.
Gallipoli, 50 houses.
Rhodes, 300 houses.
Cos, 30 to 40 houses.
Marmora, 30 houses.
Nicomedia, 200 houses.
Ancora, 100 houses.
Guozgat, 40 houses.
Rodosto, 80 houses.

Mr. Cohen strongly recommends the formation of a mission among the Jews of Adrianople, who it is well known form a numerous body.

I am not able from personal observation or inquiry to give any original information respecting the Jews of the north of Africa, of Aleppo, Baghdád, and other places on the Euphrates and Tigris, and of Persia, Bokhárá, and other places to the farther east in that direction; and I consequently forbear from making any references to their circumstances.

In conclusion, I cannot but express the strong wish that far more attention were paid to the Eastern Jews by the different religious bodies seeking the conversion of the descendants of Abraham than has yet been done. It is a remarkable fact, that missionary labours are tolerated among them by the most bigoted Muhammadan governments. This is owing to the dictum of the Islamic faith, that its votaries are not to adjudicate between Jews and Christians.

The revival of religion among the Eastern Christians, and the conversion of the Jews, form a good ground of hope for the conversion of the Muhammadan nations, for whom so little has been, and can be, directly done in present circumstances.

ALPHABETS ARRANGED FOR THE ILLUSTRATION OF THE HIMYARITIC AND SINAITE INSCRIPTIONS

HEBREW	ARABIC	MODERN ETHIOPIAN	ANCIENT ETHIOPIAN	HIMYARITIC OF MAS. N°1	HIMYARITIC OF MAS. N°2	HIMYARITIC OF MONUMENTS	PHOENICIAN	HEBREW COIN	SAMARITAN	STRIKE	LANGUAGE-STRIKE	SINAITE	ANCIENT GREEK	COPTIC
א	ا	አ	ኀ	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
ב	ب	በ	ከ	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
ג	ج	ገ	ገ	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
ד	د	ደ	ደ	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
ה	ه	ሀ	ሀ	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
ו	و	ወ	ዘ	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
ז	ز	ዘ	ዘ	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
ח	ح	ሐ	ሐ	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
ט	ط	ጠ	ጠ	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
י	ي	የ	የ	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
כ ך	ك	ከ	ከ	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
ל	ل	ለ	ለ	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
מ ם	م	መ	መ	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
נ ן	ن	ነ	ነ	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
ס	س	ሰ	ሰ	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
ע	ع	ዐ	ዐ	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
פ ף	ف	ፈ	ፈ	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
צ ץ	ص	ጸ	ጸ	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
ק	ق	ቀ	ቀ	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
ר	ر	ረ	ረ	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
ש	ش	ሸ	ሸ	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
ת	ت	ተ	ተ	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible] MARK OF DISJUNCTION IN MODERN ETHIOPIC: HIMYARITIC [illegible]

FOR THE FOLLOWING COPTIC LETTERS THERE ARE NO CORRESPONDENTS IN THE OTHER ALPHABETS [illegible]

LITHOGRAPHED FOR THE MISSIONS LANDS OF THE BIBLE

BY [illegible]

IV.—THE SAMARITANS.

NOTES ON THEIR ALPHABET AND METHOD OF READING HEBREW AND SAMARITAN—FAC-SIMILE, TRANSCRIPT, AND TRANSLATION OF SAMARITAN KETUBOTH, OR MARRIAGE COVENANTS—HISTORICAL NOTICES—WORKS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THEIR LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE.

In my Personal Narrative, I have given a pretty full account of the general information which I received from this very curious and interesting people, during the two visits which I made to them at Nábulus. I shall now refer to one or two matters connected with their literature and religious position, which could not there be conveniently introduced.

In an accompanying lithographed table of alphabets, I have given the *forms of their letters* as found in the manuscripts which I received from them.[1] I insert also a fac-simile of one of these manuscripts. It will be observed that the letters used in printing our polyglotts, and other works, do not resemble the writing of the Samaritans so closely as is perhaps desirable.

When making inquiry about their method of *reading Hebrew*, I examined and cross-examined their priest, and his son, particularly about the names and powers of the letters, which, according to their account, are as represented on the following page. As there is no Samaritan type in Edinburgh, I use the square Hebrew forms of the letters, referring to the lithographed table for the Samaritan equivalents.

[1] See columns marked "Samaritan."

Letter.	Name.	Power,—Remarks.
א	Aláph or Aláf	The spiritus lenis of the Greeks, and the broad vocal *á* and *e*.
ב	Bít	*b*, without the aspiration of the Jews.
ג	Gamán	*g* hard. The final *n* in the name is an instance of the use of the semivowel *l* for *n*.
ד	Dalát	*d* and sometimes *t*.
ה	He	The spiritus asper of the Greeks, but the *h* is often silent. As a vowel, *e*. When it precedes another vowel, *w* is interposed, probably from Arabic usage, which repudiates the juxtaposition of two vowels.
ו	Bá, Váv, or Wáw	*b*, *v*, *w*, *u*.
ז	Zen	*z*.
ח	*H*ít	h, but often not perceptibly sounded at the beginning of a pure syllable.
ט	Tét	*t*.
י	Yút (Yod)	*i* vocal, and *y* consonantal.
כ	Káph or Káf	*k*.
ל	Labát	*l*, Referring to the *b* of the name, it is to be observed that many Samaritan words substitute *b* for *m* of the Hebrew.
מ	Mím	*m*.
נ	Nún	*n*.
ס	Sinkát	*s*, the name resembles the Syriac *semcath*.
ע	'in	*i*, guttural sound like Arabic غ
פ	fí	*f*.
צ	Sadí	s, like Arabic ص
ק	K'úf	k, like Arabic ق
ר	Rísh	*r*.
ש	Shan	*sh*.
ת	Táv	*t*.

The following praxis of the five first verses of the first chapter of Genesis, will further illustrate the powers of the Samaritan letters, and the vocal sounds which they interpose between them when necessary.

Barásh*i*t bará Elu[w]'im at a'shámaim[1] waát a'áres

[1] In this, as in other words here in which the ה, to be represented by the spiritus lenis, occurs, the diacritical mark has been placed after the letter, to distinguish it from that in the front of a letter used, throughout this work, to represent the guttural غ '

wà-a'areṣ a'iyatáh te'ú ube'ú wa-ḥáshek àl faní tu'úm u-ruḥ Elu[w]i'm [e]mraḥefat àl faní e'mim u-yaomer Elu[w]i'm yáí o'r u-yáí o'r u-yere Elu[w]i'm et a'-or kí tob we-'ábdel Elu[w]i'm bín a'-or wa-bin a'ḥashek wa-iḳará Elu[w]i'm láor yom wa-laḥáshek ḳará lílá wa-yá'í 'ereb wa-ya'í beḳer yom aa'd.

The accompanying fac-simile of a Samaritan manuscript is that of a Ketubah, or Marriage Covenant. It is a form of document, as far as the people to whom it belonged are concerned, entirely unknown to Europeans. The following is a transcript of it in Hebrew letters.

בשם יהוה אלהו ישראל נשרי ונחסל

1 ברוך יהוה אלהינו ואלהי אבותינו הזכאים ארשינו בעלי זכותה
2 המלך המתרומם מחלף לילה ויומם ברוך שמו לעולם על חדוד זבנותה
3 יחידאי רקים ולעלם מרומם ומחכם לכל פם בכריזאן תשבחתה
4 הפרד ביחידאתו היכול בממשלותו דברא בדיאתו בחקון חכמתה
5 ארש מה ברא קרץ מן חשכה אורה ואבדול בין לעל ולרע רקיע וסביבותה
6 מיה לאחר אחר כנשה וגלא היבשה ותוציא הארץ דשע עשב מזריע אולנותה
7 ושם בשמים כזכבים מחלכים ומנצבים ושני מאורות רברבים קעמים לממשלותה
8 ושרצים ועופים מן מיה ומן הארץ נפש חיה תלתה גוניה חיה ובהמה ורמשותה
9 ועל עקב הבוראות אקים אדם בדמות ואמשילו במרעות ושם ערן אנחותה
10 ואמר ברב טובה וחפרה לא טוב היות האדם לבדו אעשה לו עזר כנגדו וצער חוה מצלעותה
11 וממו אקים זכאים ושלמים כל זכאה בדרו תמים עף באגביר תעולמים ומאורה דנביותה
12 ספרון דחייה וכהן מלאכיה ומקבל לוחיה ומגלי אימנותה
13 מגלי מלי התורה וחקת הזבוג ביארה ולישראל שררה אל יום אחריתה
14 בעבור כן בשנת שבעה וחמשים ומאה ואלף לממלכת בני ישמעאל בחדש גמאר
15 הראש: היתה מארישת גברה טבה ויקירה וקראה וצלאה וחשובה וכתובה
16 ונאירה וידועה ומבוננה וריטורה ומשירה ופתורה ומעיני העדה ומתקנה
17 מקרתה וחשוב חשבן קשטה וסמוך קהלה וארכון קהלה ועשה טבהתה
18 ישמעאל בן סהבה טבה ויקירה וקראה וצלאה וחשובה וכתובה ונאירה
19 ומבוננה: וריטורה ומשירה ומעיני העדה ואבי יתום ואלמנה: וסמוך
20 קהלה וארכון קהלה ועשה טבהתה אמרתם: בן סהבה טבה ויקירה וקראה
21 וצלאה וחשובה וכתובה ונאירה וידועה ומבוננה: וריטורה ומשירה

22 ומעיני העדה ומתקן מקרתה וחשוב חשבן קשטה ואבי יתום ואלמנה
23 וסמוך קהלה וארכון קהלה ועשה טבהתה ישמעאל דמבני דנפתה מן שכוני
24 שכם:. על האשה התמימה מרים ברת סהבה טבה ויקירה וקראה וצלאה
25 וחשובה וכתובה ונאירה ומבוננה:. ורוטורה ומשירה ומעיני העדה
26 וכהנה:. ושמש השם הגדול והמכתב הקדש והנביים הקדושים
27 וגדול כהני בני לוי בזה זבן:. וסמוך קהלה וארכון קהלה ועשה
28 טבהתה הכהן הרם הטב יוסף:. בן סהבה טבה ויקירה וקראה וצלאה
29 וחשובה וכתובה ונאירה וידועה ומבוננה:. ורימורה ומשירה
30 וכהנה ומעיני העדה:. ושמש השם הגדול:. והמכתב הקדוש והנביים
31 הקדושים:. וגדול כהני בני לוי בזבנו״ וסמוך קהלה ועדכון
32 קהלה ועשה טבהתה הכהן החסד הרם אברהם״ דמבני לוי מן
33 שכוני שכם:. אחרי דרש יתה גברה הזוכר״ מן אבי האשה הזוכיר
34 ואניב לשאלו במלאת דעת וטוב לבב ורצון נפש:. והיא בעת ההיא
35 אשה תמימה״ משגת דרך הנשים יעשה לה כתורת הנשים כמשפט בנות
36 ישראל״ העזיזית והמכבדית״ כחוה הברואה מצלע אדם לעזר
37 לפריה ולרביה״ במהר והיא שנים אלפים וארבע מאות וחמשים
38 כריתה מצריה״ נתן לה טרם קחתו אתה״ אלף ומאתים כריתה מצריה:.
39 ויארש אתה ותהי לו לאתה״ שלוחה וכלזאה מכל איש זולתון:. והוא
40 לה לבעל עליו יעשה לה כתורת הנשים״ כאשר אמר יהוה על יד עבדו
41 משה:. שארה בסותה״ וענתה לא יגרע״ ומקים נדריה ואסריה ומפירם:.
42 ולו עליה חסד הבעילה״ תשמע מדבריו ולא תמרי לפיו״ ותהילו
43 עזר כנגדו:. וישאר לה עליו מבגלל הדביקה״ אלף ומאתים
44 והמשים כריתה מצריה״ תקחם ממנו בעת תתריה״ כמה תבחר:.
45 ודבק בה״ כאשר אמר יהוה על כן יעזב איש את אביו ואת אמו
46 ודבק באשתו״ והיה משגיהם לבשר אחד:. והכתב זה המכתב
47 ועדת העדים תהיה בן להיות לארה תמימה ויהוה הוא המצליח
48 לכל הלוכי דרכיו״ ומקוממי משפטיו״ ויתודי לעלם מראש ועד
49 עקב״ וברוך אלהינו לעולם וברוך שמו לעולם:. ושלום יהוה
50 על הנבי הצדיק התמים המהור הנאמן משה ברה דעמרים איש האלהים:.

כתבתי זאת המכתב״ ופהעדתי במה בו הכתב״ ואני העבד המסכן שלמה בן יעקב בן אב
סכות דמבני דנפתה יסלח אלה לי סדר המאתי״ אמן״
סעדו במה סופיר בו העבד עבד חנונה ועבד הפתח ילידי ישמעאל בן עבד חנונה הדנפי״
יסלח לון יהוה אמן״ והכתב זה על פיהם:.

במה לגבו סופיר הדתי ואני עבד דל מסני תמאתי אברהם בן יעקב הדנפי יסלח לי אל עזי וזמרתי אמן

סעד במה סופיר בו העבד צדקה בן אב זהותה דמבני חבומתה יסלח לו יהוה והכתב זה על פיו

סעד במה סופיר וכתבו העבד שלח בן יצחק הדנפי יסלח לו יהוה אמן

סאד במה סופיר כתבו העבד יעקב בן יצחק הזוכיר יסלח לו יהוה אמן

סעד במה בו סופיר העבד שלח בן אברהם בן צדקה הדנפי יסלח לו יהוה אמן והכתב על פיו

סעד במה בו סופיר העבד יעקב בן אברהם חזוכיר יסלח לו אל תדיר והכתב על פיו

The following is a literal translation of the Ketubah, in making which I have enjoyed the valued assistance of the Rev. Mr. Sachs, Hebrew Tutor to the Free Church at Aberdeen, and Mr. Markheim of Smyrna. Several of the words and forms which occur neither in pure nor Rabbinical Hebrew, presented to us considerable difficulty, when we first directed to them our attention. They are specimens of the vocables peculiar to the Samaritans. A couple of Greek words will have been noticed by the reader of the transcript.

Translation of *Samaritan* Ketubah.

IN THE NAME OF JEHOVAH, GOD OF ISRAEL, WE BEGIN AND WE END.

Blessed be Jehovah our God, and the God of our fathers, of our pure ancestors the men of merit—the exalted King who changes day and night. Blessed be his name for ever on account of his boundless existence, the only one, the first, who is exalted for ever, who gives wisdom to every mouth, whose praise is in publicity, who is distinguished in his unity, who is mighty in his government, who created his creatures according to the administration of his wisdom. In the beginning, what did he create? He separated from the darkness the light, and divided that which is above from that which is beneath the firmament, and the surroundings thereof. The water he gathered to one place, and caused the dry land to appear. And the earth brought forth grass, and plants which sow their trees. And he set the stars in the heavens, such as move and such as are fixed; and the two great lights eternally to rule; and moving creatures, and birds, from the water, and the living creatures from the earth, of the three kinds, the wild beast, cattle, and creeping things. And at the end of creation he raised Adam in his image, and he made him like himself in understanding; and he made Eden his resting-place,

and he said in great goodness and mercy, "It is not good that the man should be alone, I will make him an help-meet for him;" and he created Eve from his rib. And from him he raised the pure and the perfect, every one that was pure and perfect in his generation; the mighty ones of the world, and the light of prophecy; the book of life, the angelic priest who received the tables and made known the Faith, who revealed the words of the Law, and explained the ordinance of marriage, and unto Israel the dominion in the latter days. Now, then, in the year 1157 of the government of the sons of Ishmael,[1] in the month of the first Jemâd, there was the betrothment of a man, the good, and worthy, and learned, and intelligent, and respected, and skilled in writing, and illustrious, and informed, and sagacious, and skilled in rhetoric, and a counsellor, and an interpreter, a support of the congregation, skilled in learning, and a reckoner of the reckoning of the kasitah, an arithmetician, and a pillar of the congregation, and a chief of the congregation, and one who does good, Ishmael the son of an old man, and good, and worthy, and learned, and intelligent, and respected, and skilled in writing, and the illustrious, and sagacious, and skilled in rhetoric, and a counsellor, and a support of the congregation, a father of the orphan and the widow, and a pillar of the congregation, and a chief of the congregation, and who does what is good—Abraham, the son of an old man, the good, and worthy, and intelligent, and learned, and respected, and skilled in writing, and illustrious, and informed, and sagacious, and skilled in rhetoric, and a counsellor, and a support of the congregation, and skilled in learning, and a reckoner of the reckoning of the kasitah, a father of the orphan and the widow, and a pillar of the congregation, and a chief of the congregation, and who does what is good,—Ishmael, from the sons of Denaphtah, of the dwellers of Shechem—to the virtuous woman, Miriam, the daughter of an old man, good, and worthy, and learned, and intelligent and respected, and skilled in writing, and illustrious, and sagacious, and skilled in rhetoric, and a counsellor, and a support of the congregation, and a priest, and a minister of the great Name, and of the holy writing, and of the holy prophets, and one great among the priests, the sons of Levi at this time, and a pillar of the congregation, a chief of the congregation, who does what is good,—the great priest, the good Joseph, the son of an old man, good, and worthy, and learned, and intelligent, and respected, and skilled in writing, and illustrious, and informed, and sagacious, and skilled in rhetoric, and a counsellor, and a priest, and one of the overseers of the congregation, and a minister of the great Name, and of the holy writing, and of the holy prophets, who during his time was eminent among

[1] Corresponding with the year of Christ 1757.

the priests the sons of Levi, a pillar of the congregation, and a chief of the congregation, who did what is good—the pious and great priest Abraham, of the sons of Levi, of the inhabitants of Shechem. After the man above mentioned had asked her from the father of the above mentioned woman, and he agreed to his demand, with full knowledge and good heart and willing soul, she being at that time a virtuous adult woman, he shall do unto her according to the law of women, after the usage of the daughters of Israel, the excellent and venerable usage, as Eve who was created from the rib of Adam, for an help-meet for fruitfulness and increase, by reason of a dowry consisting of 2450 Egyptian Karits. He gave unto her before he took her 1200 Egyptian Karits, and he shall marry her, and she shall become his wife, committed to him and retained from every man besides him; and he, unto her as an husband, shall do unto her according to the manner of women. As the Lord said, through his servant Moses, her food, her raiment, and her duty of marriage, he shall not diminish; he shall stablish her vows, and bonds, and make them void. And she has this duty to him, "The spouse shall obey his words and not oppose his mouth, and shall be an help-meet for him." And there are remaining to her upon him, because of the union, a thousand two hundred and fifty Egyptian Karits. She may take them from him at whatsoever time she may need them, as she chooses. And he shall cleave unto her; as the Lord said, "Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife, and of them two shall be one flesh." And the writer of this writing, and the congregation of witnesses, shall be against him, so as to be perfect testimony; and the Lord, who bestows prosperity unto all them that walk in his ways, and keep his judgments, shall be confessed from the beginning to the end, and blessed be our God for ever, and blessed be his name for ever; and let the peace of the Lord be upon the righteous, the perfect, the pure, the faithful prophet Moses, the son of Amram the man of God.

I have written this writing, and I have testified concerning that which is in this writing; and I am the humble servant Solomon, the son of Jacob, son of Ab-Sikawah from the sons of Denaphtah. May the Lord forgive me the amount of my sins. Amen.

They testify to what is written in it, the servants 'Abd *H*anunah and 'Abd A'fatta*h*, the sons of Ishmael, the son of 'Abd *H*anunah the Denaphite. May the Lord forgive them. Amen. And the writing is according to their order.

That which is written before me I acknowledge; and I am an humble servant; my sin is great, Abraham the son of Jacob the Denaphite. May the Lord, my strength and my song, forgive me. Amen.

He testifies to what is written, the servant Zadakah, the son of Ab-Zahutah, who is of the sons of Habumtah. May the Lord forgive him. And this writing is according to his order.

He testifies to what is written and has written it, the servant Shalach, the son of Isaac the Denaphite. May the Lord forgive him. Amen.

He testifies to what is written and has written it, the servant Jacob the son of the above mentioned. May the Lord forgive him. Amen.

He testifies to what is written in it, the servant Shalach the son of Abraham, the son of Zadakah the Denaphite. May the Lord forgive him. Amen. And the writing is according to his order.

He testifies to what is written therein, the servant of Jacob the son of Abraham, the above mentioned. May the mighty God forgive him. And this writing is according to his order.

This Marriage Covenant has belonged to the priestly family. I have the draft of another in the Samaritan language, which I have not lithographed. It has belonged to families disconnected with the priesthood. Of this document the following is a transcript in Hebrew.

בשם יהוה אלהי ישראל : נשרי ונחסל : אשר

אשרי בשם יהוה :. מלוך מכה ורומה :. יכולה קעימה :. הקדים ביחידאותו : ברוך הוא וברוך
שמו :. מדרבו ועצמו :. הממן בריאמו :. דתקן בח(כ)מתו :. רחום הרחומים :. ועצים העצומים :.
אלהי הארץ והשמים :. דגלא לנו מצותו : הגבול והגדול :. דעלמה סבול :. ליה לו קץ ולא
גבול :. נשבחו ונרוממו :. מלוך לאל ולדע :. הגבול והנורא :. תורותיו נשמרה :. ונודי לו על
טבחתו :. האל דברא בוראיה :. בשתתו וומיה :. בתקון חכמה ייה :. ויום השביעי קדישותו :
צער אדם בדו :. ועשה לו עזר כנגדו :. וזבנם בעדו :. והדמות והצלם אלבשותו :. עד קם
מנון זכאים :. שלשלה מהורים :. צדיקים :. נאמנים :. ובעלי זכותו :. רחמיו דבמכפלה :. דזכרת
לון ברית מלח :. ראשם בעל הגמילה :. אברהם דרמת זכותו : פקדי מרו ואבדילו :. ועל כל
כוראיה אסגלו :. ודרש : ממו יצחק יעלו :. ועל קדש ארמותו :. תן לו מרוכליל :. וקם ממו יעקב
ישראל :. ואתא אל בית אל :. ואקים מציבותו :. אשר צא מביר שבע :. ואקים המציבה :. וקם ממו כל
איש טובה :. ומי אפתרת חלמותו :. יוסף הצדיק אשר :. אשתחוו לו אחד עשר :. מנון הכהן לוי
אשר :. הוה אסגיל אתו :. וקם ממו הנביא משה :. אשר לעמו אושיע :. מיד פרעה הקשה :. בסמני
ואותותו :. ונתן לו תורה ומצוה :. וחקות מתרברבה :. מנון חקת הזבוג הטובה :. ארש מצותו[1] :.
בעבור כן בשנת החשים ומאתים ואלף לממלכת בני ישמעאל בחדש . . . היתה מארשת התנה
טבה ויקירה וקראה וצלאה והשובה וכל מעשיו כשרנה : ומן בחור הברנים ויפה החתנים :
ועשה כל טבהתה . . . בן סהבה טבה ויקירה וקראה והשובה וכתובה וידעוה ומבוננה :

[1] The ו in some of these instances is redundant.

ויטורה[1] ומשירה : ודרוש תלמוד זקיני צלותה ועשה כל טבהתה . . . בן סהבה טבה ויקרה
וקראה וצלאה ותשובה וכתובה ונאירה ומשירה ומעיני הצדה וסמוך קהלה וארכון[2] קהלה
ועשה כל טבהתה . . . דמבני דנפתה וכהלון מן שכוני שכם : על תרוסתה . . . ברת סהבה
טבה ויקירה וקראה וצלאה ותשובה וכתובה ומן מעיני העדה ומן זקיני העדה וריטורה ומשירה
וסמוכה רבה וארכונה ועשה טבהתה . . . בן סהבה טבה ויקירה וקראה וצלאה ותשובה
וכתובה ודרוש תלמוד זקיני צלותה ועשה כל טבהתה . . . דמבני דנפתה וכהלון מן שכוני
שכם :. אחרי דרש יתה תתנה : הזוכיר מן אבי תרפתה הזוכיר : ואגיב לשאלו במלאת דעאת
וטוב לבב ורצון נפש :. והיא בעת ההיא נערה בתולה משיגת דרך האנשים ועשה לה כתורת
האנשים כמשפט בנות ישראל העזיזות והמכבדות כחוה הברואה מצלה אדם לעזור לפריה
ולרביה : במהר והיא ארבעה אלפים ותשע מאות כריתה נתן לה טרם קחתו אתה שנים אלפים
וארבע מאות כריתה מצריה ויארש אתה ותהי לו לאשה שלותה וכלואה מכל איש זולתיו :.
והוא לה לבאל יעשה לה כתורת הנשים כאשר אמר יהוה על יד עבדו משה : שארה כסותה
ועונתה לא יגדע ומקים נדריה ואסריה ומפירם : ולו עליה חסר הבעילה תשמע מדבריו ולא
תמרי לפיו : ותהי לו עזר כנגדו :. וישאר לה עליו מבגלל הדביקה : שנים אלפים וחמש מאות
כריתה מצרית תקחם ממנו בעת תתריה כמה תבחר : וידבק בה כאשר אמר על כן יעזב איש את
אביו ואת אממו ודבק באשתו והיה משניהם לבשר אחד :. והכתב זה המכתב ועדת העדים
תהיה בו להיות לעדה צדיקה תמימה :. ויהוה המצליח לכל הלוכי דרכיו ומקממי משפטיו :
מראש ועד עקב :. וברוך אלהינו לעולם וברוך שמו : רשמו לעולם :. ושלום יהיה על הנביא
הצדיק התמים המהור והנאמן משה ברה דעמרם איש האלהים :

Of this also I give a translation, made in circumstances similar to the preceding. It will be observed that the document does not much differ in its form from that inserted above.

In the name of Jehovah, the God of Israel, we begin and we end. This is in the name of Jehovah. Blessings in the name of Jehovah the King of the lowly and the exalted, the Almighty, the Everlasting, who in his unity preceded all things. Blessed be he, and blessed be his name. How numerous and mighty is the multitude of his creatures which he hath established in his wisdom! The merciful of the merciful, the mighty of the mighty, the God of earth and the heavens, who hath revealed unto us his commandments: the powerful and the great, who upholds the universe: he has neither end nor bounds: let us praise and magnify him: the King over what is above and beneath, he is powerful and terrible: let us keep his commandments, let us thank him for his goodness: the God who created the creatures in six days after the dis-

[1] ῥήτωρ. [2] ἄρχων.

pensation of divine wisdom, and who sanctified the seventh day. He created Adam singly and made an help-meet for him, and united them together, and clothed him with his image and likeness, until there arose the pattern of the meritorious ones, the chain (succession) of the pure, the just, the faithful, and the meritorious men. His mercies are with those in Machpelah, with whom thou hast remembered the Covenant of Salt. Their chief is the Lord of Circumcision, Abraham whose merit is high. His Lord visited him, set him apart, and cherished him above all creatures. And he asked from him Isaac whom he should offer after his holy likeness. His Lord gave unto him perfect things, and there arose from him Jacob Israel, who came to Bethel and erected the pillar, who departed from Beersheba and erected the pillar. And there arose from him every good man, and he who interpreted the dream, Joseph the righteous, before whom the eleven bowed. From whom are the Priest and the Levite whom the Lord cherisheth. And there arose from him the prophet Moses, who delivered his people from the hand of Pharaoh the cruel, with wonders and signs. And he gave him the Law and the Commandments, and diverse statutes, among the number of which is the goodly statute of Marriage, which is the first Commandment. Now then, in the year 1250 of the reign of the sons of Ishmael,[1] in the month . . . . there was the betrothment of the good, and worthy, and learned, and intelligent, and respected bridegroom, an eminent youth, the fairest of the bridegrooms, who does every good deed. . . . . the son of a good old man, worthy, and learned, and respected, and skilled in writing, and informed and intelligent, and skilled in rhetoric, and a counsellor, and skilled in learning among the elders of the Church, who does every good deed . . . . . the son of a good old man, and worthy, and learned, and intelligent, and respectable, and skilled in writing, the illustrious, and the counsellor, and pillar of the congregation, and a chief of the congregation, who does every good deed . . . . . from the children of Dinaphat and Kahalon, from the inhabitants of Shechem unto the bride . . . . . daughter of a good old man, and worthy, and learned, and intelligent, and a chief, and skilled in writing, and one of the supporters of the congregation, and of the elders of the congregation, and skilled in rhetoric, a counsellor, and a great pillar, who does what is good . . . . . the son of a good old man, and worthy, and learned, and intelligent, and respectable, and skilled in writing, and proficient in the Talmud, of the elders of the congregation, who does every good deed . . . . . from the children of Dinaphat and Kahalon, from the inhabitants of Shechem. After that, the bridegroom above mentioned had asked her

[1] Corresponding with the year of Christ 1834.

from the father of the before mentioned bride, and he agreed to his demand, with full knowledge, and good heart, and willing soul, she being at that time a young woman, a virgin, and unacquainted with the way of men; and he shall do unto her according to the law of husbands, after the usage of the daughters of Israel, the excellent and venerable usage, as Eve who was created from the rib of Adam, for an help-meet for fruitfulness and for increase—by reason of a dowry consisting of 4900 Karits. And he shall marry her, and she shall become his wife, committed to him and restrained from every man besides him. And he unto her as an husband shall do unto her according to the manner of the women. As the Lord spake through his servant Moses, her food, her raiment, and her duty of marriage, he shall not diminish. He shall establish her vows, and bonds, and make them void. And she has this duty to him; the spouse shall obey his words and not oppose his mouth, and she shall be an help-meet for him. And there are remaining unto her upon him, because of the union, two thousand five hundred Egyptian Karits. She may take them from him at whatsoever time she may need them, as she chooses, and he shall cleave unto her, as the Lord has said; "Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife, and of them two shall be one flesh." And the writer of this writing, and the congregation of witnesses, shall be against him, so as to be a righteous and perfect testimony; and the Lord who bestows prosperity upon all that walk in his ways, and keep his judgments from head to heel. And blessed be our Lord God for ever, and blessed be his name for ever. And let peace be with the righteous, the perfect, the pure, the faithful prophet Moses, the son of Amram the man of God.

These documents show that the Samaritans consider themselves as genuine Israelites, the priests being alleged to be of Levi, and the people of Joseph. This plea they have long urged in their own behalf; and it is implied by the woman of Samaria, in the conversation with our Lord, when she referred to "our father Jacob." But it is entirely unavailing. The king of Assyria originally brought them "from Babylon, and from Cuthah, and from Ava, and from Hamath, and from Sepharvaim, and placed them in the cities of Samaria, instead of the children of Israel," who had been carried away captive,[1] "and they possessed Samaria, and dwelt in the

[1] 2 Kings xvii. 24.

cities thereof." At this time "they feared not the Lord; therefore the Lord sent lions among them, which slew some of them." On this, they solicited a priest from the king of the Assyrians, "to teach them the manner of the God of the land." Their request was complied with: "One of the priests whom they had carried away from Samaria, came and dwelt in Bethel, and taught them how they should fear the Lord." It was probable that, through this individual, the Pentateuch came into their possession, which in later times was made to accord with the recension of the Jews in Egypt, with whom the Samaritans there came much in contact. Judaism, however, was not embraced by the Samaritans. "Every nation [of them] made gods of their own, and put them in the houses of the high places which the Samaritans had made, every nation in their cities wherein they dwelt."[1] When they entreated Zerubbabel to permit them to unite with the Jews in rebuilding the temple, they could urge no plea either of a descent from, or a mixture with Israel. All that they could say was, "Let us build with you; for we seek your God as ye do, and we do sacrifice unto him since the days of Esar-haddon, king of Asshur, which brought us up hither."[2] The reply which they received was, "Ye have nothing to do with us [as a people] to build an house unto our God."[3] In addressing Artaxerxes, on the occasion of their disappointment, they spoke of themselves as "Rehum the chancellor, and Shimshai the scribe, and the rest of their companions, the Dinaites,[4] the Apharsathchites, the Tarpelites, the Apharsites, the Archevites, the Babylonians, the Susanchites, the Dehavites, and the Elamites, and the rest of the nations whom the great and noble Asnapper brought over and set in the cities of Samaria."[5] Their claim to a

[1] See 2 Kings xvii.
[2] Ezra iv. 2.
[3] Ezra iv. 3.
[4] Is there any connexion between this name and the Dinaphites of the marriage covenants?
[5] Ezra iv. 9, 10.

descent from Israel they seem to have urged at a later period only from self-interest. When Alexander the Great conferred valuable privileges on the Jews, they declared themselves to be Jews. When Antiochus persecuted the Jews, they represented themselves as Sidonians, or heathens.[1] The woman of Samaria confessed to our Lord, that "the Jews had no dealings with the Samaritans." "Ye worship ye know not what," said Christ; "we know what we worship, for salvation is of the Jews."[2]

There is much connected with the Samaritans that is interesting to the biblical and general student; but instead of extending this part of our book, I beg to submit a list of the principal original works,—most of which are now before me,—which treat of their history and literature.

Joannis Morini.—Opuscula Hebræo-Samaritica:—

1. Grammatica Samaritana, cui conjuncta est Dissertatio de Literis Hebræorum vocalibus, et earum usu.
2. Adnotationes in translationem Pentateuchi Hebræi Samaritanam.
3. De Samaritanis Legis Sectionibus, colis periodis aliisque notulis.
4. Quæ veterum Grammaticorum de punctorum Autoribus sententia.
5. Variæ Lectiones ex antiquis textus Hebræo-Samaritani Codicibus collecta; et istius textus, quâ discedit à Judaico, cum antiquis translationibus comparatio.
6. Lexicon Samaritanum omnes dictiones difficiles explicans. Parisiis, 1657.

Joannis Morini.—Exercitationes ecclesiasticæ in utrumque Samaritanorum Pentateuchum. Parisiis, 1631.

Antiquitates Ecclesiæ Orientalis Clarissimorum virorum. Londoni, 1682.

This work contains translations by *Morinus* of the letters of the Samaritans of Shechem and Egypt, addressed to Joseph Scaliger, and various letters written by him respecting the Samaritans and their literature.

Johannis Henrici Hottingeri.—Exercitationes Anti-Morinianæ de Pentateucho Samaritano, ejusque udentica ΑΥΘΕΝΤΙΑ oppositæ Canonicæ ejusdem ΑΥΘΕΝΤΙΑ à Johanne Morino. In quibus non tantum firmis rationibus Pentatenchus Samariticus, magno conatu ab ipso canonizatus, convellitur; Apographum vitiosum ex Hebræo Autographo demonstratur; sed etiam nonnulla, S. Scripturæ et Antiquitatis loca difficiliora de Samaritanorum Religione, Scriptus Moribus illustrantur, atque ex monumentis Latinis, Græcis, Hebræcis, Chaldaicis, Rabbinicis, Arabicis, Persicis, et Ægyptiacis eruuntur. Quibus accedit Epitome omnium capitum Libri Josuæ, h. e. Chronici illius Samaritani, quod ex legato Magni viri, Josephi Scaligeri, in illustrissima Leidensi

[1] Joseph. Antiq. xii. 55.

[2] John iv. 9, 22.

Bibliotheca Arabicè contextum, sed Samaritico charactere exaratum, asservatur. Tiguri, 1644.

J. H. Hottingeri.—Methurgeman Dissert. de Translationibus Bibliorum in linguas vernaculas, ibid. Dissert. iii.

Briani Waltoni.—Dissert. de Pentateucho Samar. eiusque versionibus in Prolegg. ad Polygl. Lond. vol. i. cap. 11. *Edmundi Castelli.*—Animadversiones Samaritice in Polygl. Lond. vol. vi. *Briani Waltoni.*—Lexicon Heptagl. Londini, 1669. fol.

Basnage.—History of the Jews, (Book Second.) Lond. 1708.

Hadr. Relandi.—Dissert. de Monte Garizin in eius Dissertat. Miscell. Traiecti ad Rhenum, 1707.

Christoph. Cellarii.—Collectanea Historiæ Samaritanæ. Cizae, 1688.

Christoph. Cellarii.—Epistolæ Samarit. Sichemitarum ad Jobum Ludolphum, etc. Ibid. 1688.

Literæ Samaritanorum ad Josephum Scaligerum, ed. *Silv. de Sacy, in* Repertor. fur Bib. und Morgenland. Litter. Leipzig, 1783.

Probe eines Samaritanischen Biblischen Commentars, uber 1 B. Mos. xlix. herausgegeben von *Christian Friedrich Schnurrer.* Ibid. 1785.

Epistola Samaritan. Sichemitarum tertia ad Jobum Ludolphum, ed. *P. J. Bruno.* Ibid. 1788.

M. Silvestre de Sacy.—Mémoire sur la Version Arabe des Livres de Moise, à la usage des Samaritains, et sur les manuscrit de cette version *in* Mémoires de Litterature, tom. 49. Paris, 1808.

In this document there is much interesting information. Copious quotations are given from the version referred to; and it is compared with the Arabic version of Saadi Gaon.

Sylvestre de Sacy.—Mémoire sur l'Etat actuel des Samaritains. Paris, 1812.

Sylvestre de Sacy.—Correspondance des Samaritains de Naplouse, *in* Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits. Paris, 1831.

This Memoir contains the originals of all the letters, with translations, (with one exception,) sent to Europe by the Samaritans.

Nouveaux Eclaircissemens sur l'origine et le Pentateuque des Samaritains. Par un *Religieux Benedictin* de la Congregation de S. Maur. A Paris, 1760.

Gulielmi Gesenii.—De Pentateuchi Samaritani origine Indole et Auctoritate Commentario-Philologica Critica. Halæ, 1815.

Gulielmi Gesenii.—De Samaritanorum Theologia ex Fontibus Ineditis Commentatio. Halæ, [1822.]

In the introduction to this work, pp. 7-12, there is a general account of the literature of the Samaritans, which may be compared with the notices given to my fellow-travellers and myself. See vol. ii. pp. 75-78.

Gulielmi Gesenii.—Carmina Samaritana e codicibus Londinensibus et Gothanis. Lipsiæ, 1824.

I received from the Samaritans several hymns, both in Samaritan and Arabic, which are not given in this work.

Georgii B. Winer.—De Versionis Pentateuchi Samaritanæ Indole Dissertatio Critico-Exegetica. Lipsiæ, 1817.

F. Uhlemanni.—Institutiones Linguæ Samaritanæ. Lipsiæ, 1837.

This is the best Samaritan Grammar which we have. In the Prologomena, we have a succinct "Rerum Samaritanarum Enarratio."

Perhaps the most important general discussion on the Samaritans and their literature, as it bears on questions connected with the authenticity of Scripture and other kindred matters, is contained in the "Dissertations on the Genuineness of the Pentateuch," by Dr. E. W. Hengstenberg of Berlin, of which a translation in English has just appeared.

V.—THE MUHAMMADANS.

THE ORTHODOX MUHAMMADANS OF THE EAST AND WEST OF ASIA—THE SPIRIT PREVALENT AMONG THEM—PROSPECTS OF THEIR ENLIGHTENMENT AND CONVERSION—CHARACTER OF THE TURKS—BADAWIN OF THE MOUNT SINAI AND SYRIAN DESERTS—HERETICAL MUHAMMADAN SECTS OF SYRIA—THE METAWILAH—THE DRUZES—CATECHISM OF THE DRUZES—THE NASAIRIYAH OR ANSAIRIYAH—THE ISMAILIYAH.

1. THE ORTHODOX MUSALMANS.

It is not necessary for me to say anything about the general principles of the Orthodox Muhammadan faith. They have been correctly propounded by numerous and able writers, and are well understood by the Christian world. I may be allowed, however, as a missionary, to express the opinion which my own observation has led me to form of the *spirit* of that faith, as now developed both in the East and West of Asia.

The Muhammadanism of Eastern Asia continued to despise the power of the Christian nations long after it had fallen with fearful weight both upon Saracen and Turk to the further west. The establishment of the British Empire in India, however, has completely undeceived it, and led it to acknowledge, with humble submission, that resistance to

that power is wellnigh, if not altogether, hopeless. Its impressions of the right of our conquests do not equal its convictions of their might. It feels the deprivation and depression which it has experienced at our hands,—overlooking the provocation of its own treachery and misrule,—though not so acutely as when we first snatched the sceptre from its hands. It is not insensible to the general uprightness of our administration; and, though slowly, it is learning the important lesson, that many of the British have a spiritual, rational, devotional, and practical religion, animating and guiding them, both as private men and public functionaries. Its votaries have had their attention to a certain extent—though not, as in the case of the Heathen, to a large extent—directed to the Bible as the standard of that religion. They peruse the Scriptures, as translated into Hindustání, Persian, and Arabic, occasionally with some degree of interest. They contrast their contents with those of the Ḳurán, marking both their agreement and discordance; and, in some few instances, they have been led to yield to the claims of truth. A growing spirit of inquiry is visible among them; and both in Bombay and in Bengal, particularly in its northern provinces, individuals of their number have come forward as critics and controversialists, appealing for aid to reason and history, as well as to the chapters of the Torát, Zabúr and Injíl, and to the Súras of the Ḳurán.[1]

I was sorry to find, during my travels through the west of Asia, that matters are by no means in this hopeful state

[1] The principal Muhammadan controversialist at Bombay is *Hájí Muḥammad Hashim*, to whose pamphlets I published a reply in Persian and Hindustání, under the title of Raddi-i-dín-Musalmání, an English translation of the first edition of which is published in the Oriental Christian Spectator for May, June, and July, 1833. For a very able review of the Christian controversy with the Muhammadans in Eastern India and in Persia, see the Calcutta Review, vol. iv. The circulation of several able treatises, by the Rev. Mr. Pfander, induced the Muhammadan Mullás to take up their pen. In connexion with the religious inquiry of Persia, Dr. Lee's "Persian Controversies" are of much value.

with regard to the people of that quarter of the world, who have for ages been the true representatives of the faith of Islám. Though possessed of far more energy and activity than their co-religionists in India, they are, if possible, below them in regard to character and conduct, and fiercer and more bigoted in religion.[1] In fact, religious inquiry is

[1] The most correct description of the character of the Turks—the ruling body,—which I have noticed in any work of travel, is, I think, that of Mr. Hamilton, the Secretary of the Geological Society.

"As I cannot agree with the conclusions at which the authors of some of the most recent publications on the manners of the Turks have arrived, I will endeavour to state it as briefly as possible. And let me begin by stating their good qualities: they are undoubtedly hospitable in the truest sense of the word, generally charitable, and sometimes generous; the lower classes are decidedly honest, and this I consider their greatest merit. This virtue, however, does not extend to the upper classes, although their solemn word or promise may in most cases be relied on. But, on the other hand, they are all ignorant and presumptuous, vain and bigoted, proud without any feeling of honour, and cringing without humility; they cannot resist the temptation of money, or the prospective benefit of a lie. In their government and administrative duties they are tyrannical and overbearing, in their religious doctrines dogmatical and intolerant, and in their fiscal measures mercenary and arbitrary. They are as ignorant of their own history as of that of other nations; and this is the case even with the better educated, who are in most respects far inferior in character, probity, and honour, to the peasants and lower classes. Their virtues are those of the savage, who is generous because nature easily supplies his wants, and charitable because of the uncertain tenure by which he holds his fortune. The rich man of to-day may, by the caprice of an erring individual, be a beggar to-morrow; why then should he hoard his wealth, since he knows not who shall spend it? As long as a Turk is poor, and removed from temptation, he is honest; but no sooner is he appointed to office, or obtains the management of public money, than his uneducated mind is unable to withstand the charm, and he becomes a peculator and a thief; he appropriates to himself whatever he can lay hands on, and oppresses those below him, while, for the sake of securing his ill-gotten plunder, he propitiates his superiors by bribery and adulation. This has undoubtedly led to the demoralizing practice of the Turkish Government, of selling all places to the highest bidder, allowing him, in return, to make the most he can out of the unprotected subjects, by extortion and taxation." —Hamilton's Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus, and Armenia, vol. ii. pp. 379, 380.

On the misgovernment of the Turks in Syria, see communication of Colonel Rose to Lord Aberdeen, Oct. 12, 1842, in Correspondence relative to Syria, part iii. pp. 79, 80.

scarcely known amongst them; and no influences are at work to arouse their attention. The native Christianity of the lands in which they dwell, as exhibited both by the Greek and Roman Churches, presents itself to their view as essentially polytheistic and idolatrous; and it is consequently an object of their contempt and abhorrence. The Europeans sojourning among them, and in various ways procuring employment at their hands, are in general viewed by them as having no religion of any kind. They see neither the practice, nor experience the persuasion of a living Christianity. Only their contiguity to Europe, and the partial diffusion among some of them, particularly in Egypt, of the literature and science of the West, have an enlightening and liberalizing effect. No mission has been especially established for their instruction, under the apprehension that it would not be tolerated. Whatever share they may have of the prayers of Christians, they have little or none of their efforts. By the Christian world, they are treated, or rather neglected, as doomed to be eternally the dupes of destructive error, or as if it were believed that Muhammadanism—so congenial to the depraved nature of man—would die a natural death, or be destroyed by the extraordinary judgments of God, without a single note of warning being given to its unhappy votaries. But where is the warrant or excuse for their neglect? Christendom did well when it rolled back the tide of Muhammadan conquest; but it will do better when it seeks earnestly to remove the clouds of ignorance and darkness which brood over the lands which were first illuminated by the glorious rays of the Sun of Righteousness. As the Muhammadan civil powers are now dependent upon it for their very existence, it should exact from all of them, as the condition of its help, a solemn recognition of the complete toleration of its own creed, in all its forms. Something it can do, especially by the circulation of the Scriptures, for

directly instructing the disciples of Muhammad; and *much* it can do to exhibit to them the life and love of real Christianity. *What* it can do, it ought to do without delay, and under the deep persuasion that, whatever present appearances may be, the promise, providence, and power of God are on the side of his truth, and its universal triumph throughout the world.

These brief allusions are intended to refer to the ease of the settled Muhammadan population of the East. The circumstances of the children of the wilderness are so peculiar, that they require a distinct notice.

2. THE BADAWIN OF THE MOUNT SINAI AND THE SYRIAN DESERTS.

The early Christian pilgrims to the Holy Land and Mount Sinai seem to have stood in great dread of the Badawin, and to have kept, when possible, at a respectful distance both from their company and cognizance, when passing through the wilderness.

"In that Desert," says Sir John Maundeville, "duellyn manye of Arrabyenes, that Men clepen Bedoynes and Ascopardes. And thei ben folke fulle of all evylle Condicioun. And thei have none Houses, but Tentes, that thei maken of Skynnes of Bestes, as of Camayiles and of othere Bestes, that thei eten; and there benethe thei couchen hem and duellen, in Place, where thei may fynden Watre, as on the Rede See or elles where. For in that Desert is fulle gret defaute of Watre: and often time it fallethe, that where Men fynden Watre at o tyme in a Place, it faylethe another tyme. And for that skylle, thei make none Habitacioun there. Theise folk, that I speke of, thei tylen not the Lond, ne thei laboure noughte; for thei eten no Bred, but zif it be ony that dwellen nyghe a gode Toun, that gon thidre and eten Bred som tyme. And thei rosten here Flesche and here Fische upon the hote Stones azenst the Sonne.[1] And thei ben stronge Men and wel fyghtynge. And there is so meche multytude of that folk, that thei ben withouten nombre. And thei ne recchen of no thing, ne don not, but

[1] This happy idea is illustrated by a suitable picture in Sir John's Travels.

chacen aftre Bestes, to eten hem. And thei recchen no thing of here Lif: and therfore thei dowten not the Sowdan, ne non othre Prince; but thei dar wel werre with hem, zif thei don ony thing that is grevance to hem. And thei han often tyme Werre with the Soudan; and namely, that tyme that I was with him. And thei beren but o Scheld and o Spere, with outen other Armes. And thei wrappen here Hedes and here Necke with a gret quantytee of white lynnen Clothe. And thei ben righte felonouse and foule, and of cursed kynde."[1]

It is far otherwise now. The Ṭawarah Badawín are the guides and guardians of all travellers in the districts in which they sojourn; and they may be implicitly trusted, as they implicitly trust our countrymen.[2] An extensive acquaintance has been made with their external circumstances if not with their tribual history and social habits.

When travelling under the care of the Ṭawarah, we narrowly watched their movements, and regularly recorded the information which we received from their lips. On looking over my notes, however, I do not find much which I have not brought to notice in the Personal Narrative, or which is an extension of the general information which we have received of them from the pen of Burckhardt.

The Badawín in the peninsula of Mount Sinai, south of Jebel Tíh, are denominated the Ṭawarah.[3] They belong to several tribes or clans. The word Ṣawalihah, mentioned by Burckhardt, is not the name of a clan, but of a confederation; and it is now sometimes applied to the whole Ṭawarah

[1] The Voiage and Travaile of Sir John Maundeville, Kt., pp. 63-65.

[2] A striking illustration of their confidence in the English I cannot withhold from my readers. "When we were pitched outside of Cairo," writes my fellow-traveller, Mr. Smith, "I paid Sheikh Mazeir one half of the amount stipulated for the journey to Sinai. I paid him in English sovereigns, pásha's sovereigns, gold piastres of various denominations, Spanish dollars, etc. He took the money, shook it in his hands, declared that he was quite unable to count it, and that he had not the least idea whether it was correct or not; but added with confidence, as he put it away, I know it is all right, for your countrymen always behave honourably in these transactions, or something to that effect."

[3] For the meaning of this word, see vol. i. p. 43, note.

Arabs, as Sheikh Ṣaleh is their recognised political chief. The tribes are the following:

1. The Kareishí, originally from the Ḥejáz, and a branch of the tribe to which Muḥammad belonged. They form the most powerful body of the Ṭawarah, though they are not the most ancient in the peninsula. Sheikh Ṣaleh, the head of the whole Ṭawarah, who travelled with us from Suez to Wádí Feirán, is their chief. His head-quarters are in Wádí Sheikh. We were told that he now claims Wádí Feirán as his property, though he recognises certain rights of the convent of Mount Sinai, on the produce of the date trees. He is a man of ability and address; and of late years he has become less aspiring and mischievous than he formerly was. He is now on good terms with the monks, though his tribe is not recognised among the protectors of the convent.

2. Closely associated with the Badawín now mentioned are the Thaheirí. Our Arabs told us that their principal habitat is in the neighbourhood of Suez. Burckhardt observes that they "possess the best valleys of the mountains." Dr. Robinson says that the Aulád Sáid are a subdivision of them, and "seem to have most connexion with the convent."

3. The Awarmah are again closely associated with the Thaheirí, and were said by our Arabs to frequent the same valleys.

4. The Aleikat have their head-quarters in the Wádí Gharandel. Like the two tribes last mentioned, they are protectors of the convent. Our Sheikh Maṭeir is their present chief. Distinguishing them from the three preceding tribes who form the confederation of the Ṣawalihah, properly so called, Burckhardt says, "They are much weaker in number than the Szowaleha, and encamp usually with the Mezeine, and with them form a counterbalance to the power of the Szowaleha. A tribe of Aleygat is found in Nubia on the

banks of the Nile, about twenty miles north of Derr, where they occupy the district called Wady el-Arab, of which Seboua makes a part."[1] In his travels in Syria he speaks of them as being originally from the "Eastern Syrian Desert;" and in his travels in Nubia, as being originally from the Hejáz.[2]

5. The MEZEINAH are the confederates of the 'Aleikát. In our travels we found them pitched in the valleys west of Mount Sinai and south of Jebel Tíh. Burckhardt, however, says that they "live principally to the eastward of the convent, towards the gulf of Akaba."[3]

6. The BENE-WASEL are estimated by Burckhardt at only fifteen families. They are usually found in the neighbourhood of Sharm. They are said to have come originally from Barbary.

7. The AULAD SULEIMAN are settled on the coasts of the Red Sea near Tor. Of all tribes now in the peninsula they are the most ancient. They were finally subdued and nearly eradicated by the Sawalihah and 'Aleikát.

The Tawarah unitedly are estimated by Burckhardt at four thousand souls. I scarcely think that they exceed three thousand. They dwell among the terrors and sublimities rather than among the bounties of nature; and the sterility of their possessions is unfavourable to their increase. They are a hardy, contented, and abstinent people, dependent principally on the produce of scanty flocks, and on the money which they earn by the conveyance of travellers and pilgrims to Mount Sinai, and of baggage between Suez and Cairo. They are at present on perfectly good terms with one another, and engage each other's camels according to their mutual convenience and advantage. Their knowledge of the Muhammadan religion is exceedingly slight. They have, however,

[1] Travels in Syria, pp. 557-8. [2] Travels in Nubia, p. 57.
[3] Travels in Syria, p. 558.

a body of traditional or conventional law of their own. Of all the Badawín, they are perhaps the most accessible in a missionary point of view. I have already hinted that the place most suitable for the head-quarters of a mission intended for their benefit, and that of the Jebelíyah or descendants of the slaves of the convent,—who resemble them in physiognomy, manners, customs, and mode of life,—is the small but beautiful valley of the Wádí Feirán, contiguous to the base of the majestic Serbál. A missionary sent to them,

Jebel Serbal from Wadi Feiran.

should, I think, be a native of the East, with a vernacular and grammatical knowledge of the Arabic, and ready to accommodate himself in every respect to their self-denied and nomadic mode of life, even though, like the "priest of Midian," he should possess his own flocks.

North of Jebel Tíh, and between that range and the Ḥaj route, we have the Ḥeiwat Arabs, whom I have already noticed.[1] The great confederacy north of the Ḥaj route, and extending its tread to the Mediterranean and the south of the Holy Land, is the Tiyahah, with which we came in contact in the centre of the great desert. The sheikhs of one of its subdivisions, told us that it consists of a "thousand

[1] Vol. i. p. 265.

tribes;" but when pressed by us they would not enumerate more than the following ten:—the Saḳeirát, to which our unworthy guides belonged; the Banayát; the Tíyahát; the Ḳadeirát; the Ḥakúk, according to Burckhardt, the principal tribe of the Tiyáhah;[1] the Aṭaweiní; the Elimát; the Thallam, north of Ḳurnub; and the Azázimah, to the south of the last mentioned, and the Terabín, in the western parts of the desert bordering on Egypt.

The Tiyáhah told us that they view themselves as nominally under Syria and not Egypt, to the páshá of which they are very inimical. They are considerably more numerous and powerful than the Ṭawarah. They subsist principally by raising and selling camels, for rearing which the deserts in which they wander are tolerably favourable. They had extended themselves to the valley of Esdraelon, when we were in the Holy Land; but they were then expelled from it by the Beni-Ṣakhar, some of whom were encamped near Mount Tabor. Their principal sheikh, Sáid, pitches near Hebron.

A party of the Jehalín, sometimes called the Hebron Arabs, who possess the southern parts of the wilderness of Judah, we saw at Wádí Músá. Some of our friends told us that they had passed one of their two encampments, consisting of fifty-six tents, pitched somewhat in the form of a circle. These Arabs rear considerable numbers of sheep; and their chiefs have horses, which are not to be found either among the Ṭawarah or the Tiyáhah.

I have nothing to add to the notices of different tribes which we encountered in the Holy Land, which are given in our Personal Narrative, except to say that they threaten soon to possess the whole country.

The Alawín, on the eastern side of the Wádí Arabah, contiguous to Akabah, are well known to travellers to Petra.

[1] Travels in Syria, p. 594.

Sheikh Husein, their chief, is very exorbitant in his charges; but hitherto he has proved perfectly faithful to his engagements. Burckhardt gives pretty full accounts of the Badawín in the northern parts of Idumea.

The ANAZAH or ANEZAH, the most powerful confederation of the Syrian Arabs, who every summer now approach Damascus and the flanks of Mount Hermon, have already been noticed with some particularity.[1] For a general classification of the Badawín of the Syrian desert, and for many interesting notices and descriptions, I beg to refer to the two posthumous volumes by Burckhardt, entitled "Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys."[2] In these volumes, the whole mysteries of their singular and romantic life are fully unfolded.

The Christian missionaries at Damascus may act most favourably on the Syrian Badawín. Christian pedlars and merchants are allowed to follow them with their goods in all their wanderings. If some of these, animated by the genuine spirit of the faith which they profess, were to direct to them their benevolent attention, the most important results might be the consequence. In their total ignorance of the art of reading, nothing can be done at present for the circulation among them of the sacred Scriptures. The simple narratives and impressive histories, and sublime devotional and doctrinal treatises of holy Writ, if read to them, however, might be accompanied with great benefit. Why should Arabia be now almost the only country of the world to which the messengers of peace are not sent? With the prayer of Abraham, that Ishmael should live before the Lord, there should be some sympathy. Faith anticipates the day when the land trodden both by the sons of the outcast wanderer, and the descendants of the great, though less noticed patriarch, Joktan, shall yet be subjected to the sway of God's truth and Spirit.

[1] See above, p. 320, etc.

[2] London, 1831.

ARABIA VISITED BY THE LIGHT OF TRUTH.

Land of Ishmael, free and bold,
Land of waste from days of old,
Land whose wonders are not told,
I come to thee.

Land of fierce barbaric might,
Land of darkest, blackest night,
Land of everlasting fight,
I come to thee.

Mercy rich to thee doth come,
In thy tents doth claim a home,
That thy children may not roam.
I come to thee.

In thy book are lust and wrath,
Learn not from it heaven's path—
It is not the word of truth.
I come to thee.

Here I give the sacred page,
The work of the inspired sage,
Which is light in every age.
I come to thee.

Press no more to Mecca's shrine,
Seek no righteousness of thine,
Take the justice that is mine.
I come to thee.

Error's gloom shall pass away,
Superstition lose her sway,
Cease the bloody cruel fray.
I come to thee.

Lay aside the glittering sword,
Hear the peaceful, cheering word
Of Christ, thy rightful, loving lord.
I come to thee.

Tidings blest to thee I bring,
Tidings blest aloud I sing
Of the heaven-anointed King,—
Of his cross and mighty love,
Which the soul with power can move,
And to heaven conduct above.
I come to thee.

Ye who dwell in wilderness,
With the king of Sheba, raise
Highest notes of holy praise,
And, with Seba, at the gate
Of his temple ready wait
To adore his heavenly state.
I come to thee.

Treasures now cease to retain,
Let gold and incense be the gain
Of Him who evermore shall reign.
I come to thee

Thou from misery shalt be free,
"Araby the blest" shalt be,
And God's glory full shalt see.
I come to thee.

'Aden, 10*th January* 1843.

3. Heretical Muhammadan Sects in Syria.

Of the Muhammadan heretics in Syria, as they are called, a brief notice may now be taken.

The Metawilah, are principally to be found in the Belád Besharah, or district lying to the south and east of Tyre.[1] Some of them are found in the regions lying contiguous to

[1] "The country to the south of Sidon, as far as Acre, is inhabited by Mutualis."—Mr. Consul Wood to Lord Ponsonby, Oct. 10, 1840.

the sources of the Jordan, and in the Bakáá, or Cœlesyria proper. Like the Persians, they belong to the Shíáh, and recognise the supreme ímámship, or pontificate, of Alí, the cousin and son-in-law of Muḥammad, and his legitimate successors, known or unknown, whoever or wherever they may be. They are nearly as scrupulously observant of the rites of caste, in regard to cleanness and uncleanness, as the Hindús.

The Druzes inhabit the districts of Lebanon north of the Metáwilah, and south of the Maronites, with whom, however, they are commingled to a certain extent. They are also to be found in considerable numbers in the Wádí et-Teim, in Jebel Ḥaurán, and in the neighbourhood of Damascus. I have already alluded to their origin.[1] As a sect they are descended from the Carmathians, and were organised and established by the combined exertions of the fanatical and cruel Khalíf el-Ḥakim Biámr-Allah of Egypt, and the two Persian messengers, Ḥamzah and Muḥammad ben Ismáíl ed-Derazí. From the latter personage, they derive their name, the Derúz, their proper Arabic designation, being the plural of Derazí. It was Derazí, who first propagated their tenets among the rude mountaineers of Lebanon. The learned work of De Sacy, entitled "Exposé de la Religion des Druzes," in two volumes, published in Paris in 1838, contains all the information, derived from oriental sources, respecting their early history and tenets which can be desired by the scholar. An able popular digest of this work, with some other notices, is given by Dr. Robinson, in the first volume of the Bibliotheca Sacra.

The tenets of the Druzes are thus summarily stated by De Sacy:—

"To acknowledge only one God, without seeking to penetrate the nature of his being and of his attributes; to confess that he can neither

[1] See above, p. 568.

be comprehended by the senses, nor defined by words; to believe that the Divinity has shown itself to men at different epochs, under a human form, without participating in any of the weaknesses and imperfections of humanity; that it has shown itself at last, at the commencement of the fifth age of the Hejira, under the figure of Hakim Biamr-Allah; that that was the last of his manifestations, after which there is none other to be expected; that Hakim disappeared in the year 411 of the Hejira, to try the faith of his servants, to give room for the apostasy of hypocrites, and of those who had only embraced the true religion from the hope of worldly rewards; that in a short time he would appear again, full of glory and of majesty, to triumph over all his enemies, to extend his empire over all the earth, and to make his faithful worshippers happy for ever; to believe that Universal Intelligence is the first of God's creatures, the only direct production of his omnipotence; that it has appeared upon the earth at the epoch of each of the manifestations of the Divinity, and has finally appeared since the time of Hakim under the figure of Hamza, son of Ahmed; that it is by his ministry that all the other creatures have been produced; that Hamza only possesses the knowledge of all truth, that he is the prime minister of the true religion, and that he communicates, directly or indirectly, with the other ministers and with the faithful, but in different proportions, the knowledge and the grace which he receives directly from the Divinity, and of which he is the sole channel; that he only has immediate access to God, and acts as a mediator to the other worshippers of the Supreme Being; acknowledging that Hamza is he to whom Hakim will confide his sword, to make his religion triumph, to conquer all his rivals, and to distribute rewards and punishments according to the merits of each one; to know the other ministers of religion, and the rank which belongs to each of them; to give to each the obedience and submission which is their due; to confess that every soul has been created by the Universal Intelligence; that the number of men is always the same, and that souls pass successively into different bodies; that they are raised by their attachment to truth to a superior degree of excellence, or are degraded by neglecting or giving up religious meditation; to practise the seven commandments which the religion of Hamza imposes upon its followers, and which principally exacts from them the observance of truth, charity towards their brethren, the renunciation of their former religion, the most entire resignation and submission to the will of God; to confess that all preceding religions have only been types more or less perfect of true religion, that all their ceremonial observances are only allegories, and that the manifestation of true religion requires the abro-

gation of every other creed. Such is an abridgment of the religious system taught in the books of the Druses, of which Hamza is the author, and whose followers are called Unitarians."[1]

Among the documents frequently quoted by De Sacy, in his curious work, are the Druze Catechisms, which have fallen into the hands of Europeans. A copy of one of these tracts in the original Arabic, made under the direction of Dr. De Forest, has been kindly forwarded to me from Syria by Mr. Graham. It differs somewhat from those printed in the Repertorium fur Biblische and Morgenlandische Litteratur. I insert an English translation of it by Mr. Graham, by which it was accompanied, adding merely a parenthesis at one or two places, to assist in making it intelligible.

This Tract is an account of the Faith and Religion of the Derúz from first to last.

1. Are you a Druze (Derazí)? Yes; by the grace of *Hákim*, [the Khalíf of Egypt, supposed to be the divinity;] may he be exalted!

2. What is a Druze? He who has subscribed (written) the Covenant and served our Lord the Creator.

3. What is your duty? To speak only the truth; to serve *Hákim*, and keep the seven remaining stipulations.

4. How are you known to be a Druze? By eating what *is* permitted, and abstaining from that which is forbidden.

5. What is permitted, and what is forbidden? It is allowed to partake of food with the initiated ['Akál] and the peasants. It is not allowed to eat with governors and apostates.

6. How and when did our Lord *Hákim* appear? It was in the 400th year of the Hejirá of Muḥammad, [A.D. 1009.]

7. How did he appear and say that he was of the seed of Muḥammad in order to conceal his divinity, and why did he conceal it? Because his worship was not well received, and those who believed on him were but a few.

8. When did he appear and manifest his divinity? Eight years after the 400 years.

9. How many years did he remain in the open manifestation of his divinity? The whole of the eighth year; and on the ninth he departed, because it was the year of concealment; he appeared also in the beginning of the tenth and the eleventh, and in the twelfth he concealed himself finally, not to reappear till the day of judgment.

[1] De Sacy's Exposé, Introduction, pp. 1-4.

10. What is the day of judgment? It is the day in which he shall appear in human nature to judge the world by the sword and by violence.

11. And when shall that be? The time is unknown, but the signs of it shall appear.

12. And what are the signs? When ye see kings overturned and the Christians victorious over the Muslims, you may be sure that it is at hand.

13. And in what month shall it be? It shall take place in [the month] Jemád the first or Jemád the second, or in Rejab, according to the *Hejirá*.

14. How shall he execute judgment on the nations and religions? He shall appear upon them with the sword and with violence, and destroy them all.

15. And what shall take place after their destruction? They shall return by a second birth according to the principle of transmigration, and after that he shall judge among them as he pleases.

16. How shall they be while he is ruling among them? They shall be in four divisions; the Nasárí (Christians,) and Yehúd (Jews,) the Martadín (apostates,) and the Mawahadín (the Unitarians or Druzes).

17. And how is each division subdivided? From the Nasarí come the Nasairíyah [to be noticed after this article,] and the Metawilah, and the Jews, and the Muslims, and the Martadín, who were warned by the religion of *Hákim* our Lord. May his name be exalted!

18. And how shall he act towards the Unitarians? He shall give them the government and the possession; the royal authority and wealth, the gold and the silver also; and they shall remain in the world as princes, and báshás, and sultáns!

19. Why do you deny all books but the *Kurán* to those who ask you? Necessity requires us to lean on the religion of the Muslims, and therefore we must confess the book of Muhammad. Nor is this compliance in any respect sinful; nor do we follow the Muslims in the matter of prayers over the dead for any other reason but because we are dependent, and that true religion requires us to comply with the prevailing authority.

20. What shall we say of the martyrs concerning whose number and intrepidity the Christians boast? We say that *Hamzah* refused to admit them, although they are mentioned in all the historians.

21. And should the Christians say that their faith is more sure, and more strongly confirmed than the words of *Hamzah*, what shall we reply to them? We reply, beware of blasphemy in asking such questions as—"Where are the books, and the proofs, and the miracles, and the conspicuous triumph which, in a harmonious and perpetual succession of all ages, lead us to expect the appearance of *Hamzah*, and his companions, as if you were in doubt concerning his or their words?" but consider in yourself, and make manifest the most notable proofs of which the Christians boast, and put them far away from you.

22. From whence have we learned the establishment of the true Religion—from *Hamzah*, the son of 'Alí (may his peace be upon us!)? From his testimony to himself, in his epistle called the epistle of Limiting and Expounding, where he says, "I am the Root of the inventions of the Lord; and I am his Way; I am He who knows his character; I am the Mountain and the visible Book, and the well-built House; I am the author of Resurrection and Dispersion, the Breather into Breasts, and the Appointed Minister; I am the Lord of

Grace, the Overturner, and Abolisher of Laws; I am the Destroyer of Worlds, the Nilifier of Witnesses, and the Flaming Fire which reaches the hearts."

23. And what is the true Religion to which the initiated among the Druzes are introduced? It is the denying of the religion of all sects and parties, inasmuch as we believe whatsoever they reject, according to what is written in the epistle of "Excusing and Warning."

24. If a stranger is brought to know the Religion of our Lord, and is guided into the practice of the true Religion, is there any Salvation for him? By no means! for the door is shut, and the words are ended; and when he dies, he shall return to his former religion and belief.

25. When were the souls of all the world created? After the creation of Intelligence, which is *H*amzah, the son of 'Alí, from whose Light all Spiritual beings were created, and their number is fixed, without the possibility of increase or diminution to all eternity.

26. Is it right that women should be instructed in the true Religion? Yes; for our Lord wrote the Covenant for them, and refused the invitation of the governor, as it is mentioned in the epistle, intitled, "The Covenant of Women," and also in the epistle called "The Epistle of Girls."

27. And what do you reply to other religious sects who say, "We serve God the Creator of the heavens and the earth?" However much they may say so, their religion is false notwithstanding; for service without knowledge cannot be sound. If they say we have served God, and knew not that the Lord is *H*ákim himself, their service is vain.

28. Which of the Limitations (prophets) has spoken concerning the wisdom of the Lord Most High, upon whom our religion is founded? Three of them have spoken of it, viz. *H*amzah, Ism'aíl (ed-Derazí?) and Behá ed-Dín.

29. Into how many parts is the world divided? Into five; and these are again subdivided variously:—Of these five, two will include all the diversities of religions in the world; two will comprehend all natural sciences; and the fifth, though not subdivided at all, is said to be the largest division; and it is the true one; the knowledge of the religion of the Druzes; the wisdom of *H*amzah, the son of 'Alí, the servant of our Lord *H*ákim.

30. How do we recognise our brother of the true faith when we meet him or when he passes by us? After meeting, conversing, and saluting, we ask him, "Are there any farmers in your country who sow mirobalan?" If he says, YES; it is sown in the hearts of believers, we inquire concerning his knowledge of the Limitations; and if he answers correctly, he is a Druze, and if not he is a stranger.

31. What are the Limitations? They are the five prophets of *H*ákim, viz. *H*amzah, and Ism'aíl, and Muḥammad the Word, and Abú el-Kheir, and Behá ed-Dín.

32. Is there either salvation or honour from *H*ákim for the uninitiated Druzes who die in that state? By no means; but they shall receive from him the punishment of reproach and eternal despair.

33. What is the point of the Compass? It is *H*amzah, the son of 'Alí.

34. What is the straight way? It is *H*amzah, the son of Alí. He is called also the Establisher of the truth; and the Minister of Time; and the Antecedent Intelligence; and the honourable Prophet; and the Cause of Causes.

35. What is Antiquity and Eternity? Antiquity is *H*amzah, and Eternity is Ism'aíl his brother.

36. Who are the Men of odour? They are the warners, John, Mark, and Matthew.

37. How many years do they go about warning? Twenty-one, being seven years for each of them.

38. Of what kind was their warning? They went about preaching the existence of the true Messiah.

39. How did they salute and approach *H*ákim? They said to him peace, O our Lord; and to thee we say belongs Peace; and thou art the most worthy of peace; and thine invocation is the house of peace. Be thou blessed and exalted our Lord most high, most exalted, most honourable.

40. Who is the possessor [or the possessed, for the word may signify either]? It is Behá ed-Dín; and he is called also 'Alí, the son of Ahmed Aisá Issumuñ.

41. What are the five wise Virgins? They are the Limitations of the Invocation of Existence.

42. What are the five foolish Virgins? They are the Limitations of Law.

43. What are the letters of Truth, and what is their number? One hundred and sixty-four, and these are the Invocation and the Purity, and the mutual Breakers, which are the Prophets of our Lord *H*ákim.

44. What are the letters of Falsehood and their number? Twenty-six; and these are the guide of the Devil and his children, and his companions Muhammad and 'Alí, the minister of those upon whom the Metáwilah believe, and his twelve children [the ímáms].

45. What are the Limitations which can neither be searched out nor discovered, except in the time of old, which belongs to *H*amzah? The Will, the Desire, and the Word, which signify John, Mark, and Matthew, at the time of Christ; and these are the same as Makdád and Thaun ibn Bahá, and Yared il-'Anádí; and at the time of *H*amzah the three Limitations were Ism'aíl and Muhammad the Word, and Behá ed-Dín.

46. What is the meaning of our Lord's riding upon donkeys without saddles? The donkey is the speech of the reasonable creature; and his riding thereon points out the ruin and destruction of his Law; and the *K*urán confirms this explanation, saying, "the most detestable of sounds is the voice of the donkey," viz. the Prophets who brought mankind the plain manifest Law.

47. What is the meaning of our Lord's being clothed with black wool? That does not refer to grief, but to the love which he bears to the true believer after him.

48. What is the meaning of those buildings called the Egyptian Pyramids? These Pyramids our Lord built for a wise and voluntary purpose.

49. What is that wise purpose? He built them to preserve his Bonds and Covenants against the world till the day of his second coming.

50. What is the reason of his appearing at the promulgation of every new Law? To confirm the true believers, in order that they may remain in the worship of *H*ákim; therefore they will believe nothing except from him.

51. How do the souls return to their bodies? As one man dies another is born—such is the constitution of the world.

52. What are the limitations? They are the fifty virgins.

53. Who is the establisher of time? He is *H*amzah, the son of 'Alí.

54. Why are the Muslims called "Bringing down," and the Christians "Translation?" Because at the first the whole was from the Gospel; and "bringing down" points out the Muslim opinion that the *Kurán* was brought down from heaven.

55. What becomes of the initiated if they commit adultery? They must do penance for seven years, and go about among the initiated in weeping and sorrow; and if they repent not they shall die the death of the unbelieving.

56. How do you arrive at the conclusion that the religion of *Hákim* is true and all others false? This question is blasphemy, and disbelief in *Hákim*; for the true believers have agreed with him in their covenants, and delivered up to him, without search or examination, their souls and their bodies, and all their conditions, external and internal, and they are bound to obey him; and every word in opposition to this is blasphemy, as it is written in the epistle of *Hamzah*, the servant and angel of our Lord *Hákim*, the epistle called the epistle of "Good-Will and Self-Dedication," and this is an unchangeable principle.

57. What did our Lord leave behind him when he retired? He wrote a book, and suspended it at the door of the mosk, and called it the "Suspended Volume."

58. And how did he answer Muhammad, who said he was the son of our Lord? He replied, that he was the son of adultery, and the son of the maid-servant, and he plainly announced him to be the son of falsehood.

59. How did Muhammad act after the disappearance of *Hákim*? He rose and took his seat upon the throne, and said, "I am the son of *Hákim*; worship me as ye worshipped my father."

60. What did the people say to him? Blessed be our Lord *Hákim*, he neither begets nor is begotten!

61. How did the people answer when he said, whose son am I? They replied, we know not.

62. Then said he, am I the son of adultery? Yes; and *Hamzah* replied, thou sayest, and against thyself thou bearest witness.

63. In what light did the people regard Muhammad? He was known to be the son of Abdallah.

64. And why did *Hákim* not kill him when he pretended to be his son? For a wise purpose, according to his own will, viz. that he might be for a trial to the people, and that they might become the servants of *Hákim* in reality, and that their reward might be increased, and the idolaters, whose consciences are unstable, turned back.

65. What is meant by Genii, and Angels, and Devils, in the book and wisdom of *Hamzah*? He means by Genii and Devils the men who obey not our Lord *Hákim*. But the Satans are wicked spirits without bodies; and by Angels he means those who present and reply to the invocation of *Hákim* the supreme Lord, who only is to be served in all ages.

66. And what are the ages? They are the seven laws of the prophets, of whom the book entitled "Purity" says, "They are prophets like Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and S'aíd; and these all possess one spirit, and constitute the one rebellious Adam, whom God thrust out from paradise, viz. our Lord the Supreme removed him from the knowledge of the true religion.

67. And what was the office of the Devil with our Lord? He was an honourable servant of our Lord, but when his soul became disobedient,

*H*amzah, the great Wazír, cursed him and banished him from the paradise of invocation.

68. And who are the great angels, the supporters of the throne of our Lord? They are five Limitations, and these are Jabráyel, which is *H*amzah, and Mikháyel, his second brother, and Isráfyel, and 'Azráyíl, and Mitarsarún; now Jabrayel is *H*amzah, the son of Wahib, and Isráfyel is Salamat, the son of 'Abd el-Waháb, and Azráyel is Behá ed-Dín, who is the same as 'Alí the son of Ahmed. These are the five Wazírs, which are called Sábek, and Thoní, and Jíd, and Fatah, and Khyál.

69. Who are the four women? They are Ism'aíl, Muhammad, Salamat, and 'Alí, and these are Kelimat, and Nefs, and Behá ed-Dín, the son of Abu el-Kheir.

70. And why are they called women? Because *H*amzah is in the place of men, and these are called his wives, because they serve and obey him like women.

71. What shall we say of the Gospel of the Christians? We say that the true Gospel is from the words of the Messiah the Lord, who is Solmán the Persian, in the age of Muhammad, and is the same as *H*amzah, the son of 'Alí; for the Antichrist who was born of Mary is the son of Joseph.

72. Where was the Christ when Antichrist was with the disciples? He was with the disciples also, and spoke the Gospel, and instructed the son of Joseph, and said to him, "Do such and such," according to the Christian religion; and he obeyed and contradicted him in nothing, but listened to all his words. Then the Christ excited the hatred of the Jews against Antichrist, and they crucified him.

73. And what happened to him after the crucifixion? They put him into a tomb, and Christ, who is *H*amzah, came and stole him away; and hence it was said that he had risen from the dead.

74. And why did Christ the Messiah do so? To establish the Christian religion, and that they might hold fast what he had taught them.

75. Is not this like an action tending to establish a lie? He did so only that he might redeem privately the true believers in the religion of Christ.

76. And who rose from the grave and entered into the house of the disciples, the doors being shut? The Messiah, the True, the Living One, who dieth not, and he is no other than *H*amzah, the servant and angel of the Lord.

77. And who propounded and preached the Gospel? Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John; and these are the four women which we formerly mentioned as belonging to *H*amzah. (?)

78. Why have not the Christians believed truly in the unity of God? By the decree and arrangement of *H*ákim the supreme, they are left in unbelief.

79. If the error and unbelief be from him, why does he punish them? He deceives them as a punishment for not obeying him.

80. And how could a deceived person obey when he is ignorant of the circumstances and certainty of the decree, as the Kurán has said, "We have written against them, and deceived them?" This matter, however, is not to be enquired after for the doings of *H*ákim; the supreme are not to be submitted to the scrutiny of man, as it is said, "He gives no account of his actions, but his servants do."

81. What is the meaning of the dancing of the idle, and the playing with

scourges, and the remembrance of the —— and wonder? This contains a deep mystery before our Lord *Hákim*, and refers to his reappearing after a time. [The reference here is to the immoralities of the Druze worship.]

82. And what is the mystery? The dancing refers to the laws and the prophets, for each of them came in his turn and danced, and his power soon vanished, and he passed away.

83. What is the meaning of playing with scourges which give pain but do not injure? This refers to a kind of knowledge which neither injures nor profits.

84. And what means the remembrance of the —— and the ——? This signifies a state rather than a place,[1] so our Lord *Hákim* has caused the power of his divinity to prevail over and conquer the idolater, as it is written in the epistle called the "Certifications of Jesting."

85. Why did *Hamzah*, the son of 'Alí, command us to conceal and not divulge the secret of our religion? Because it contains the mysteries and covenants of our Lord, and we ought not to declare it to any one, inasmuch as it is the salvation of souls, and the life of spirits.

86. Are we then to be saved, and do we not seek the salvation of others? This question is neither pertinent nor necessary; for the calling is removed, and the door is shut, and the believer believes, and the blasphemer blasphemes, and all things are to be praised: good works and mortification are abolished, for the Rational One rose and fasted, but the humiliation of the soul, and the mortification of the body, cannot give us access to our Lord.

87. What means the limitation of alms to a certain class? Our alms are not to be extended to any but our brother, the true believer, who is initiated into our mysteries, and to give alms to any others is accursed.

88. And why do you stay in private churches and mortify yourselves? We do so that our Lord when he comes may reward us according to our works, and endow us with the government of the world, as Wazírs, and Báshás, and Sultáns, and the administrators of unlimited hospitality.

This is the entire religion of the Druzes, except the writings of Shatmiyel and others; and we beseech him to be advocate for the true believers in the unity of God, and an avenger upon the idolaters by the sword of our Lord alone.—May his memory be glorious!

This document is sufficiently absurd, fanatical, and humiliating to humanity. The Druzes, however, have had so much to do with the maintenance of their position, and their social organization, in their mountainous abodes for many centuries, that religion of any kind has been with them only a matter of secondary importance. In moral conduct they do not much differ from their neighbours the Maronites.[2] They are to a great extent accessible to the

[1] The comparison is omitted because of its grossness.

[2] "The Druzes, as a nation," says Mr. Consul Wood, in a letter to Lord

efforts of the Christian teacher; and the American missionaries are seeking their education and instruction.

The NASAIRÍYAH, or ANṢAIRÍYAH, or Ansarians, as they are usually called, much resemble the Druzes, particularly in their religious descent from the Carmathians, and the concealment of their religious principles. They "occupy the mountains on the high road from Latakia to Aleppo,"[1]—most of the range north of Lebanon. They are a warlike and sturdy people. We found some of them in the villages near the sources of the Jordan. "They are divided into several sects, of which nothing is known except the names, viz. Kelbye, Shamsye, and Mokladjye."[2] I am not able to add anything to the scanty information which we possess respecting their tenets and observances, derived from the works of Maundrell, Pococke, Niebuhr, Volney, Burckhardt, and others.

The ISM'AÍLÍYAH, or *Ishmaelites*, are the remains of the Asassins, occupying part of the mountains west of Hamah. The castle of Masyád, according to Burckhardt, is their chief seat. They derive their designation from Ismáíl ibn Jáfar Sadik, the sixth ímám, and hold, like the Shías, but in a more exaggerated form, the mystical doctrine of the union of the Deity with Alí. Their worship is said to be very immoral; but very little is known respecting it. "Several causes," says Burckhardt, "combine to make it probable that their doctrines will long remain unknown. The principal reason is, that few individuals among them become acquainted with the most important and secret tenets of their faith; the generality contenting themselves with the observance of some exterior practices, while the arcana are

Palmerston, dated Oct. 19, 1841, "are a good people, and have among them some very excellent chiefs, who, however, being in easy and moderate circumstances, are averse to interfering in the intrigues and machinations of their countrymen, in order not to lose their respectability."

[1] Mr. Consul Wood to Lord Ponsonby, Aug. 28, 1840.

[2] Burckhardt's Travels in Syria, p. 156.

possessed by the select few."[1] In these circumstances, their peculiar tenets can have but little practical effect, and the Christian teacher is not called systematically to contend with them. *Sole oriente fugiunt tenebræ.* The darkness of their gross heathenism,—or call it by what name we may,—will fly before the light of heavenly truth.

VI.—NOTES ON IDUMEA AND ITS ANCIENT INHABITANTS.

SCRIPTURAL AND HISTORICAL NOTICES OF EDOM AND THE EDOMITES —THE NABATHÆANS—THE CHRISTIANS IN IDUMEA—MODERN TRAVEL IN IDUMEA AS ILLUSTRATIVE OF SCRIPTURE TOPOGRAPHY AND PROPHECY, INCLUDING NOTES ON THE NATURAL HISTORY OF PETRA—SPECIMENS OF NABATHÆAN OR SINAITE INSCRIPTIONS, WITH THEIR RENDERINGS.

The country of Edom derived its name from Edom, or Esau, the son of Isaac. His dwelling-place, according to the blessing of his father, was to be of the "fatness of the earth, and of the dew of heaven from above."[2] The "land of Seir" became "the country of Edom;"[3] and its original name, which was probably derived from "Seir the Horite," who first inhabited the land,[4] is still preserved, there is some reason to believe, in the name of the mountainous ridge, esh-Sherah,[5] to the east of the Arabah. The king of Edom, in the days of Moses, cruelly refused a passage to the Is-

[1] Burckhardt's Travels in Syria, p. 151.

[2] Gen. xxvii. 39.

[3] Gen. xxxii. 3.

[4] Gen. xxxvi. 20, compared with Deut. ii. 12.

[5] In this word, meaning tract or mountain, there is the dropping of the Hebrew ע, which seldom disappears; but it ought not to be contended that the Arabs are *never* guilty of any corruption of the form or meaning of ancient words. A few instances of the dropping of the ע may be observed in the list of ancient sites. See pp. 635-644.

raelites through a part of his territories, from the wilderness to the Promised Land,[1] and forced Israel to turn away from him. No retribution at this time took place; but Saul fought against Edom as one of his enemies.[2] His successor afterwards defeated the forces of that country in the Valley of Salt, probably the Wádí 'Arabah, or the Ghor, its northern portion, lying to the south of the Dead or Salt Sea; and "all they of Edom became David's servants."[3] After this, they remained for a considerable time subject to the Jews, the elder serving the younger,[4] and Edom and Seir being a possession for Israel, according to the prophecy of Balaam.[5] "Solomon," wishing to turn the commercial facilities of the country to advantage, "made a navy of ships in Ezion-geber, which is beside Eloth, on the shore of the Red Sea, in the land of Edom."[6] He had a struggle afterwards with Hadad, of the royal race of the land, who had been exalted in Egypt, to which he had fled as an exile;[7] but it was probable that it was the vicegerent of the king of Judah, who in the days of Jehoshaphat united with that sovereign and Jehoram of Israel in fighting against Moab.[8]

In the reign of Jehoram, "Edom revolted from under the hand of Judah, and made a king over themselves."[9] Amaziah's conquest of Selah, or Petra, we have already noticed.[10] The Idumeans, when that event occurred, seem to have been gross idolaters; for this king impiously "brought the gods of the children of Seir, and set them up to be his gods."[11] His conquest probably did not extend to the south of the country; for it was reserved to Uzziah to rebuild Eloth, and restore it to Judah.[12]

[1] Numb. xx. 18-21.
[2] 1 Sam. xiv. 47.
[3] 2 Sam. viii. 14.
[4] Gen. xxv. 23.
[5] Numb. xxiv. 18.
[6] 1 Kings ix. 26.
[7] 1 Kings xi. 14-22.
[8] 2 Kings iii. 9.
[9] 2 Kings viii. 20.
[10] Vol. i. p. 299.
[11] 2 Chron. xxv. 14.
[12] 2 Chron. xxvi. 2.

The Idumeans seem shortly after this to have, to a great extent, recovered their power, and to have made of it the greatest abuse; for we find Amos, who prophesied under Uzziah, thus solemnly announcing their crime, and consequent doom:—

> "For three transgressions of Edom
> And for four,
> I will not turn away the punishment thereof;
> Because he did pursue his brother with the sword,
> And did cast off all pity,
> And his anger did tear perpetually,
> And he kept his wrath for ever:
> But I will send a fire from Teman
> Which shall devour the palaces of Bozrah."[1]

We read of the Edomites, in the reign of Ahaz, making an incursion into Judah, and capturing some of its inhabitants.[2] They did not, however, recover Eloth till they were aided by Rezin, king of Assyria.[3] The time was now come when Esau should, according to the divine prediction, break the yoke of Jacob from off his neck.[4] The strength of his power was at this time associated with Bozrah, the modern Buseirah, probably then the capital of the country; and the land, even when probably in the enjoyment of its greatest glory, had its awful doom again most solemnly pronounced, as we find it written in Isaiah xxxiv. The cup of its iniquity, however, was not yet full. When the Chaldeans took Jerusalem, it rejoiced in its destruction, and the captivity of its children, and shared in its spoil. Hence, as far as it was concerned, the fearful vision of Obadiah, and the terrible denunciations of Jeremiah and Ezekiel.[5] It was probably visited to a certain extent by the divine vengeance through the instrumentality of the very Chaldeans in whose victories over the Jews it wickedly exulted. Josephus mentions that

[1] Amos i. 11, 12.
[2] 2 Chron. xxviii. 17.
[3] 2 Kings xvi. 6. See the *keri*.
[4] Gen. xxvii. 40.
[5] Jer. xlix. 7-22; Lam. iv. 21, 22; Ezek. xxv. 12-14; xxxv. 15.

Nebuchadnezzar made war against the Ammonites and Moabites, and it would seem the neighbouring people.[1] The language of Malachi implies that some disaster had befallen Edom, and that it vainly imagined that that disaster would be finally repaired :—

> 'Yet I loved Jacob, and I hated Esau,
> And laid his mountains and his heritage waste
> For the dragons of the wilderness.
> Whereas Edom saith, we are impoverished,
> But we will return and build the desolate places
> Thus saith the Lord of hosts,
> They shall build, but I will throw down;
> And they shall call them the border of wickedness,
> And the people against whom the Lord hath indignation for ever."[2]

They did for a season return, and even encroached on the southern possessions of Judah, in which, however, they were defeated by the Maccabees. "Hyrcanus," we are told, "took Dora and Marissa," cities which had got into the possession of Idumea, and "subdued all the Idumeans," and introduced the rite of circumcision among them.[3] Antipater, the procurator of Judea under the Romans, and the father of Herod the Great, was of Idumean blood; but had his race been fully amalgamated with the Jews, he would not probably have obtained the office which he held. The last notice which we have of the Idumeans in connexion with the Jews, is the introduction into Jerusalem by the Zealots of 20,000 of them, for the defence of the city, previous to its siege by Titus.[4]

The great fulfilment of the denunciation of the prophets against Idumea, to which we have now alluded, probably took place by their being supplanted, in the southern parts of their possessions at least, by the Nabathæans, who onwards take their place in history.

[1] Joseph. x. 9. 7.
[2] Malachi i. 2-4.
[3] Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 9. 1; 15. 4; 1 Macc. v. 3-5; 2 Macc. x. 16; xii. 32.
[4] Joseph. Bell. Jud. iv. 5, &c.

We first read of the Nabathæans in profane history in connexion with Antigonus, one of the successors of Alexander the Great, who sent two expeditions against them about three hundred years before Christ. At this time they were in possession of Petra, which was to them a great commercial depot, and an asylum in the time of danger.[1] They derived their name from Nebajoth, the eldest son of Ishmael, of whom and his brethren, it is said—"They dwelt from Havilah unto Shur, that is before Egypt, as thou goest toward Assyria."[2] We read of Judas Maccabæus and his brother meeting with them, after travelling three days' journey in the wilderness east of Jordan.[3] Strabo identifies them with the Idumeans, and extends their territories even as far as to the south of Judea, and the east of Egypt.[4] "The Nabatæans," he afterwards states, "inhabit Arabia bordering upon Syria, and the Sabæans, Arabia Felix. But now they are subject to the Romans, as well as the Syrians. The metropolis of the Nabatæans is that which is called Petra. It lies in a place somewhat equable and level, but fortified without by rocks and precipices, having within fountains, abundant both for a supply of water and horticulture. Beyond its enclosures the greater part of the country is desert, especially toward Judea. From hence, the shortest road to Jericho is three or four days, and to Phœnice, five. An individual of the royal race always reigns there; and the king has an associate (ἐπίτροπον) from among his companions, who is called brother." He notices the visit of his friend Athenodorus to Petra, who was pleased with the manners and customs of its inhabitants. He then describes the expedition of the Romans into those parts, and the south of Arabia and the Red Sea, under Ælius Gallus, sent thither by Augustus Cæsar, and the discoveries to which it led. Leukè Comè, a great em-

[1] Diodorus Sic. xix. 95-98.
[2] Gen. xxv. 18.
[3] 1 Macc. v. 24, 25; Joseph. Antiq. xii. 8. 2.
[4] Strabon. Geog. xvi. p. 760.

porium of the Nabatæans, he particularly notices as communicating with Petra and Rhinocolura.[1]

The kingdom of the Nabathæans is sometimes called that of Arabia, from their having possession of Arabia Petræa. There was of them a dynasty at Petra, to use the words of Dr. Vincent, "parallel to the Maccabees at Jerusalem, and, like them, partly independent and partly under the influence of the more powerful monarchies on either side."

Dr. Vincent gives us a catalogue of their sovereigns, as he has been able to form it from Josephus:—

"Malachus—is the first king of Idumea at Petra, mentioned by Josephus, (Antiq. p. 569, Hudson's ed., and in the first of the Maccabees, xi. 39.) He is styled Simalcue, and had protected Antiochus VI., restored to the throne of Syria in 144, by Diodatus, called Tryphon.

"Aretas—assisted the city of Gaza, besieged by Alexander Sebina, about the year 126 (Josephus, Antiq. 595.)

"Obodas—is either the same as Aretas, or his successor within the year; he defeated Alexander about the year 125 (Josephus, Antiq. 596.)

"Aretas II.—is the king to whom Hyrkanus, of the family of the Maccabees, high-priest and king of Judea, fled, when driven out by Aristobulus. Aretas restored him with an army of 50,000 men, about the time that Pompey came to Damascus in the Mithridatic war, in the year 63. In this reign commenced the connexion of the Maccabees with Antipas, or Antipater, the Idumean, and the father of Herod, which terminated in the destruction of the whole family (Josephus, Antiq. 608, 609.) Pompey took Petra, (Dio., Latin copy, p. 23.); and from that period the kings of Idumea were, like the other kings in alliance with Rome, dependent, obliged to furnish auxiliaries on demand, and not allowed to assume the sovereignty without permission of the senate, and after-

[1] Strabo, *ut supra*, pp. 779-785. Pliny's references to the Nabathæans and Petra, agree with the notices of Strabo. "Ultra Pelusiacum Arabia est, ad rubrum mare pertinens et odoriferam illam ac divitem et beatæ cognomine inclytam. Hac Catabanam et Rebonitarum et Scenitarum Arabum vocatur, sterilis, præterquam ubi Syriæ confinia attingit, nec nisi Casio monte nobilis. His Arabes jungutur, ab oriente Canchlei, a meridie Cedrei, qui deinde de ambo Nabatheis."—Lib. v. cap. 11.

"Nabatæi oppidum incolunt Petram nomine in convalle paulo minus iii. m. pars amplitudinis, circumdatam montibus inaccessis amne interfluente. Abest a Gaza oppido litoris nostri de. m. à sinu Persico cxxii. m. Hunc convenit utrumque bivium, eorum qui Syriæ Palmyram petiere, et eorum qui ab Gaza venerunt."—Lib. vi. cap. 28.

It is interesting to observe the Roman geographer coupling the Cedrei, the descendants of Kedar, with those of Nebajoth, his brother, as in sacred scripture, Gen. xxv. 13.

wards of the emperors. The interval between Obodas and this Aretas, I have not been able to fill up.

"Malchus II.—must have commenced his reign before the year 47; because in that year Cæsar was at Alexandria, and Malchus is mentioned by Hirtius as one of the allied kings to whom Cæsar sent for succours. (De Bello Alexandrino, p. 1; Hudson, Periplus, p. 11.) This Malchus was in Judea when the Parthians took Jerusalem, and restored Antigonus; at which time Herod fled to Petra, (Josephus, Antiq. 644.) The Parthians were defeated by Ventidius, in the year 39, (Dion Cassius, Lat. p. 235); and Malchus was still king in 30, (Jos. Antiq. 648, 677.) He is styled Malichus by Josephus, (Bell. Jud. 990.)

"Obodas II.—must have commenced his reign before the year 24; because in that year Elius Gallus invaded Arabia, attended by Syllæus, minister of Obodas, and Syllæus was tried at Rome, and executed for his treachery, according to Strabo, (p. 783); but Josephus says, on account of charges brought against him by Herod, whose cause was pleaded by Nicolaus of Damascus. This trial did not take place till the reign of the successor of Obodas, (Joseph. Antiq. 728, *et seq.*)

"Aretas III.—seized the throne on the death of Obodas, about the year 12, without applying to Rome for the consent of the emperor, (Josephus, Antiq. 736); and by that act incurred the displeasure of Augustus, which, however, he appeased. The trial of Syllæus took place in this reign, who was accused of poisoning Obodas, and attempting the life of Aretas, among the other charges brought against him. This Aretas, or another of the same name, was on the throne as late as the year 36 after Christ, which is the last year of Tiberius; for Vitellius, proconsul of Syria, was preparing to march into Idumea, against a sovereign of the same name, but was stopped by that event, (Joseph. Antiq. 728, 736, 755.) It is in this reign we may place the visit of Strabo's friend, Athenodorus, to Petra, who found it as described above, in a civilised and flourished state.

"Aretas IV.—whether another, or the same as the last, is dubious.

"Much disappointment have I felt in not being able to discover any successor to Aretas, in Josephus or Dion Cassius; because I have great reason to believe, that in his immediate successor, or in the following reign, we should have found another Malchus or Malichus, the same who is mentioned in the Periplus as the sovereign of Petrea, when the author frequented the port of Leukè Komè. We learn, however, from this brief account, the commencement of the Roman influence over this government under Pompey, and the continuance of it to the death of Tiberius; and it will hence appear very evident how a Roman garrison was introduced into Leukè Komè, and the revenues of the Port diverted from the possession of the native kings into the Roman treasury. The immediate date of that transaction I cannot fix; for Elius Gallus appears to have had little knowledge of Leukè Komè till he was conducted thither by Syllæus; and, as he re-embarked from another port, he had not an opportunity of leaving a garrison at Leukè Komè on his return. This makes it highly probable that the introduction of this garrison was in the reign of Claudius, who evidently collected a revenue from the coast of Arabia, as we learn from the circumstances related by Plokamus, and might well commence his system from the head of the gulf.

"It may be here observed, that the princes of this dynasty of Petra are al-

most universally called Kings of the Nabateans by the historians; and the prevalence of this tribe of Nebaioth over the Idumeans is placed by Prideaux, with his usual accuracy, during the Babylonish captivity, agreeing admirably with the existence of their sovereignty in the reign of Antigonus, and countenanced by Strabo, who mentions the expulsion of the Idumeans. If this, therefore, be the origin of the dynasty, its termination is in the reign of Trajan, when Petræa was reduced into the form of a Roman province, by Palma, his lieutenant. Still, under the latter emperor, we meet with an Aretas in Procopius; and possibly, according to the fluctuating power of the empire, it was at times subject, and again independent, as the change of circumstances took effect, till it was finally reduced by Mahomed in person. . . . . For Mahomed marched against this country with an army of thirty thousand men, of which one-third was cavalry: he took Hagjr, the capital of the Tschamudites; and John, the prefect of Aila, submitted to pay a tribute of three hundred pieces of gold. Now if Hagjr be not the Hagar of the Hebrews, the Petra of the Grecks, it is at least a hill-fort in the same country, and maintained the same rank as the seat of government. Aila is Eloth of the Scriptures, still at that period under the power of Constantinople (if we may judge from the name of John the governor,) so late as the reign of Heraclius. This expedition is the more remarkable, as it is the first successful attempt of Mahomedans beyond the limits of the Hejaz, and the prelude to the conquest of Syria by the immediate successor of the prophet. This expedition, therefore, it was which opened the way to all their succeeding victories over the declining power of the Romans in the East."[1]

The history of the introduction of Christianity into these parts is very obscure. The different Notitiæ collected by Reland show, however, that it was embraced in the ecclesiastical establishments as early as the fourth century, and was included both in the Roman and ecclesiastical division of Palestina Tertia, of which Petra was the metropolitan sea.[2] Germanus, one of its bishops, was present at the council of Seleucia, A.D. 359; and Theodorus at that of Jerusalem, A.D. 536. As mentioned by Vincent in the extract quoted above, Muhammad, in the year 630, moved north against the Roman possessions in Arabia; but the Hajar, at which he arrived, was neither Petra, nor any place in its vicinity, for he proceeded no further than Tabuk.[3] The sub-

[1] Vincent's Commerce of the Ancients, vol. ii. pp. 278-278.

[2] Reland. Palest. p. 214, *et seq.*

[3] Abulfed. Annal. tom. i. p. 175. In a note, vol. i. p. 299, I have, in common with some others, from the days of Bochart, associated the Hajar of the Arabian geographers with Petra. A re-examination of Abulfeda and Edrisi, however, leads me to acquiesce in the opinion of Dr. Robinson [vol. ii. p. 654,] that their Hajar lay at least eight days south from Wádi Músá.

mission of John, the lord (Saheb) of Ailah, was the first made by the Christians of Arabia Petræa to Muhammad. The conquest of the whole of Syria was consummated in the year 636.

Nothing further can be learned of Idumea and Petra till the times of the Crusaders, whose movements in the country have been generally but precisely brought to notice by Dr. Robinson.[1] They seem to have had but a slight knowledge of biblical geography. On their first expedition into the country, under Baldwin, A.D. 1100, they either gave the name of Wádí Músá (Vallis Moysi) to Petra, or were so far misled by it, as to take Mount Hor for Sinai, and the brook of es-Sík for the water of the smitten rock. When, about 1136, they erected the fortress of Kerak, they supposed that it stood on the site of the ancient Petra.[2] Ailah on the Red Sea, they made the Elim of Scripture. The dominion of the Franks in the country was terminated by Saladin in the year 1688.

The Arabian authors do not mention Petra; but two Arabic manuscripts in the library of Gotha, a reference in which was brought to Dr. Robinson's notice by Professor Rödiger, mention Wádí Músá as the place where, according to a Muhammadan legend, Moses was buried.[3]

Volney was the first in modern times to rouse attention to Arabia Petræa. "This country," he said, "has not been visited by any traveller, but it well merits such an attention; for, from the reports of the Arabs of Bakir, and the inhabitants of Gaza, who frequently go to Maan and Karak, on the road of the pilgrims, there is to the south-east of the lake Asphaltites, within three days' journey, upwards of thirty ruined towns, absolutely deserted. Several of them have

[1] Robinson's Bib. Res. vol. ii. pp. 565-568.

[2] The passages above quoted from Strabo and Pliny [pp. 727, 728,] show that Kerak, itself standing on a height which can be seen in many quarters from the greatest distance, could not be Petra the capital of the Nabathæans. Josephus, too, tells us that Petra was contiguous to Mount Hor. See reference, vol. i. p. 298.

[3] Robinson's Bib. Res. vol. ii. p. 577.

large edifices with columns which may have belonged to ancient temples, or at least to Greek Churches. The Arabs sometimes make use of them to fold their cattle in, but in general avoid them, on account of the enormous scorpions with which they swarm."[1] In 1806, Seetzen proceeded from Damascus to Kerak; but, instead of going further south, he passed round the lower extremity of the Dead Sea to Jerusalem. In the following year he went from Hebron on the road to Wádí Músá, so far as the hill Mádarah.[2] Burckhardt was the first modern European to enter Idumea, and to pass through it from Kerak to Wádí Gharandel in Jebel esh-Sherah, making discoveries of the most important character, both as far as biblical and general geography are concerned, and particularly bringing the wonders of Petra to the notice of the civilized world. Irby and Mangles, and Banks and Leigh, followed much in his track from Kerak to Wádí Músá, in 1818. Laborde and Linánt entered Petra from Akabah ten years later. Since their time it has been frequently visited.

Modern travel in Idumea has contributed much to the illustration of the sacred Scriptures. Though it has been observed that the country is sadly neglected in an agricultural point of view by the wandering Arabs by whom it is possessed, such remains of the ancient capabilities of its soil, and such indications of its favourable position have been witnessed, as explain the announcement made by Isaac to Esau, "Behold, thy dwelling shall be the fatness of the earth, and of the dew of heaven from above."[3]

In Burckhardt's travels we find such notices as the following:—At Kether-abbá, "the gardens contain great numbers of large fig-trees. The mountains in the neighbourhood are cultivated in some parts by the Beni-Ammer."[4] The inhabi-

[1] Volney's Trav. vol. ii. pp. 288-209.
[2] See above, p. 340.
[3] Gen. xxvii. 39.
[4] Burckhardt's Trav. in Syria, p. 396.

tants of 'Orák cultivate, besides wheat, barley, and dhoura, olives, figs, and tobacco, which they sell to advantage.[1] In the neighbourhood of Khanzír, "are a number of springs, whose united waters form a rivulet, which irrigates the fields belonging to the villages, and an extensive tract of gardens."[2] At el-Kasrein, Burckhardt reached a "fine spring, surrounded by verdant ground and tall reeds."[3] Proceeding onwards to the ruins of Kerr, he crossed an extensive elevated plain "of a fertile soil." At Aimah, he found "several springs," and says, "wherever these are met with, vegetation readily takes place, even among barren sand rocks."[4] "The climate of all these mountains," he adds, "to the southward of the Belka, is extremely agreeable; the air is pure, and although the heat is very great in summer, and is still further increased by the reflexion of the sun's rays from the rocky sides of the mountains, yet the temperature never becomes suffocating, owing to the refreshing breeze which generally prevails. I have seen no part of Syria in which there are so few invalids. . . . . During my stay in Gebalene, [in July and August,] we had every morning a fog which did not disperse till midday. I could perceive the vapours collecting in the Ghor below, which, after sunset, was completely enveloped in them. During the night they ascend the sides of the mountains, and, in general, are not entirely dissipated till midday."[5] Similar notices are given by Irby and Mangles. Speaking under the date of their first day's march from Kerak, they say, "In short, the whole of the fine plains in this quarter are covered with sites of towns on every eminence or spot convenient for the construction of one, and all the land is capable of rich cultivation; there can be little doubt that this country, now so deserted, once presented a continued picture of plenty and fertility." We ourselves,

[1] Burckhardt's Travels in Syria, p. 397. [2] Ibid. p. 397.
[3] Ibid. p. 401. [4] Ibid. p. 402. [5] Ibid. p. 402.

during our visit to Petra, found the climate most agreeable; and though much impressed with its desolations, we noticed in several places in its neighbourhood, both on its mountains and valleys, the capabilities of its soil.

I have elsewhere made a quotation from Burckhardt respecting the scripture sites which he discovered to the east of the Jordan and Dead Sea on this journey.[1] Proceeding southward from Kerak, he came to Ṭafîl or Ṭafîlah, containing about six hundred houses,[2] which was afterwards recognised as the TOPHEL of Deut. i. 1. Buṣeirah, a village of about fifty houses,[3] is, in all probability, the BOZRAH of Idumea, the name being the diminutive of Buṣrah, the Arabic form of that word, and its position agreeing better with the Scripture references to Bozrah than the northern Buṣrah which we have already noticed."[4] Wâdî Mûsâ has been elsewhere referred to as the SELAH of the Bible.[5] Irby and Mangles started the idea which has since been acquiesced in by biblical scholars, that the Wâdî el-Aḥsâ, south of Khanzîr, which separates the mountainous district of Edom called Jebâl from that of Kerak, is probably the brook Zared of Scripture, the boundary of the Edomites and Moabites.[6] The district of Sherah, which we have more than once noticed, corresponds with Mount Seir of Scripture.

Irby and Mangles, after alluding to the tokens of former culture and fertility near Petra, say, "At present the barren state of the country, together with the desolate condition of the city, without a single human being living near it, seem strongly to verify the judgment denounced against it."[7] "Several prophets," says Laborde, "have predicted the misfortunes of Idumea; but the strong expressions of Ezekiel are

[1] See above, pp. 382, 383.
[2] Burckhardt's Travels in Syria, p. 402.
[3] Ibid. p. 405.
[4] See above, p. 360.
[5] See vol. i. p. 299.
[6] Irby and Mangles, p. 440.
[7] Jer. xlix. 17; Ezek. xxxv. xxxvi.; Irby and Mangles, p. 439.

alone adequate to the description of this joyless scene at en-Nakb."[1] It was reserved to the Rev. Dr. Keith, most vigorously and powerfully, to direct attention to the general state of Idumea, and particularly Petra, as noticed by the travellers to whom we have now referred, as strikingly illustrative and confirmatory of Scripture prophecy.[2] On this account he is entitled to the gratitude of the Christian world. Every traveller will admit the accuracy of the conclusion at which he arrives, though some may not agree, in every respect, with the Doctor's method of interpreting the poetical and figurative language of the inspired seers, and may not be disposed to look to the fulfilment of the prophecies on which he comments, except as connected with the ancient Idumean race, which has many ages ago disappeared from human cognizance, and with the memorials of God's vengeance,—still to be seen in the land,—of God's dealings with *them*, the reprobated enemies of his people. I have elsewhere incidentally alluded to the impressions which the appearance of Idumea and Petra made upon my fellow-travellers and myself, when viewed in connexion with these prophecies.[3] They were such as can never be forgotten by any of our number. They were quite in accordance with the general scope of Dr. Keith's reasonings, representations, and appeals. It may not be improper for me to compare notes on the general condition of the place, both as connected with its natural history and the prophetical descriptions and imagery of Scripture, with a gentleman who particularly notices them, and who, though by no means inclined to disparage the testimony of the Divine Word, does not interpret the prophecies in such a literal manner as the extremely useful and popular writer to whom I now refer.

[1] Here, I think, Laborde had principally before him a part of the original desert.

[2] Evidence of Prophecy, chapter on Idumea.

[3] See Chap. x. vol. i.

Mr. Kinnear, in his little work, which is one of some merit, says, "There is abundant evidence of the complete fulfilment of the prophecies against Edom, without descending to those minute and literal details to which so much importance has been attached." The declaration of Isaiah, "None shall pass through it for ever," he thinks, perhaps correctly, has been fulfilled "in its ceasing to be the great thoroughfare, through which the commerce of the surrounding nations passed."[1]

"'Thorns' do 'come up in the palaces of Petra, nettles and briars in the fortresses thereof,'" he continues, "but not to any very extraordinary extent. . . . And, in fact, the plants which grow most luxuriantly in the valley and neighbouring defiles, so as to give a character to the scenery, are the oleander, tamarisk, and white-broom; and numbers of small purple hyacinths spring up everywhere among the ruins." We certainly noticed all the plants here mentioned; but still we saw a superabundance of less agreeable vegetation, including many of the plants associated with the original curse of the ground, and which, in most countries, grow most luxuriantly amongst ancient ruins. The following is a list of the plants, which, through the help of the Badawín, we there collected. I had written the English names opposite only a few of them at Petra, and the loss of the specimens to which I have already alluded,[2] prevents the identification of any of them, except of those the Arabic names of which occur in the Flora Ægyptiaco-Arabica of Forskal, and in Burckhardt's Travels:—

ورد * غلقا * أثلا * عسالا * يحق * كدام * كافور * هوبب * حصير *
كلاخ * ملال * كري * حلق * حوخ * أرار * حبز * لوف * كاسم * حلوا *

[1] Kinnear's Cairo, Petra and Damascus, p. 157.

[2] Vol. i. p. 329.

سيسبان * خنذل * عزويرة * حوض * لبسوا * امن * قسيا * طيرا *
سوبط * الدا * هرمل * متنار * زكانار * لاليتس * هامتنازي * حماة *
استار * هارق * سقرا * راتيبني * دفلي * شقوما * كافر * سبرك *
ماتران * تارا * طرفا * كوس * سويد * شيح *

"The only birds of prey which I observed," says Mr. Kinnear, "were some white vultures, which were generally seen in pairs, soaring above the valley, or perched upon the rocks. Partridges, pigeons, a species of blackbird, and numbers of small singing birds, were seen every day. I neither saw nor heard the screech owl." Certainly you must not have gone like "Lady Cynthia, mistress of the shade," "with the fashionable owls to bed," and soundly you must have slept while at Petra, and matters must have been far otherwise when you were in that remarkable place, than when those who followed you lodged among its ruins, or you might have heard the midnight concert of both owl and owlet which we enjoyed. The birds which we noticed, or which the Fellâḥín told us are to be found there, or in the neighbourhood, were, according to a list which we made out, the eagle, ossifrage (âḳâb), kite, hawk, great owl, small owl, and raven, as well as the thrush, hippoe, starling, wagtail, sparrow, bee-eater, duck, goose, pigeon, francoline, partridge, and pterocles, and the "Kifûd," which, from the description given of it by the Fellâḥín, we took to be the neophron. Of the birds now mentioned, the pterocles is the قطا (ḳaṭá) of the Arabs. This Dr. Keith takes to be the קאת of Isaiah xxxiv. 11, translated in our version "cormorant." But the Arabic and Hebrew names do not agree. The קאת, ḳâat, was an unclean bird, as is evident from Leviticus xi. 18, where it is translated "pelican;" while the ḳaṭá, of which we had specimens in our hands, is a clean game bird, the "little pin-tailed grouse,"

of Dr. Russell.[1] The ḳáat is a solitary bird, for the Psalmist says, "I am like a ḳáat (pelican) of the wilderness: I am like an owl of the desert;"[2] but the ḳaṭá, as Dr. Keith well informs us, is a gregarious bird, and so plentiful that some have formed the idea that it may have been the quail of the Hebrews. The ḳifúd, of which the Felláḥín spoke to us, but in reply to a leading question, may, if they did not mislead us, be the Kiphod (קִפּוֹד), mentioned in Isaiah in connexion with the ḳáat, and translated "bittern." Dr. Keith supposes this animal to be the ḳanfadh (قنفذ), the hedgehog of the Arabs. Many Jews are of the same opinion, though a bird seems to suit the Hebrew parallelism better than a quadruped. Neither the porcupine nor the hedgehog is known to exist at Petra; but they are both, we learned, found in the neighbouring valleys.

Mr. Kinnear says that his party saw no venomous reptile, except one small scorpion, which was brought in one morning by Sheikh Ḥusein. Petra, as well as other ruins in Idumea, and other eastern lands, nevertheless, may be said, as I have elsewhere hinted,[3] "to be a habitation of dragons." It literally swarms with them. Never did we see so many lizards, centipedes, and scorpions as there. In the space of ten minutes the Felláḥín caught some scores of them for us, some of which I carried to Britain. I attach a delineation of a few of them taken from nature.[4]

[1] Nat. Hist. of Aleppo, vol. ii. p. 203.

[2] Psalm cii. 6.

[3] Vol. i. p. 329.

[4] A—is the *Hardún* of the inhabitants of Wádi Músá, which Hasselquist (p. 219,) and Dr. Russell (Nat. Hist. of Aleppo, p. 231,) make the Lacerta stellio of Linnæus. The true starry lizard, however, I take to be—

B—the Muláṭá of the folks of Petra.

C—is the Bareiza, according to the same. Like—

D—their Arbún, it appears to me a species not hitherto brought to notice.

E—is denominated *Lisán 'Áṭil* by the Felláḥín.

F—is the species of scorpion most abundant at Petra. The large black scorpion is also found there. One of this latter kind, which I brought with me from India to Europe, was observed to live in a bottle of spirits for eight hours!

LIZARDS ETC. FROM PETRA.

Mr. Kinnear says, "The wild goat, called by the Arabs *telal*, frequents the mountains around the valley; and also an animal which, from Sheikh Husein's description, appeared to be a wild boar." Both the animals here spoken of, we were informed, are to be found in the locality. The other mammalia of the place and neighbourhood, according to the Fellâhîn, besides the hedgehog and porcupine above alluded to, are the fox, wolf, jackal, hyena, lynx, leopard, hare, wubar or coney,[1] jerboa, rat, mouse, mole, and bat. We were told that the lion is found in Wâdî Hamâd.

But these brief notices of the natural history of Petra cannot be here extended. I have no doubt of the propriety of writers on prophecy judiciously referring to the tokens of the desolation and ruins of Edom, as they are still manifest in any of its districts. Though the desolation and ruin predicted by the prophets may have long ago been realized, there is surely nothing wrong in pointing to the proofs of its actual occurrence which still exist. In some districts of the country, the besom of destruction may have made even a cleaner sweep than at Petra, as at Buseirah, or Bozrah, where not a vestige of ancient ruins or excavations remains to form even a court for owls. What was formerly a "habitation of dragons," may now perhaps be "ploughed as a field." The "people of God's curse" themselves, are at present unknown. Long has the depression of Edom continued; and long may it yet continue. To the Edomites at least it will never be restored. "I will make thee perpetual desolations, and thy cities shall not return; and ye shall know that I am the Lord."[2]

I have already expressed the estimate which we formed of the remains of the works of man at Petra. Some of the ruder excavations may be those of the Edomites, or even perhaps of the Horites, their predecessors. The grand and tasteful sculptures and excavations, however, are those of

[1] See above, pp. 28, 29.

[2] Ezek. xxxv. 9.

Roman art, employed either for the Roman authorities of the place, or the Nabathæans, subject to their authority.

One inscription in the Wádí Mukatteb, or Sinaite character, which, as Professor Beer has proved, belonged to the Nabathæans, was discovered at Petra, I think first by Mr. Gray or Mr. Buckworth, when we were there. It is only of four letters, the Hebrew equivalents of which are [illegible]. It is a proof, however, that the Nabathæan inscriptions, as we should expect, are extended beyond the peninsula of Mount Sinai, in many places of which they occur.[1]

In a subjoined table of alphabets, I give the Sinaite or Nabathæan alphabet, as made out by Professor Beer. I add to it various alphabets of the cognate languages, from a comparison of which, as well as from the Professor's readings, one may satisfy himself that he has correctly represented the power of the Sinaite letters. When I first saw the inscriptions in Wádí Mukatteb, which I have elsewhere noticed, I was satisfied that they could thus be deciphered.

Of the rock inscriptions to which I now refer, I present my readers with eight lithographed specimens.

Of these, No. I. was taken by our artist, chiefly on account of the rude figures of which it is principally composed. The literal inscription is not complete. The word שלם, peace, occurs before the lizard.

No. II. I copied, thinking that it probably contained a signature which might be made out with comparative ease. In this I was not mistaken. It reads,—

שלם אושו בר וכלבו ברה זיר

"Peace be to Aushu, the son of *Kalabu*, and upon *Kalab*, the son of *Zeir*."

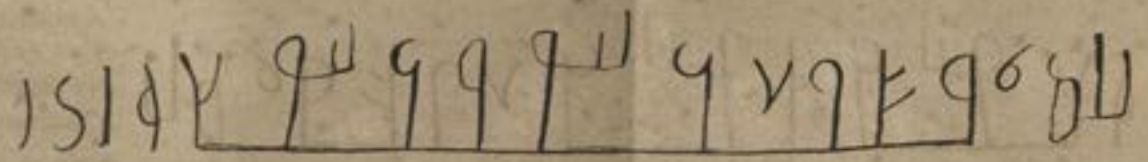
The letters, it will be observed, are sometimes grouped together.

The other inscriptions I extract from a lithographed paper presented to me at Bombay, by Major Felix, the companion

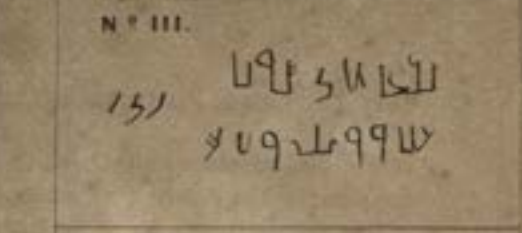
[1] See on these inscriptions, vol. i. pp. 184-187.

N° I.

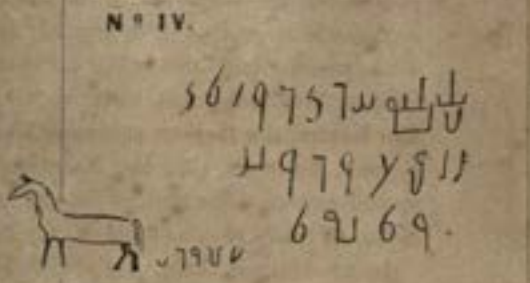
N° II.



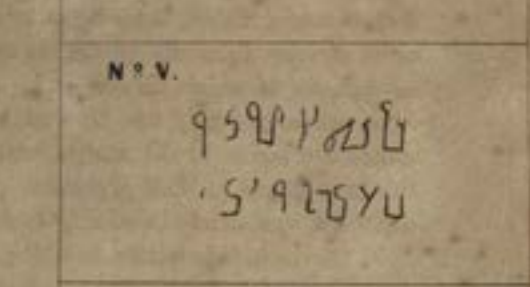
N° III.



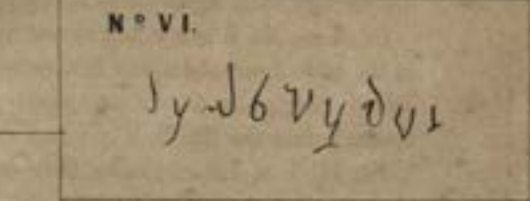
N° IV.



N° V.



N° VI.



N° VII.

SPECIMENS OF ROCK INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE MOUNT SINAI PENINSULA.

LITHOGRAPHED FOR Dr. WILSON'S LANDS OF THE BIBLE.

BY Fr. SCHENCK, EDINBURGH.

of the present Duke of Northumberland in his travels in the East. They have all been made out by Professor Beer. No. III. reads,—

(1) דכיר חרישו בר (2) עלבו ועלבו ברה זיר

"Remember *Harishu*, the son of '*Alabu*, and '*Alabu*, the son of Zeir."

No. IV., compared with two other transcripts of Montague, as far as it can be made out, reads thus,—

שלם כלבו בר זירו זאר

"Peace be upon *Kalabu*, the son of Zeru Zar."

שלם עודו בר ואלו בר עודו

"Peace be upon 'Audu the son, and upon 'Alu the son of 'Audu.

No. V. is—דכר אבן קין בר עמרו זאר

"Remember Aben Kuin, the son of 'Amru Zar."

No. VI. is—שלם עבד אל בעל

"Peace be upon Obed al-Ba'al," (the servant of God.)

No. VII. is—דכיל עבד-אלהי בר אתמו זאר

"Remember 'Obed Allahi, the son of Atmu Zar," (or Zeir.)

The Sinaite inscriptions, it will be seen from these specimens, contain merely the names of individuals and their connexions, with a prayer for peace and remembrance. Most of the names are Shemitic, and suit the Nabathæans, who inhabited the parts in which they are found.

VII.—NOTES ON THE JOKTANITES, AND ON THE HEMYARITIC INSCRIPTIONS OF ARABIA FELIX.

TRACES OF THE SETTLEMENT OF THE JOKTANITES IN ARABIA FELIX—DISCOVERY OF HEMYARITIC INSCRIPTIONS—ATTEMPTS TO DECIPHER THEM—TRANSCRIPTS OF SPECIMENS—ACCURACY VINDICATED BY A COMPARISON OF ALPHABETS, AND A REFERENCE TO THE RESEARCHES OF GERMAN AND FRENCH SCHOLARS.

It is a remarkable fact that the most thorough geographical, ethnographical, and philological researches, go to ac-

credit the account which is given in the tenth chapter of Genesis, in which are set before us the "generations of the sons of Noah."

From the genealogical tables of that remarkable passage of Scripture, we find the descent of Joktan from Shem to be through Arphaxad, Salah, and Eber. In the days of Joktan, (or of his brother Peleg), the earth was divided among the increasing families and tribes of men. Joktan had thirteen sons. "Joktan," it is said, "begat Almodad, and Sheleph, and Hazarmaveth, and Jerah, and Hadoram, and Uzal, and Diklah, and Obal, and Abimael, and Sheba, and Ophir, and Havilah, and Jobab. All these were the sons of Joktan; and their dwelling was from Mesha, as thou goest unto Sephar, a mount of the east."[1]

Since the days of Bochart especially, there has been almost a perfect unanimity of opinion about the country in which the Joktanites here mentioned settled. That country, as that able writer, and the subsequent researches of others, have most satisfactorily shown, is Arabia Felix. We find from the earliest times, as well as at present, notices of persons, tribes, and towns in that region, whose denominations most decidedly warrant the identification.

Arabian authors tell us that Joktan, or Kahtán (قحطان), as they write the name, was the first king who reigned in Yemen.[2] Kahtán, as shown by Niebuhr, Burckhardt, and others, is still the patronymic of the large Arabian tribes which are scattered over the whole southern portion of Arabia. It is the name of a district of Yemen, also described by the former of these great travellers, lying to the north of Najrán, on the way to Mecca. Its capital is known by the same name; and, according to Niebuhr, it is the "Baisat Jacktan of Sherif Ed-Dris."[3]

[1] Gen. x. 26-30.
[2] Pocockii Specimen. p. 56.
[3] Niebuhr, Descript. de l'Arabe, p. 238.

The Joktanites, as noticed by Bochart, are probably the Katanitæ of Ptolemy.[1]

Bochart recognises *Almodad*, the eldest son of Joktan, in the Alumæotæ of Ptolemy, belonging to the centre of Arabia Felix.

The descendants of *Sheleph* are recognised in the Salapeni of Ptolemy.

Hazarmaveth, in the Hebrew character, חצרמות, is literatim حضرموت, Ḥaḍharamaut—the present name of the province lying to the east and north-east of Aden. The Arabs and Jews make this identification. The name may be recognised in the Χατραμωτιτις of Eratosthenes, inhabited by the Χατραμωτεῖται—the Χατραμονιται of Ptolemy, and the Chatramotitæ and Adramitæ of Pliny, and various other similar cognomens referred to by Bochart.[2]

Niebuhr sees some resemblance between the name *Jerah* and Jerim, lying to the east of mount Sumára, in Yemen. Considerably to the north of this place occurs on his map "*Jahhran*," and to the north of Ṣanáa, the Beni-*Zerii*, which have, perhaps, as great a resemblance to the Hebrew. But, query, is not Jerah the Yàreb of the Arabs, who is expressly called by them, as by Abulfeda, "Yàreb the son of Ḳaḥtán?"[3] Bochart thinks that the Jerachæi received their designation, "quasi Lunares dicti," and identifies them with the Alilæi, who are supposed to have received their name from the goddess Alilat.[4] Ptolemy mentions a village in Arabia Felix called Ἱερακων Κομη,[5] and also an island in the Arabian Gulf called Ἱερακων.

Niebuhr gives Doran (or, more correctly, Dhorán), an ancient town lying to the south of Ṣanàá, as an approximation to *Hadoram*. This is a better attempt at identification than

[1] Ptolem. Geog. p. 154.
[2] Geog. Sac. pp. 113-118.
[3] Pocockii Specimen. p. 56.
[4] Geog. Sac. p. 124.
[5] Ptol. p. 15.

those made by Bochart. Mr. Forster thinks that he discovers Hadoram on the east of Arabia, near the Rás el-*Had*.[1] Unfortunately for this supposition, the Rás el-Had means "the headland of the wreck," and it is so named from the difficulty of the navigation in its neighbourhood.

All the Arabian Jews with whom I have conversed, without exception, identify *Uzal* with Ṣanàá, now the capital of Yemen. To a certain extent, this opinion of the Jews on this matter, was noticed by Niebuhr.[2] The Arab geographers concurred in the opinion of the Jews of their day to the same effect. Bochart, Michaelis, and other critics, have admitted the application made by these authorities; and so has Dr. Wolff, in the journal of his visit to the place.

Diklah means the place of palms. Ptolemy mentions a place called Phoenicon; but this was not proximate to the Joktanites. The country of the Minæi, according to Pliny, abounded in palms; and this people, Bochart is disposed to consider the representatives of Diklah.[3] The identification is rather doubtful.

Niebuhr associates *Obal* with the ancient town of *Thäbád;* but the resemblance, as he allows, is not very apparent. Bochart rightly connects it with the *Abalita* of Pliny and Ptolemy, on the part of the African coast, near the straits of Báb el-Mandeb, now occupied by the Sumálí.

The word *Abimael* may mean the father or founder of a tribe called Mael, a trace of which Bochart discovers in Theophrastus, where the name *Μαλι* probably refers to the same

[1] Geography of Arabia, vol. i. p. 141.

[2] "Il y a assez d'apparence, que Sanà est l' ancien Usal, comme d'autres l'ont déjà remarqué; car un Mahométan, á qui je demandai le noms des villes situées entre Loheia sa patrie et Sanà, nomma Osêr le village de Juifs qui est auprès de *Sanà;* et un autre Mahométan Indien, qui avoit demeuré long temps dans l' *Yemen*, croyoit pouvoir assurer, qui l'ancien nom de Sanà étoit *Usal*. Un Juif de Tacès ne connoissoit pas le nom d' *Usal;* mais c'etoit un ouvrier, et non un Rabbin. J' oubliai de m' en informer chez les Juifs de Sanà."—*Description de l'Arabe*, p. 252.

[3] Geog. Sac. p. 154, *et seq.*

wandering tribe in the vicinity of Mecca which Strabo calls *Μεναῖοι*, Minæi. Perhaps Mael may be recognised in the Malai of Burckhardt, as noticed by Forster.[1]

Sheba. This place Abulfeda identifies with Márab. مارب ويقال لها سبا—"Mareb, which is also called Sabá." Edrisi and el-Wardi, and other Arabian geographers, with a single exception, agree in his opinion,[2] and also the Jews of Yemen. Ibn el-Wardi speaks of two ancient castles existing at Ṣanáá, one of which was called after Balḳís, "the spouse of Solomon," and, according to eastern belief, the queen who came to visit him from afar. Her territories, lying in Yemen in the south of Arabia, are with propriety spoken of as in the ends of the earth. She is spoken of as the queen of "the south" in the gospels, an expression exactly designative of the position of Yemen, with regard to the Holy Land.[3] Diodorus Siculus calls Saba the metropolis of the Sabaei, Ptolemy speaks of it under the name of Maraba, "Baraba, the metropolis," and Strabo of *Μαριαβα*. Ptolemy also mentions a town called "Sabe," and a *Σαυη βασιλειων*. Niebuhr mentions several places in Yemen as having nearly similar names.[4]

According to Niebuhr, "*Ophir* was most probably the principal port of the Sabeans, and was, without doubt, situated between Aden and Dafar, and may be the Cana of the Greeks." He finds, he says, "no name resembling it."

Niebuhr rightly supposes *Havilah* to be identified in Khaulán, a district to the south-east of Ṣanáá.

[1] Hist. Geograph. Arab. p. 153.

[2] Abulfed. Arab. Descript. Cristoph. Rommel commentario, p. 40, etc.

[3] Matt. xii. 42. It is, perhaps, too much to associate with this province the literal meaning of "South,"—though it happens to bear this signification,—as it is probably derived, as noticed by Abulfeda, because it is to the right hand from Mecca, while Syria or Shám is to the left.

[4] More than one scriptural Sheba is to be sought for. We have in Gen. x. Sheba the son of Cush, and Sheba the son of Raamah. We have also elsewhere Sheba the grandson of Abraham and Keturah, who, as commonly thought, was located near the Persian Gulf.

The descendants of *Jobab*, the youngest son of Joktán, are found in the Jobabitæ of Ptolemy, as Bochart proposes to read the Jobaritæ of the printed editions of Ptolemy.[1] The Beni-Jobub of Niebuhr, whose district occurs in the territory of Kusma, may have derived their name from the youngest son of Joktan.

Whatever may be said of some of these attempts at identification, there can be little doubt, that unitedly, they afford sufficient warrant for the conclusion, to illustrate which they have been brought forward, that Yemen is undoubtedly the seat of the ancient Joktanites. In a part of that province, too, it is not difficult to discover some of the names of the Cushites.[2]

We have already incidentally seen, that the Hemyar of the Arabs, from whom the Hemyarites, or the Homeritæ of the Greeks and Latins, were descended, belonged to the family of Ḳahṭán;[3] and that Yemen, or Arabia Felix, in which the Joktanites were settled, came under the government of these Hemyarites.

It was long known to orientalists, on the testimony of the Arab historians, that the Hemyarites had an alphabetical character of their own, which had given way to the Cufic and present Arabic letters, and the knowledge of which, in the course of time, had perished.[4] Niebuhr expected to have found in Arabia some ancient monuments in this character; but though he heard of their existence in some parts of the country, and saw a copy of one of them at Mokhá, he was disappointed in seeing them. It was reserved to some of the intelligent officers of the Indian Navy, Messrs. Wellsted, Cruttenden, Hutton, and Smith, first to bring specimens of

[1] Bochart's Geog. Sac. p. 163.

[2] See Niebuhr's Descript. of l'Arabe, pp. 253-4.

[3] See above, p. 652.

[4] See, for the Arab accounts of this character, Mémoire sur l'origine et les Anciens Monumens de la Littérature parmi les Arabes, par A. J. Silvestre de Sacy, *in* Mémoire de Littér. tom. 50.

HIMYARITIC INSCRIPTIONS

them to notice. After the communication, in 1835 and 1836, by the Bombay Government, of transcripts of these inscriptions to the learned societies in India, I happened to observe, among the curiosities of Dr. Smyttan, two marble figures with inscriptions in the same character as that which had been lately found on the southern shores of Arabia. On questioning my friend about the manner in which they had come into his possession, he informed me that they had been presented to him by Dr. Mackell of the Bombay Army, who had procured them at Máreb when there several years before; and that he had two copies of inscriptions from other stones which were too large to be removed to the coast. On my suggesting the propriety of presenting the whole to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, he most readily agreed to do so, giving me the opportunity of appending them to a lithograph of the figures and inscriptions, similar to the accompanying, which I immediately got executed for distribution among the members.

That note, which was certainly written *currente calamo*, and without much consideration, was the following. It was read at the meeting of the Society, held on the 28th November 1836, and along with the lithographs to which it refers, published in the Oriental Christian Spectator for the following month.

"The stones bearing the figures and inscriptions marked No. 1 and No. 4,[1] are presented to the society by Dr. Smyttan. The inscriptions marked No. 2 and No. 3,[2] are fac-similes taken from stones found in their neighbourhood, which Dr. Mackell, to whom we are indebted for the discovery of them, was unable to get possession of.

"Dr. Mackell, in communicating his discovery to Dr. Smyttan, wrote as follows: 'I was rather more successful in my search after antiquities on the route to Senna, having been fortunate enough to procure a couple of stones with figures and inscriptions from the town of Márab or Sábá, which is completely in ruins, and is supposed to be the seat of the Queen

[1] No. II. of the lithograph attached to this work.

[2] Nos. III. and IV. of the lithograph attached to this work.

of Sheba's Empire. The stones bear the marks of great antiquity, and are inscribed with characters which appear to me to be Ethiopic. They probably may be referred to the time at which Yemen was conquered by the Abyssinians. . . . . I enclose two inscriptions from stones too heavy to be removed.'

" The opinion which Dr. Mackell here states respecting the Abyssinian origin of the inscriptions, agrees with that expressed by Lieutenant Wellsted, I. N. in an extract from his journal which accompanied the fac-simile of the inscriptions, similar to those of Dr. Mackell, found by him at Hassan Ghorâb near 'Aden, on the Arabian coast, which was presented to this Society by the Government of Bombay, and lately transmitted by us to the Royal Asiatic Society. Messrs. Hutton and Smith, in a report on the inscriptions found at Hammam and Dís,[1] which are also similar to those which we now notice, say, ' The characters certainly bear a stronger assimilation to the Ethiopic than to any other known in the present day ; and consulting the history of Arabia, we find that, prior to the Persian conquest of Yemen, under Noushirván, the whole of that fertile province was under the sway of the Abyssinians, many of whom having become enamoured of its beauties permanently settled here.'

" The resemblance to the ancient Abyssinian letters, I refer particularly to such as we have in the inscription discovered at Axum by Mr. Salt, appears to me to be rather remote ; and I am inclined to substitute for the opinions now adverted to, the conjecture that these inscriptions and figures are the work of the ancient Sabæans. Their connexion with the ancient Phœnician and Greek alphabets, which had a Sabæan origin, will be apparent, at any rate, from the comparison of them with the accompanying table, which I have taken from Dr. Gregory Sharpe's treatise on the Origin and Structure of the Greek Tongue. Several of the letters in the inscriptions occur in the column marked ' Nemean,'[2] and in some of the other columns.

" The derivation of the Greek alphabets from the Phœnician is universally admitted ; and historical proof can be alleged that the Phœni-

[1] See Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for Oct. 1835.

[2] " The Nemean inscription," says Dr. Sharpe, " may be seen in the *Thesaurus Inscriptionum*, collected by Muratori, and illustrated by Mons. Bimard Baron de la Bastie, who proves it to be next in antiquity to the Sigean inscription," [which was written above five hundred years before Christ.]

Greek characters were partially in use in Abyssinia in the fourth century, (Valentia's Travels, vol. iii. p. 181), but the letters on the stones presented to the Society resemble more the most ancient Greek letters than those which got into use in that country through the influence of the Ptolemies.

cians were originally a colony from Arabia. 'These people,' says Herodotus in his Clio, 'coming from the shores of what is called the Red Sea (*Indian Ocean*) and settling upon the borders of this Sea (*the Mediterranean*), in the country they now inhabit, presently undertook long voyages.' 'These Phœnicians,' says the same historian, in his Polymnia, 'according to their own account, anciently dwelt on the coast of the Erythrœan Sea; thence passing overland they came and settled on the coast of Syria. This part of Syria, and all the country as far as Egypt, is called Palestine.' Márab, the very place at which the inscriptions were obtained, it is not improbable, is the spot from which the Phœnicians migrated. 'That the people of Yemen,' says Landseer in his Sabæan Researches (p. 350), 'known to the Greeks at a late period by the name of Homerites or Sabæans, had a regular government, and a series of Kings whose origin is lost in the remotest antiquity; that the order of succession was very often interrupted either by civil wars, or by wars with the Abyssinian Æthiopians who *had the same manners* and the *same language;* that these Kings, habitually masters of Yemen, properly so called, were often so likewise of the country of Hadraumaut and other frontier districts, and had a territory at least six times more considerable than that of the Hebrews before the schism of Samaria; that the first and habitual residence of these Kings was the city of Máreb, and that long before the Kings of the Hebrews, those of Yemen had made remote expeditions—is all asserted in Count Volney's "researches," on old Arabian authorities and that of Schultens.'

"There is no necessity for us, it will appear from what has now been said, to refer the inscriptions to the Abyssinians, though it even be admitted that the ancient characters of that people may have slighty resembled them. Their approximation to the Phœnician and ancient Greek type, seems to favour the conjecture which I have expressed, that they are in original Sabæan characters. The figures themselves strengthen this conjecture. Whatever may be thought of it, the inscriptions will be viewed with interest as illustrative of the connexion of the ancient alphabets of Asia and Europe.

"28th Nov. 1836. JOHN WILSON."

The original connexion of the Phenicians with Arabia Felix here, on the authority of Herodotus, supposed to have existed, is one in support of which some plausible reasons may be stated.[1] The resemblance of some of the Phenician letters, too, to those of the Hemyarites is unquestionable, as

[1] See Michaelis Spicilegium Geog. Heb., pp. 166-170.

may be seen from an inspection of the table which we have arranged for the purpose of illustrating the Hemyarite and Sinaite inscriptions. I was mistaken, however, in considering the resemblance of the Hemyarite and Ethiopian letters to be but slight. After a due comparison of them, I saw that their resemblance was very close, and that by this comparison their power would probably be discovered. A friend, the Rev. Mr. Weigle, who had been amusing himself in examining my lithograph, told me that he thought that the single upright stroke, which occurs so frequently in the inscriptions, is nothing but a mark of disjunction ; and in this opinion I at once acquiesced. As I knew from Lieut. Wellsted that Gesenius, who had succeeded so well with the Phenician inscriptions, was busy with the Hemyaritic inscriptions, and we had many other matters of inquiry at Bombay, I gave myself no farther trouble about them till the close of 1842, when a copy of a new Hemyaritic inscription, found by Captain Haines at Aden, was presented to me by my friend Colonel Dickinson.

The inscription now referred to is that marked No. V. in the accompanying lithograph.

" It is an interesting fact," says Captain Haines in the letter transmitting a fac-simile of it to Mr. Secretary Willoughby, " that though 'Aden, in its most flourishing era, was the principal sea-port of the ancient Hymari kings, that no Hymaritic inscriptions, previous to this, have ever been discovered, either in the ruins of the ancient town or its immediate vicinity ; though on the shores of Hydramáut, and inland as far as Sana, many beautifully executed inscriptions have been found and transmitted to Bombay. In every other case, however, the characters have been found on oblong marble blocks, generally forming part of a gateway, as at Nakb el-Hajar on the Hadhramaut coast ; whereas, in the specimen now brought to light from a depth of twenty feet beneath the present surface of 'Aden, we have a circular slab of pure and very compact white marble, with a raised rim round it, and apparently forming part of an altar. . . . The antiquity of this specimen may very safely be dated from the first year of the Hejira, when the last of the Hymyari

princes reigned in Yemen. After the conversion of the Sabæans to the Moslem faith, the altars erected to their gods were overthrown, and the religion of Islam universally prevailed."

Captain Haines's inscription, I made a study of for an hour or two; and in a note which I sent to him on the 30th November 1842, I said, "I have received a copy of the Hemyaritic inscription which you lately discovered. It has, I think, belonged to a tomb. It gives the name of the person over whom it was placed, and of his father and grandfather. Some (two) of the letters I have not yet made out; but I hope that Gesenius' alphabet, which I expect to get in a day or two, will supply what is wanting."

The alphabet of Gesenius, I did not at this time procure, as I expected. Professor Westergaard of Copenhagen, who was staying with me, however, devoted with me, his attention for some time to the inscription; and he agreed with the reading which I had attached to the letters, except in two instances. The transcript of the Aden inscription as fixed upon between us, then stood as follows:—

נשאכרב בן רבבם חללם ורבק בן זסרקס

"*N*asak*a*rb, the son of R*a*b*a*b*a*m H*a*l*a*l*a*m Urb*a*k, (or perhaps, "and Rabak,") the son of Zisr*a*k*a*s."

On my reaching Aden, in the following January, Captain Haines gave me an opportunity of copying the alphabet of Gesenius, compared with that of Rödiger. We were delighted to observe that it agreed in the main with the value which we had attached to the letters at Bombay, and felt persuaded that the Hemyaritic inscriptions could now be made out, as far as the forms of the letters are concerned. On my getting hold, on my reaching Britain, of the lithographs which I had made in 1836, I was delighted to find that they were not altogether unintelligible.

No. I. over the man mounted on a camel, reads—

שוש אוסאל בן דבי

"Sus Ausál ben Dhabi, (or perhaps Tobi)."

Sus may mean horseman or rider. *Ausal* I take to be a Hemyaritic name, corresponding with the Joktanite אוזל, Uzal, and showing that one Joktanite name at least was long current among the Sabæi, at their capital Máreb.

No. II. reads—וש ודאב, "Us Udab."

A letter is wanting at the first of these words. If ש be supplied it will read as in the last mentioned. Odab is probably a man's name.

No. III. reads—מדבתת דבתן בחרנם ·

Though the terminations of these words agree with others in the Hemyaritic inscriptions, and a presumption of their genuineness is thus obtained, I do not venture to record any conjecture as to their meaning.

No. IV. is an important inscription, and is continuous, notwithstanding the blanks on the left side. The stone on which it was found was inverted on a wall at Máreb, as seen by Dr. Mackell; and in this form it was lithographed at Bombay. The transcript runs thus:—

בה ידעאלדרח בן סמהעלי שן רב ש·ש גנאבית ·· ללמקח יום חע

"Bah Yad'aal-Dharah ben Samh'ali san Rab s. s. janábit .. llmakah yom h'a."
For (or by) Yad'aal Dharah, the son of Shamh'ali, the year of God s. s. (date) (for) the glory of .. llmakah, (moon?) (on the) day h'a (number.)

The preceding readings of these inscriptions, I submitted to the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, in the spring of 1844. On that occasion, Mr. Norris, the Assistant-Secretary, mentioned that he had read No. I. in the same way, without having noticed the identity of the name Auzal with the Scripture Uzal, which he at once acknowledged.

I mention the preceding facts not with the view of begging credit for any doings of my own in connexion with the Hemyaritic inscriptions; but with the view of adding an independent testimony to a certain extent to that of our German and French friends, to which I shall immediately advert.

At the meeting of the Asiatic Society, above referred to, Mr. Norris directed my attention to Professor Lassen's Oriental Magazine, the Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morganlandes for 1837, in which are given, from Arabic MSS. in the Berlin Library, the two manuscript forms of Hemyaritic alphabets which are given in the subjoined table of alphabets. When compared with the Ethiopian alphabets and the Hemyaritic letters of the monuments, they strikingly confirm the proposed reading of the latter.

Some months afterwards, I received the numbers of the Zeitschrift for 1844, containing a short paper by Ewald on the Aden inscription, reading it exactly as did Mr. Westergaard and myself at Bombay, before a copy of it was sent to Europe. M. Arnaud of Lurs (Basses-Alpes,) visited Ṣanà and Máreb in 1843, and had the good fortune to discover and copy a great many Hemyaritic inscriptions.[1] These attracted the attention of M. Fresnel, the learned consular representative of France on the shores of the Red Sea, and he sent copies and transcripts of them in Arabic letters, with various annotations, to the Asiatic Society of Paris, which immediately gave them to the public.[2] On looking over M. Fresnel's communication, to see whether or not M. Arnaud had observed the blocks of stone which Dr. Mackell could not remove, and copied the inscriptions upon them, I find what may be a fragment of No. IV. in No. IV. of M. Arnaud's collection, rendered in Arabic letters, by M. Fresnel, "Yadàal Dharaḥ ben S . . ." agreeing exactly with the Hebrew transcript which I had made. Number X. of Arnaud's collection reads thus,—Dhakh Yadàal Ḍharaḥ ben Samhàli Karb Sabá janábeít Almaḳah yom hà, nearly all the words of which are found in Dr. Mackell's No. IV., and in which Yadàal Dha-

[1] See the Notice of M. Arnaud's Journey in the Journal Asiatique, 1845, p. 211, et seq.

[2] Journal Asiatique, Sept. Octobre 1845.

rah is represented as the son of Samhâlí Karb of Sabá. In No. LV. of M. Arnaud's collection, M. Fresnel finds mention of "Alsharah ben Samhâli Dharah Malak Sabá," in which we have the name of another son of "Samhâli Dharah king of Sabá."

Many more interesting facts are brought to notice by M. Fresnel, whose learned notes I beg to recommend to such of my readers as may be interested in Arabian antiquities. I content myself by observing that the Hemyaritic inscriptions evidently add to the evidence which we have of the settlement of the Joktanites in Arabia Felix, and particularly identify the locality of Sheba, whose queen came from Yemen, "the south," to visit Solomon. Several of the inscriptions copied by M. Arnaud are from a palace bearing the traditional name of that queen, Balkís.

I have little doubt that the inspection of our lithographed table of alphabets, viewed in connexion with the results to which we have briefly alluded, will convince most people that the proposed reading of the Hemyaritic alphabets is liable to no objection whatever, though something may perhaps yet require to be done to adjust the sibilants, which are so intimately connected with one another. In saying this, I presume that no orientalist of any considerable pretensions is prepared to stake his credit, by upholding the methods of interpreting them, and reading the inscriptions in which they are found, which have been proposed by the Rev. Charles Forster in his Historical Geography of Arabia.

The errors of Forster have been well exposed in an article entitled "Forster's Pretended Discovery of a Key to the Himyaritic Inscriptions," by Professor Salisbury of Yale College, published in the Bibliotheca Sacra for May 1845. The title of this paper is somewhat severe. Mr. Forster's attempt may be admitted to be laudable, though it is a complete failure.

My learned friend, Dr. Bird, in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, in which he brings forward some interesting facts, as well as untenable speculations, about the Hemyaritic inscriptions, attempts to read them from left to right. I should think that ere this the papers of M. Fresnel in the Journal Asiatique, will have convinced him that he has been dealing with them as with a witch's prayer,—reading them backwards.

The simple Aden inscription (No. V. of our lithograph,) in Mr. Forster's hands, becomes—

> "We assailed, with cries of hatred and rage, the
> Abyssinians and Berbers:
> We rode forth together wrathfully against this
> refuse of mankind."

In Dr. Bird's, it treats not of war but of peace:—

> "He the Syrian philosopher in Abadan, Bishop of Cape Aden, who inscribed this in the desert, blesses the institution of the faith."

APPENDIX.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

'ADEN.—See vol. i. pp. 10-26.—There are abundant materials, both oriental and occidental, for a history of this place, which would not be without interest.

Some brief, but valuable, notes on its Natural History are contained in a paper by J. P. Malcolmson, Esq., Civil Surgeon at the station, printed in the 17th Number of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

ACCOUNT OF DHALAK IN THE RED SEA.—See vol. i. p. 32.—The following is an interesting note respecting this place, which I received from Captain J. A. Young of the Indian Navy in 1836.—"The town, or rather village, of Dhalak at present is an inconsiderable fishing place. The inhabitants live in huts. The sides are built of Madrapore, four or five feet high, and thatched over; and have a few square buildings of Madrapore for Muhammadan worship, which is the religion of the place.

"Their food consists principally of fresh juárí bread and ghí. The latter, from the number of goats on the island, is plentiful, and is exported, as well as cheese, which they make in small white cakes. They are plentifully supplied with water during the rainy months from October to April, when the Tanks are filled, which are twenty in number, and deserve a little notice. There are only twenty of them at present in a state of repair and serviceable; but upwards of a hundred were counted by us, some choked up with sand, and others built upon, as the natives showed us, some inside the huts. They are the work of immense labour, and entirely excavated, some having a small opening at one end, with hatches fitted to them, increasing in height and magnitude inside, and having huge pillars cut out from the solid rock, which is a composition of sand and coral very hard. The largest tanks are arched over, and

are going to ruin. Those now in use hold sufficient water for a year. Trading boats frequently put in here for a supply during the dry season. As there is not sufficient pasture on the island for the cattle, they are put upon the adjacent uninhabited islands to feed upon the shrubs. A fine of five dollars is exacted from individuals committing depradations on them. Not being aware of this circumstance when we visited these islands, they were mistaken for wild animals, and they suffered accordingly. We were, however, surprised at their bearing marks in their ears, and we were afterwards informed by the natives of the mistake.

"The mode of catching antelopes, which abound on the island, is singular. A view of the chart will show the size of the island, on which there are several villages, whose inhabitants meet together on a day appointed, and go out early in the morning when the antelopes are enjoying themselves near the sea. The men armed with a thick stick, and joining hand and hand together, march down in a line of a 100 or 200, and surround them on a sandy pit which runs out from the island. The only possible way they have of escaping is by passing through their line, in which attempt they are knocked down by the weapons thrown at their slender limbs. Twenty or thirty of them are sometimes killed or wounded on these occasions.

"The harbour of Dhalak is joined by islands, assuming a slight concave form, with a chain of islands from point to point, connected by a reef, leaving a fine channel between them for entering the bay, which is covered with rock, between which there are good anchorages. From the clearness of the water they are not thought dangerous by the natives, but rather esteemed for the protection they afford from the sea, and altogether an excellent harbour for small vessels of even 50 tons burden; and have, no doubt, one time been the seat of a flourishing commercial nation."

Account of the Pyramids by Herodotus, with a few Notes.—See vol. i. p. 94.—"Up to the time of Rampsinitus, and during his reign, all Egypt, it is said, enjoyed the benefits of good government and great prosperity. But he was succeeded by Cheops, who hurried forward every wickedness: for he closed all the temples; and having first prohibited sacrifices, then commanded all the Egyptians to labour for himself.[1] On

[1] Manetho, under the fourth dynasty, says, "*Suphis* (Σοῦφις) reigned 63 years. He built the largest pyramid, which Herodotus says was constructed by Cheops. He was arrogant toward the gods, and wrote the sacred book, which is regarded by the Egyptians as a work of great im-

some he imposed the task of bringing stones from the Arabian quarries to the Nile. These stones being conveyed in barges across the river, he obliged others to receive, and transport them as far as what is called the Libyan mountain. These labours they performed in companies of 100,000 men each, which was relieved every three months. During ten years of the time in which the people were thus oppressed, they formed a road, along which these stones were conveyed.[1] And this work, I think, was little inferior to the pyramid itself; for the length of it was five furlongs, the width ten fathoms, and the height eight fathoms, where the level is at the greatest elevation above the ground. It is formed of polished stones, sculptured with the figures of animals. Ten years we say were consumed in forming this causeway, and a long period in excavating the eminence on which the pyramids stand, where he constructed a sepulchre for himself, in an island, made by leading the waters of the Nile in a canal to the place.[2] The pyramid which occu-

portance. *Suphis* [the Second] reigned 66 years. *Mencheres* 63 years."—(Cory's Fragments, p. 102.) "Nitocris, she built the third pyramid, and reigned ten years."—Manetho in Cory, pp. 105, 106. Diodorus Siculus ascribes the great pyramid to Chembres, (Χίμβης the Memphite.)—Cory, 153. Herodotus may be considered correct, as far as the Greek system of representation of proper names, which was never very precise, enabled him to go, in ascribing the great pyramid to Cheops. Certain quarry marks, as we have seen, have been discovered in the chambers of construction, containing the cartouche of *Shofo*, or Suphis, which approximates to Cheops. A gold ring, with a signet attached to it, which was found in a pit near the pyramid, and which is now in the possession of Dr. Abbott of Egypt, who kindly gave me several impressions of the seal in wax, bears that it was that of the priest of this king. Mr. Isaac Taylor, the translator of Herodotus, gives the year 1182, B.C., as the era of Cheops. Sir Gardiner Wilkinson, however, (Egypt and Thebes, vol. ii. p. 423,) makes Suphis ascend the throne 2123, B.C. The foundations of his date are, that Josephus makes Menes live upwards of 1300 years before Solomon, who was born in 1032, and ascended the throne in 1015, and that Eratosthenes gives 549 years for the 19 kings before Apappus, or Aphoph, (giant in Coptic,) who is probably the Papi of the hieroglyphics.

[1] The rock on which the pyramids stand is that of nummulite limestone, or rather chalk. In some places it is quite compact, and exactly similar to the material of which the pyramids are built; and part of which must have been got in their immediate site.

Partial remains of causeways, along which some of the stones of the pyramids were conveyed from the Arabian side, remain to this day; but no sculptures have been found upon them. The quarries from which the blocks were taken are on the eastern side of the Nile, about nine miles to the south of Cairo.

[2] This sepulchre has not been found. The subterrain below the great pyramid is unfinished, and it is fully 35

pied twenty years in building, is quadrangular; each side measuring, both in width and height, eight hundred feet.[1] The stones are polished, and fitted in the most exact manner, and none of them is less than thirty feet in length.[2]

"The mode of constructing the pyramid was this:—It was built in the manner of steps, which some call copings, others altarets. When one grade was completed, they raised upon it the stones required for the rest, by means of small pieces of wood (wedges?). The stone thus elevated from the ground to the first range, and from that to the one above it, when it reached its resting place, was placed on another machine (or system of wedges,) ready prepared to receive and raise it; for as many ascents as there were, so many machines also: or perhaps there might be one machine, easily lifted, which was lifted from grade to grade, as often as a stone was to be raised. We mention both methods as we heard them.[3] In finishing the structure, they began at the summit and worked downward to the base.[4] Upon the pyramid is signified,

feet above the level of the Nile, even at the time of its highest annual rise. To make sure, however, that no such sepulchre and conduit exist, it would be necessary, perhaps, to make an excavation in front of the pyramid to the east, as far down as the level of the Nile, as proposed by Colonel Vyse.

"It is difficult," says the Colonel, "to imagine that the great pyramid was intended to be the tomb of more than one individual. Indeed, the whole structure seems built for the security of the king's chamber, and for the sarcophagus within it; but if the dread of violation was as strongly felt as ancient authors seem to describe, it is possible that the apartments and passages in the masonry were intended as a blind, and that the tomb in this, as in all the other pyramids at Gizeh, was an excavation in the rock at a depth sufficient to elude discovery." Discarding the testimony of Herodotus, as suggested by the same gentleman, the very reverse of all this may have been the intention, and Cheops may have been buried in the king's chamber.

[1] The dimensions of the pyramid will appear from the measurements attached to the section which I have already given. See vol. i. p. 78.

[2] The tiers of stones forming the body of the pyramid are regularly cut; and the outer stones forming what is called the casing were polished. Probably the stones forming the casing were larger than those of the steps now exposed, none of which seem thirty feet long.

[3] The raising of the immense stones, of which the pyramid is composed, was doubtless facilitated by their being disposed of in the form of steps. By what machines, or by what exertion of animal force, they were raised, does not clearly appear. The limestone of the casing does not differ from that composing the tiers of the pyramid. The outer surface, however, has acquired a straw colour, from its exposure to the atmosphere. When I first examined a portion of it, I thought it had been painted.

[4] The stones forming the casing, part of which, on the removal of the rubbish near the base, were found

in Egyptian characters, what sum was expended in the purchase of radishes,[1] onions, and garlick, for the workmen. And I remember that my interpreter, when he read the inscription, told me that it amounted to 1600 talents of silver.[2] If so, what must we, in reason, suppose to have been the cost of the iron employed in the work,[3] and of the provisions and clothing of the workmen, calculating from the time above mentioned? and, as I think, no little time ought to be reckoned for cutting the stones—for bringing them, and for forming the excavations.

"To such an extreme of wickedness did Cheops proceed, that when he wanted money, he shamelessly employed his daughter to collect it by the worst means. How much she amassed is not said; but it is affirmed, that, besides what she gathered for her father, she, wishing to leave a monument of herself, exacted from each man the value of one stone; and with these stones it is said she constructed a pyramid—namely, that which stands between the three, and in front of the great pyramid. Each side of her pyramid measures 150 feet.[4]

by Colonel Vyse, were of this form They must have begun to lay, or rather to cut off the outer face of these stones from the summit downwards, in completing the structure as here mentioned. The casing stones found by Colonel Vyse, though covered again for their protection, have from time to time been exposed by travellers, and are now almost altogether or quite destroyed.

[1] "Raphanas. The fijl of the Arabs." —Wilkinson.

[2] The inscriptions, if they ever existed, here referred to, have perished with the removing of the casing.

[3] According to the Greeks, iron was first discovered from the burning of Mount Ida, 1406 years before Christ. The Bible proves, however, that working in iron was an antediluvian discovery. (Gen. iv. 22.) This metal is twelve times mentioned in the Books of Moses. In reference to the deliverance of the Israelites from Egypt, it is said that they had been brought forth from the "*iron furnace*." (Deut. iv. 20.) In the land to which they journeyed, iron was also known, for Og king of Bashan's couch was a "*bedstead of iron*." (Deut. iii. 11.) Though many of the tools of the ancient Egyptians, judging from the specimens which have been found, and which are depicted, appear to have been of bronze or brass, iron was also in use among that people. A piece of iron was found in the great pyramid in an inner joint of one of the air passages by Mr. Hill, which, according to his judgment, and that of other engineers, could not have been placed there posterior to the erection of the pyramids.

[4] Colonel Vyse estimates the original base of this pyramid at 160 feet, and its perpendicular height at 101 feet 9 inches. He found in it several skulls,—twelve or thirteen,—proving that in the course of time it had become a place of general sepulture. He also found in it a bronze armlet, with a piece of brown stone shaped like a female hand, which, he says, was "remarkable, as the building was supposed to have been the tomb of the daughter of Cheops."

"This Cheops reigned, as the Egyptians say, fifty years. On his death his brother Chephren ascended the throne, who followed the same course, as well in other things as in constructing a pyramid,[1] yet not of the same magnitude. We measured both; neither does it contain subterranean chambers, nor a channel, like the other, from the Nile, forming within the structure an island, on which it is said the body of Cheops reposes.[2] The first range (tier) of this pyramid of Chephren is faced with variegated Ethiopian marble;[3] it measures less, by forty (?) feet, than the other near which it stands: both occupy the same acclivity, which rises about a hundred feet above the plain.[4] This king reigned, it is said, fifty years. This period of 106 years[5] is stated to have been a time of utter wretchedness to the Egyptians; for during the whole of it the temples that had been closed were never opened. And in such detestation is the memory of these kings held, that the Egyptians unwillingly mention their names; and designate the two pyramids by the name of the shepherd Philition, who, at that time, fed his herds in that region.[6]

[1] Diodorus Siculus says, "His [Chembres's] brother received the kingdom and reigned 56 years. Some however, say, that it was not the brother, but the son of the Chembres that succeeded him, and that his name was Chabryis."

[2] For the dimensions of this pyramid, see vol. i. p. 84. It is obvious that it was not open in the days of Herodotus. Belzoni discovered and cleared the regular passage, leading to the chamber now bearing his name, in 1816.

[3] The lowest tier is of red Theban granite, with large grains of felspar.

[4] This is nearly correct.

[5] Pliny (xxxvi. 12,) says, that all these pyramids were constructed in sixty-eight years and four months.

[6] These kings, it is extremely probable, as has often been supposed, were not of a native dynasty. "There," says Manetho, under the fifteenth dynasty, "were six foreign Phœnician kings who took Memphis. . . . . The shepherds founded a city in the Sethroite nome, from whence they invaded and conquered all Egypt." Manetho's sixteenth dynasty consists of "32 Hellenic shepherd kings;" and his seventeenth of "43 shepherd kings, and 43 Theban Diospolites."—(Cory's Fragments, pp. 112-114.) Under the eighteenth dynasty, which, he says, consists of "sixteen Diospolites, [Theban]" he gives first the name of "*Amos*, in whose time Moses went out of Egypt, as we shall demonstrate."—(Cory, p. 116.) Josephus identifies the shepherds with the Israelites, on the authority of Manetho, whom he quotes at length, and who represents them as having left Egypt in the time of Tethmosis, three hundred and ninety-three years before the flight of Danaus to Argos. (Contra Apionem, lib. prim. et seq.) Without entering on the *questio vexata* of the shepherd kings, two simple observations may be made, which may explain the difficulties which have been urged. 1. As Cheops, or Saophis, was undoubtedly prior to Tethmosis, in whose reign the Exodus took place, the disliked rulers, known by the

"Mycerinus, son of Cheops, reigned after Chephren.[1] He disapproved of the conduct of his father—opened the temples, and the people, harassed with extreme miseries, he allowed to mind their own affairs, and to fulfil the rites of religion. He is said to have surpassed all other kings in the equity of his decisions; and he is extolled on this account above any monarch that has ever reigned in Egypt. Though always judging impartially, yet he was accustomed, when any one thought himself aggrieved by his decision, to make him a present in order to mitigate his chagrin. So indulgent was Mycerinus towards the people! Yet, while thus pursuing their welfare, calamities befel him; the first of which was the death of his daughter, an only child: exceedingly afflicted by this misfortune, and wishing to give her sepulture in some extraordinary mode, he caused a wooden heifer to be formed, hollow within, and overlaid with gold, and in this he deposited the remains of his daughter. . . . . After the death of his daughter, a second calamity befel the king. An oracular message was sent to him from Butos, to this effect—'That he had six years only to live, and should die in the seventh.' . . . . This king also left a pyramid;[2] much smaller, indeed,

name of the shepherd kings, and from Phœnicia or Palestine,—indicated perhaps by the Philition of Herodotus,—or from Arabia, must have entered the country before the Israelites. This is perfectly consistent with the Scripture narrative, for before the arrival of the Israelites, "every shepherd was an abomination to the Egyptians." (Gen. xlvi. 34.) 2. "The men [the Israelites] being shepherds, their trade being to feed cattle," (Gen. xlvi. 32,) and their exodus from Egypt, when it did occur, having been associated with great disasters on the people of that country, they came to be associated, by Manetho, with the shepherd kings from the east of Egypt, who were so detestable to his countrymen.

Josephus (contra Apion. lib. i. 14,) when quoting Manetho's account of the shepherd kings, says, "some say they were Arabians." Some light may, perhaps, be thrown on this remark, and its consistency with the statement that the shepherd kings were Phœnicians, by referring to what Herodotus (Clio. p. 1,) says of the Arabian origin of the Phœnicians, when he tells us that they originally "came from the shores of what is called the Red Sea, (the Indian Ocean,") before they settled on the shores of the Mediterranean.

[1] The coffin of Mycerinus, with the cartouche Men-Kah-re upon it, as I have already noticed, was found in the third pyramid by Colonel Vyse, and is now in the British Museum. "Mycerinus, whom others call Cherinus," says Diodorus Siculus, "was the son of the founder of the former pyramid. He undertook to raise a third, but he died before the completion of the work."—Cory, 153.

[2] The dimensions of the pyramid of Mycerinus are thus given by Colonel Howard Vyse:—base, 354 ft. 6 in.; present height, perpendicular, 203 ft.; inclined, 261 ft. 4 in.; former height, perpendicular, 218 ft.; former height, inclined, 278 ft. 2 in.; angle of casing, 51°; present height of granite, perpendicular from the base on the

than that of his father, each of the four sides measuring 280 feet. Half of its height is faced with Ethiopian marble [Theban granite.] Some Greeks there are, who erroneously say that this pyramid was raised by the courtezan, Rhodopis. To me it is evident that they know not who Rhodopis was, or they would not have attributed to her a pyramid which must have cost, so to speak, countless thousands of talents."[1]

Situation of Goshen.—At p. 100, vol. i., I have stated that Rabbi Saadias Gaon, from his identification of Goshen with the "Balad es-Saddir," or Sethroite nome, did not think that Goshen was situated in the Heliopolitan districts. He probably had no very distinct opinion on the subject. Under Exodus xii. 37, in which it is stated that the children of Israel journeyed from Raamses to Succoth, he makes them start from 'Ain Shems (or Heliopolis), and journey to el-'Arish.

Though I think that Heliopolis was *in* Goshen, I see no objection to our extending the district considerably to the north-east, along the course, say of the Pelusiac branch of the Nile, and to Wádí Tamilat, along the course of the ancient canal. See vol. i. p. 139.

Route of the Israelites to Mount Sinai.—Attention to the road leading down through Wádí *T*eiyabah to the Wádí el-Markháh, and the accommodation in the latter valley sufficient for an encampment of the Israelites, (see vol. i. p. 180,) upsets the only plausible argument of Dr. Beke (Asiatic Journal, May 1838,) for his strange theory, that the Mitzraim from which the Israelites took their departure was not Egypt, but some country on the Arabian coast. Dr. Beke says, that "if the Israelites [after crossing the sea of Suez] in the first instance quitted the coast, they must afterwards have taken a circuitous course, so as to have approached the sea a second time." All the circuitous march required is only one of two hours, and that, too, on the best road to Sinai, on which it may be supposed they were led.

In a work which has just appeared, entitled, a "Tour from Thebes to the Peninsula of Mount Sinai, by Professor R. Lepsius of Berlin," there are various representations and reasonings made, with all the talent of the author, respecting the march of the Israelites from the passage of the Red Sea to Sinai, and the position of the "mount of God" itself, which appear to me to be much opposed to the requisitions of Scripture.

western side, 36 ft. 9 in.; on the northern side, 25 ft. 10 in. For a comparison of the dimensions, etc., of the different pyramids, see Bunsen's Ægyptens Stelle in der Weltgeschichte.

[1] Taylor's Herodotus, pp. 157-160. Sounder in judgment, in this instance, is old Herodotus than Strabo.

A proper review of them would form an extended article for a periodical; but a few objections to the Doctor's theories may be here briefly stated.

The Dr. considers Wádí Teiyabah to be only an extension of Wádí Shebeikah. Here he places Elim. "The lower fertile part of it must undoubtedly be Elim." "Wells are mentioned here," he says, "for the first time." "This proves, first, that there was no spring-water there." —P. 50. By turning up his Hebrew Bible, he will find that it is *fountains*, and not *wells* that are spoken of. But let this pass. "At the outlet of the Wádí Schebêkeh," he continues, "they were quite close to the sea too, and doubtless refreshed themselves, as we did, after the passage of the desert, with a good repast of fish, (?) as they had been in the habit of doing, out of the Nile. We must not, therefore, consider the encampment by the sea as a different one from that of Elim; indeed, the very Elim had reference, probably, to the harbour of Abu Zélíme, [some Arab saint, into whose tomb I entered!] rather than the watering-place connected with it."—P. 57. That Elim was *not* at the Red Sea is evident from Exodus xxxiv. 10: "And they *removed from* Elim, and encamped by the Red Sea."

Assuming with Dr. Lepsius that the Israelites were really encamped at the Red Sea at the place he has in his eye, as I have supposed to be the case, in my Personal Narrative, vol. i. p. 181, we must look for Elim a stage behind, on the road from Egypt.

Dr. Lepsius's stage behind is that of Gharandel, which he takes to be *Marah*, (p. 45.) Brackish water is procurable at Gharandel, and is sometimes there found running; but as the place is admitted to be a watering-place of the Arabs even at this day, it is not likely to have been the place to which the Israelites came, and the waters of which they could not drink, because of their bitterness, after they had gone three days in the wilderness, and "*found no water*," Exodus xv. 23. Marah, with Burckhardt, I find in Hawárah, the disagreeable bitterness of the waters of which is universally admitted.[1] Gharandel is taken by many to be Elim; but another valley (Waseit or Useit) resembling it, with palms and fountains, I have already noticed, as probably Elim, because it more equably divides the distance between Hawárah and Gharandel.

Returning to the neighbourhood of Abu Zélímah, let us now advance toward the "Mount of God." We first enter the wilderness of Sin. Dr. L. adverts to the important localization of this wilderness in Exodus xvi. 1, in which it is said to lie "between Elim and Sinai." "The name Sinai," he adds, "which in the time of Moses was only called Sini, is

[1] The sweet well of Abu Suweirah, to which Dr. Lepsius refers, is off the route of the Israelites.

written precisely like the wilderness of Sin, except the final *i*."—P. 58. "The wilderness of Sin, therefore, must have reached at least as far as Mount Sinai, or even further." The object of this reasoning is to bring Mount Sinai comparatively near to Elim; for it is said, after the children of Israel had taken their journey from Elim, "they came into the wilderness of Sin," Exodus xvi. 1. The wilderness of Sin, however, though it lay between Elim and Sinai, did *not*, on the *route of the Israelites*, extend to Sinai. For in Numbers (xxxiv. 11, 12,) it is said, "They removed from the Red Sea, and encamped in the wilderness of Sin. And they took their journey *out of the wilderness of Sin*, and encamped in Dophkah." The inference to be made is plain, that they *left the shores of the Red Sea*, probably entering the Wádí Mukatteb,—a distinct wilderness in the mountains,—either by Wádí Shillál, or (escaping the pass of Badrah) by Wádí *K*inah, leading first to Wádí *S*edr (see vol. i. p. 183,) or entering the mouth of the Wádí Feirán, by its own gorge leading up from the sea. Dr. Lepsius does not object to either of these lines of route, though he overlooks the fact, that the Israelites, when they moved to their next station, that of Dophkah, were *out* of the wilderness of Sin. He also overlooks the fact that the wilderness of Sin, and the wilderness of Sinai, however similar their names, were different wildernesses. "They departed from Dophkah, and encamped in Alush. And they removed from Alush, and encamped at Rephidim, where was no water for the people to drink. And they departed from Rephidim, and pitched in the *wilderness of Sinai*," Numbers xxxiii. 13-15.

I have mentioned the position of *H*useiyah in the Wádí Feirán, (vol. i. p. 195.) It occurs about six hours from the deflection of the gorge of the Wádí Feirán to the Red Sea. It appears to me that this place, as far as the distance from what may have been the encampment of the Israelites in the wilderness of Sin is concerned, may have been their station of Dophkah. Dr. Lepsius gives the Israelites short enough marches, and makes it Rephidim. The Scriptures tell us that at Rephidim there was no water till Moses went on with the elders and smote the rock in Horeb, (see our observations on this in vol. i. pp. 234, 254.) Dr. Lepsius, as if dreaming about the insinuations of old Tacitus,[1] says, "Then *Moses* led them to Rephidim . . . . which I take to be the present *el-Hessue*, and gave them drink out of the clear-running and well-favoured spring of *Wádí Feirán*; the most glorious gift of God to a

[1] "Jamque haud procul exitio, totis campis procubuerant, quum grex asinorum agrestium, e pastu in rupem nemore opacam, concessit. Sequutus Moses, conjecturâ herbidi soli, largas aquarum venas aperit."—Tac. Hist. lib. v. 3.

thirsty multitude—a wonderful event, which must have made a deeper impression on them than anything else could have done," (p. 74.) Of course, according to the Doctor, there is here no supernatural miracle in supplying the Israelites with water, any more than he thinks there was in the supply of the Israelites with food—the manna of the *Tarfá* bushes, not sent "expressly for them from heaven," (p. 68.) Few in the kingdom of Great Britain at least, will be disposed to substitute the Wádí Feirán, with "clear-running water," for "Rephidim where there *was no water* for the people to drink."

Feirán, the Doctor tells us, "belonged to the Amalekites," and hence the struggle for its retention. The "Amalekites had allowed the great host to march into, and encamp in the steppes without opposition, but were not very likely to surrender without a struggle the gem of the peninsula." "They were standing," he also says, at the "iron gate of the Wádí, but they had the same difficulties to encounter in gaining this point, a prelude to still greater and more serious efforts, as they had in reaching their ultimate goal, the land of Canaan." According to this view the Amalekites must have necessarily made the attack upon the Israelites in front. But what says the venerable Moses of the commencement of the battle? "Remember what Amalek did unto thee by the way when ye were come forth out of Egypt; how he met thee by the way, and smote the hindmost of thee, even all that were feeble behind thee, when thou wast faint and weary," (Deut. xxv. 15.) It appears to me that this most likely occurred, when the Israelites had entered the large pastoral Wádí Sheikh, or when they had turned up the broad avenue of that Wádí, leading to what is now called Jebel Músá.

Jebel Serbál is a very conspicuous mountain, and has a distinctive name, while Horeb, or Jebel Músá, (one of its peaks,) has no distinctive name, except what may be supposed to have been derived from the convents. On this account, the Doctor argues at length, and with some plausibility, that Jebel Serbál is the real Sinai, and not the present Horeb or Jebel Músá. From many directions, Jebel Músá and Horeb, and the contiguous mountains, however, are very conspicuous. They are so in a particular manner from the greatest pastoral plains of the peninsula south of Jebel Tíh. The Wádí Sheikh leading to them, and Wádí Ráhah in front of them, would give them an importance to the shepherds of the territory, such as the little Wádí Feirán, with all its beauty and fertility could not give. Though the name Jebel Músá may have come into use through the monks, it may have supplanted an ancient distinctive name. The cluster of mountains of which it is a part, is still called by the Arab geographers, Jebel Tor *Sinâ*, a designa-

tion which is not extended to Jebel Serbál. Jebel Músá, though not the highest mountain of its group, appeared to me, judging from the convergence of the valleys to it, to be the very geological axis of that group. In the Wádí Feirán, as it comes in contact with Jebel Serbál, there does not appear to be room for the encampment of the host of the Israelites, while sufficient room is found in the Wádí er-Ráhah.

Other objections to the views of Dr. Lepsius present themselves to my mind; but I need not here enlarge on the question which he has started,—interesting in itself, though unhappily and hastily treated by the great Egyptian antiquary. In justice to him, it must be said, that though he dispenses with a miraculous agency in the guidance of the Israelites, and in the supply of their wants in the desert, he does that, not by questioning the veracity of the Mosaic narrative, but by interpreting some parts of it figuratively, which we hold to be utterly incapable of such an interpretation. He admits, "the strictly historical character, and accurate local observation of the writer, which allows of no arbitrary interpretation," (p. 18.) His pamphlet is an interesting one, independently of the theory which it is intended to support. I do not venture to make any definite conjecture about the exact place of the stations of Dophkah and Alush. I believe them, however, to have been on the line leading from the Wádí Mukatteb or the commencement of the Wádí Feirán, to the deflection of the Wádí Sheikh toward the present Horeb.

ANCIENT SITES VISIBLE FROM MAON.—See vol. i. p. 380.—Along with those enumerated and after Carmel, I should have mentioned the Tell Zif, representing ZIPH; and Khalíl or the Beit-*H*abrún of Abulfeda, representing HEBRON.

ANCIENT STONES IN THE WALLS OF THE HARAM.—See vol. i. p. 417.—Dr. Richardson, if I mistake not, was the first to describe these stones as "bevelled." They are so in a peculiar manner, not with an angular curtailment on the edges as in the rustic style of the Romans, but with horizontal incisions going round the edges of each stone. From what I observed of this bevelling at the tombs of the patriarchs at Hebron, at Jerusalem, at Damascus, and Jebeil, in the remains of ancient architecture, I have no doubt that it is in the Phenician or Syrian style, and of the highest Jewish antiquity.

SITE OF THE FORTRESS OF ANTONIA.—See vol. i. pp. 464–465.—In Nos. xi. and xii. of the Bibliotheca Sacra, there is an able paper on the

topography of Jerusalem. The perusal of it has considerably shaken my confidence in the interpretation put upon the passages from Josephus, referred to in a note at p. 465.

GEMS REPRESENTING ASTAROTH OR ASTARTE, BAAL, NEMESIS, ETC.—See vol. ii. p. 223.—At Damascus, I procured an ancient gem representing Astarte as the Syrian Venus, in which character she is recognised by Sanchoniatho. As this is a genuine antique of some interest, I may here insert its figure.

Mr. Consul Moore showed me at Beirút another rare curiosity,—a Phenician scarabæus, containing an inscription. From an impression which he gave me, the annexed cut has been made. By looking at the Phenician alphabet in our table, it will be observed that the inscription is an address לבעל "to Baal."

The annexed lignograph represents a gem which I obtained at Damascus. It appears to me to be some gnostical delineation of Nemesis, the goddess of Justice.

The gem on which this Father of Punch finds a place, I procured also at Damascus.

At Jerusalem, Damascus, and other places, I made inquiries after ancient coins in the different localities; but I was not able to add many to a large collection which I had made in the farther East. At Hebron, I obtained a gold coin of Constans and Constantius; but I did not learn that it had been found at that place. At Tyre, I procured seven coins of the Emperor Constantine, which had been dug from the ruins of the city. At Jebeil, I purchased a coin of Alexander the Great, and another of Ptolemy Soter, which had been also dug from the ruins of that place.

THE GYPSIES.—See vol. ii. pp. 138, 212, 306, 439.—On the western flanks of Lebanon, at the lake of Tiberias, and at Pesth, I had interesting interviews with bands of Gypsies. Their language was so decidedly Indian, that Dhanjibháí and I found it almost wholly intelligible. We were able to converse at once with the wanderers with whom we came in contact.

It was my intention to have inserted in this place a vocabulary of the words which we procured from them, and to have made a few remarks on the grammar of their language, and the various proofs which

we have of their emigration from India; but the publication of the learned work, "Die Zigeuner in Europa und Asien von Dr. A. F. Pott of Halle," renders an article of this kind entirely unnecessary in this place. Who knows but ere long, we may send from India a native as a missionary to the many thousands of them who are to be found in the East of Europe?

MISSION TO THE JEWS OF EGYPT.—See vol. ii. p. 651.—A mission to the Jews of Cairo, I have been informed, has been lately commenced as an outpost of the Jerusalem mission.

TOLERATION IN TURKEY.—See vol. ii. p. 704.—I close this volume by recording the following Correspondence on this most important subject:

10, DANUBE STREET, EDINBURGH,
8th August 1844.

MY LORD,

At the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, held in May last, the following Overture was submitted to the consideration of the ministers and elders there convened:—

"It is respectfully overtured to the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, appointed to meet in May 1844, by the undersigned members of the Assembly, that that venerable body express to Her Majesty's Government its great satisfaction with the merciful interposition of Her Majesty's ambassador to Constantinople with the Sublime Porte, for the protection of penitent apostates from our holy faith returning from the profession of Muhammadism to that of Christianity; and that it earnestly solicit a continuance of his philanthropic endeavours, so as to include the toleration of all that bear the Christian name within the bounds of the Turkish empire,—including converts to Christianity who may have been born within the pale of the Musalmán religion; and, also, that it address the other Christian governments of Europe, through their representatives in this country, on the same subject.

(Signed) "JOHN WILSON, JAMES CRAWFORD, Jun. HENRY TOD,
JOHN ELDER, THOMAS PITCAIRN, GEO. LYON,
JAMES BRIDGES, W. H. CRAUFURD, HENRY PAUL,
JAMES BEGG, G. SMYTTAN, ANDREW GRAY."
DAVID SUTHERLAND, ALEX. E. MONTEITH,

The object of this overture having met with the approval of the Assembly, the adoption of practical measures connected with it was left to a Committee appointed for maintaining correspondence and fellowship with Foreign Churches. By that Committee I have been requested respectfully to address your Lordship on the present occasion.

The "Correspondence relating to executions in Turkey for apostasy from Islamism, presented by Her Majesty's command to the House of Commons, in pursuance of their address of the 3d of May 1844," bears ample testimony to the benevolence, zeal, discretion, vigilance, and ability of Her Majesty's representative at Constantinople, in connexion with the deplorable occurrences and

transactions against which both humanity and Christianity required His Excellency to remonstrate, and to the enlightened and firm support which he received from your Lordship and Her Majesty's other ministers in this country; and the result of the interference of Her Majesty's Government, and that of France and Prussia, in behalf of persecuted Christianity in Turkey, is highly satisfactory, in as far as it has led to the official declaration of the 21st March last, that "the Sublime Porte engages to take effectual measures to prevent henceforward the execution and putting to death of the Christian who is an apostate;" and to the declaration from His Highness the Sultán to Sir Stratford Canning, at his audience on the 23d of the same month, that "Henceforward neither shall Christianity be insulted in my dominions, nor shall Christians be in any way persecuted for their religion." It only remains for Christians in this country, sympathizing with their brethren in the East, and seeking the complete toleration of their holy faith in the Turkish dominions, to express the ardent desire,—as I now do in behalf of the Free Church of Scotland,—that the same protection be demanded in behalf of converts from Islamism, who may have been originally Musalmáns, that is to be extended to apostates from Islamism, who may have been originally Christians. It is impossible, while such protection is withheld, and while conversion to Christianity is allowed to be treated as a crime demanding the infliction of death, that Christianity, and the allies of Turkey professing it, should be otherwise than insulted in the Turkish dominions; and that that fanaticism which it is alike the duty and the policy of the European powers to discourage, should not continue with all its power and detriment. As far as the Muhammadan religion may be supposed to offer obstacles to the protection of such converts, it is to be observed that any obstacles which may exist on this score, are exactly of the same nature as those which have already been overcome in the happy arrangements which have lately been made. Having myself sojourned for fifteen years among the Muhammadans of India, and passed through the Turkish dominions, holding intercourse with not a few individuals filling important offices connected with the Musalmán religion, I can give my personal testimony to the fact, that intelligent Musalmáns are ready to admit that while the Musalmán powers are dependent on the Christian nations, the precepts of Muhammadism relative to the execution of all classes of converts from Islamism to Christianity should be kept in a state of abeyance.

By intimating to your Lordship, as the head of Her Majesty's Government for the Foreign Department, the desire which, in behalf of the Free Church of Scotland, I have now expressed, I trust that I have availed myself only of that liberty of address which your Lordship and Her Majesty's Government are disposed to accord to all who humbly seek the application of the principles of philanthropy to the whole human race.—I am,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient humble Servant,

John Wilson.

To the

Right Honourable the Earl of Aberdeen, K.T.,

Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State

for the Foreign Department.

FOREIGN OFFICE, *August* 14, 1844.

SIR,

I am directed by the Earl of Aberdeen to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 8th instant, submitting, on behalf of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, that measures may be taken for ensuring, in the Ottoman dominions, the same protection for converts from Islamism which may have originally been Musalmáns, as in pursuance of the communications which have recently passed between Her Majesty's Government and the Porte, is to be extended to apostates from Islamism who may have been originally Christians.

I am to state to you in reply, that Lord Aberdeen, although fully sensible of the importance of the object which has excited the solicitude of the Free Church of Scotland, does not think it expedient or prudent at the present moment to make any fresh representation to the Porte on the subject of renegade Mahometans.—I am,

SIR,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

(Signed) H. U. ADDINGTON.

The Rev. Dr. WILSON,
10, Danube Street, Edinburgh.

It will be observed that Lord Aberdeen distinctly admits the importance of the object which this correspondence has in view, though he "does not think it expedient or prudent *at the present moment* to make any fresh representation to the Porte on the subject of renegade Mahometans." Nearly three years have elapsed since this declaration was made; but it does not appear that the favourable moment for interference has, in the eyes either of Great Britain, Prussia, or France, yet arrived. It is my solemn conviction, that both on political and religious grounds, these powers cannot too soon resolve to act.

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